

BLACKS, CARPETBAGGERS, and SCALAWAGS

The Constitutional Conventions
of Radical Reconstruction



RICHARD L. HUME and JERRY B. GOUGH

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To Ann L. Hume, my wife, who made this book worthwhile,
and Thomas J. Pressly, my mentor, who made it possible.

—RLH

To Mary Beth, with whom I have weathered many storms and
shared many joys.

—JBG

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James G. Taliaferro, president of the Louisiana convention
Albert J. Mackey, president of the South Carolina convention
Daniel Richards, president of the radical Florida convention
Horatio Jenkins Jr., president of the moderate Florida convention
Edmund J. Davis, president of the Texas convention
George Ruby, African American delegate to the Texas convention

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**BLACKS,
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and SCALAWAGS**

1

A TREMENDOUS AND SEARCHING SOCIAL REVOLUTION

[W]e infer the triumph of a Republican ticket in every Southern State. . . . Was there ever a more tremendous and searching social revolution? I know of none since the *noblesse* of France were crushed by the *canaille* of Paris.

—GEORGE TEMPLETON STRONG, New York City, August 1867

THE SETTING

Today's United States is in large part the product of three epochs of revolutionary change: the era of the American Revolution (1763–89), the Civil War and Reconstruction (1861–77), and the Great Depression (1929–41). The Revolutionary War and subsequent efforts at nation building stimulated Americans during the first of these eras “to reconsider the meaning of . . . old words and some others as well—independence, the nation, liberty, and equality.”¹ The travail of the Civil War and Reconstruction then transformed the federal republic, creating a new and more centralized polity. While all but one of the first dozen amendments to the Constitution had limited the authority of the federal government, “six of the next seven, beginning with the Thirteenth . . . in 1865, vastly expanded those powers at the expense of the states.”² Finally, the Great Depression dramatically accelerated this trend; that searing ordeal, and the New Deal's response to it, “purged the American people of their belief in the limited powers of the federal government and convinced them of the necessity of the guarantor state.”³

In focusing on the second of these epochs, this book offers the first, and to date only, detailed and systematic study of the delegates who attended the “Black and Tan” conventions. (“Black and Tan,” referring to blacks and mixed-race delegates, was an invidious moniker given to the conventions by unreconstructed southern whites. We have decided to use the term, primarily for the sake of convenience, as there is no other term for these conventions that is as concise. At the time of the conventions the term was used pejoratively, but the racist implications are now only a faded historical relic.) The documents drafted by these conventions, even in the face of vigorous conservative opposition, were obligatory to the restoration of civilian authority in the ten former Confederate states under military rule in March 1867. Framed over a fifteen-month period from early November 1867 through early February

1869, these constitutions—produced by radical new political coalitions of scalawags, carpet-baggers, and the first blacks ever elected to public office—established the radical southern Reconstruction-era state governments. This systematic examination of the activities of these delegates responsible for this noteworthy achievement thus offers precise insights into the ideologies and aspirations of these often obscure delegate-politicians (whether voting as radicals, conservatives, or swing voters) as Republicans assumed control of nearly all of the former Confederate states following the brief postwar interlude of a failed Presidential Reconstruction.

In framing these new constitutions, southern Republicans strove to achieve a multifaceted and ambitious reform agenda: enfranchisement of the freedmen, augmentation of the power and authority of state governments, sizable expansion of state-funded services such as public education, restoration of the region's infrastructure, and rebuilding and modernizing its economy. Although some of these objectives were achieved, many of the reforms were short lived. Republicans were soon routed throughout the South. Constitutionally their fall was symbolized poignantly over a three-decade period—beginning in Arkansas in 1874 and concluding in Virginia in 1902—a period during which each Black and Tan constitution was replaced by another framed by “redeemers” hostile to Reconstruction. Ideals of racial equality, however, remained dormant throughout the South for decades. They reawakened dramatically during the “Second Reconstruction” of the 1950s and 1960s, a time in which the South underwent fundamental social and political transformations, acquiescing and finally to some extent even embracing much of its long-abeyant Reconstruction heritage.

The focus of this study is the 1860s—when military victory secured national survival, and Congressional Reconstruction promised a new birth of freedom. These years witnessed the most active period of constitution writing in American history. During the 1770s, twelve states framed thirteen constitutions. This activity continued on a lesser scale throughout the remainder of the eighteenth century; five state constitutions were drafted from 1781 to 1790 and six more between 1791 and 1801. Though troubled by both economic crisis at home and military threat abroad, the two-decade period of 1920–40 saw only one new constitution, Louisiana's in 1921.⁴

In contrast, 32 new state constitutions, a number greater than the total framed during the first three decades of our national existence, appeared between 1861 and 1870. Several of these resulted from frontier settlement or the leisurely processes of orderly political development. Three-quarters of them (25 of the 32), however, appeared in the eleven states of the Confederate States of America, reflecting the South's decade of violent revolutionary upheaval: the creation and subjugation of the Confederacy, the failed reunification efforts under President Andrew Johnson, and the implementation of Congressional Reconstruction. Such tumult, at a time when the very fundamentals of the American national state were thrown open to question, hurled southerners—enthusiastic Confederates of 1860–61, devastated former rebels of 1865–66, and Republican reformers of 1867–69—into a flurry of constitution writing unmatched before or since in the American experience.⁵

The final phase of all of this activity resulted from the first Reconstruction Act of March 2, 1867, which articulated a radical congressional consensus following the decisive Republican victory in the congressional elections of 1866. Determined to thwart southern efforts to re-enter the Union with their old institutions basically intact, that legislation directed that southerners in ten states of the former Confederacy assemble in conventions to draft and ratify new constitutions before their states could reenter the Union with their congressional representation restored. (Congress authorized ten rather than eleven conventions because Tennessee had already been restored to the Union in 1866, but as we shall see, the Florida delegation split itself into two conventions, one led by radical Republicans and the other by moderate Republicans. This is why we refer at times to eleven rather than ten Black and Tan conventions.) The first supplementary Reconstruction Act (March 23, 1867), passed in a special session of the new 40th Congress, outlined precisely how delegates to these conventions were to be apportioned and elected. Apportionment, based upon the numbers of voters registered within individual districts in each state, was to be determined by generals in command of each of the five military districts into which the ten former Confederate states had been divided. The delegate total in each convention was to equal that of the membership of the lower house of each state's legislature in 1860.⁶

After enrolling loyal electorates, commanders in each of the five military districts were to hold elections in the states (or state in the case of Virginia) under their authority.⁷ Voters were to determine whether they favored assembling constitutional conventions in their respective states and, if so, to elect delegates to them. The call for a convention won approval in each state, and the task of constitution drafting then proceeded quickly in nine of them, beginning in Montgomery, Alabama, on November 5, 1867, and concluding in Jackson, Mississippi, by

TABLE 1.1. DATES AND LENGTHS OF RECONSTRUCTION CONVENTIONS

<i>State</i>	<i>Dates of convention</i>	<i>Days in session</i>
Alabama	November 5, 1867–December 6, 1867	28
Louisiana	November 23, 1867–March 9, 1868	81
Virginia	December 3, 1867–April 17, 1868	103
Georgia	December 9, 1867–March 11, 1868	67
Arkansas	January 7, 1868–February 14, 1868	31
Mississippi	January 7, 1868–May 18, 1868	114
North Carolina	January 14, 1868–March 16, 1868	54
South Carolina	January 14, 1868–March 17, 1868 ^a	53
Florida	January 20, 1868–February 25, 1868	30
Texas	June 1, 1868–February 6, 1869	127 ^b

^aThe *Journal of the Convention of South Carolina* (918) mistakenly dates that convention's adjournment on March 14, 1868.

^bTwo sessions: June 1–August 31, 1868, and December 7, 1868–February 6, 1869.

May 18, 1868. Belatedly, the Texas convention assembled on June 1, 1868, after the others had already completed their work. It lasted much longer than the others, holding two separate sessions before its delegates finally adjourned on February 6, 1869.⁸

Ironically, the “tremendous and searching social revolution” to which George Templeton Strong made reference, began in Alabama’s state capitol, the very building in which the Confederacy had been conceived in February of 1861. Over the fifteen months from November 1867 to February 1869, the activities of delegates there and in the other nine (ten, counting the two in Florida) Black and Tan conventions were scrutinized intensely. Contemporary observers—northerners and southerners, blacks and whites—were all well aware of the unprecedented transformation unleashed throughout the South by civil war, emancipation, Confederate defeat, and Reconstruction. Press reports, in the North as well as the South, described convention activities extensively; they were also recorded in many diaries and letters of the day. The tone of these accounts varied widely, depending upon the political leanings and the racial attitudes of particular commentators.

These differences carried over into the subsequent historical record. From work initiated around the beginning of the twentieth century to the neorevisionists of present day, scholarship has been shaped fundamentally by the racial and political assumptions of the many historians who have examined and reexamined these conventions and their delegates, the constitutions they framed, and the state governments they established. A general imprecision has, however, characterized many of these studies, whether they have been portions of general syntheses or chapters in monographs on particular states.⁹

Through comprehensive accumulation and systematic analysis of data we hope to make five fundamental contributions in our study. The first is that of offering the most detailed and comprehensive examination to date of the proceedings of each of the Black and Tan conventions in order to refine understanding of the emergence of the fundamental (and sometimes extraneous) issues faced by southerners throughout the tumultuous months during which these conventions were in session. Second is that of humanizing the delegates (many of whom were quite obscure) while also advancing understanding of their origins and objectives, a matter of particular importance given the fact that many of them—whether Republican or conservative—were to remain active politically in the new state governments that their constitutions established. Third, we hope to dispel the erroneous but widely and often tacitly held assumption that all of these conventions were much the same and to establish that such was hardly the case; political, social, economic, demographic, and geographical factors differed significantly from state to state throughout the former Confederacy, and no template can possibly encompass all of these conventions. Fourth, we hope to relate our findings to relevant historiographical questions at issue with respect to the political and social nature of Reconstruction, and finally, we strive to contribute to greater objectivity regarding both the motivations and actions of the Black and Tan delegates and the attributes of the conventions of which they

were a part. To the degree to which we are successful in achieving these five goals, we believe that our study might serve as a definitive analysis of the Black and Tan conventions for some time to come and that we have achieved a somewhat more sophisticated and nuanced assessment of the volatile mix of racial and ideological considerations that have so often shaped (or misshaped) perceptions of the Reconstruction-era South.

THE HISTORIOGRAPHY

As Congressional Reconstruction began, optimistic northern Republicans assumed success, both in the elections authorizing the constitutional conventions themselves and in those determining selection of their delegates. On August 5, 1867, for example, New York lawyer George Templeton Strong confided that “we infer the triumph of a Republican ticket in every Southern State, even in South Carolina itself. . . . What a bitter dose for their arrogant aristocracy of only seven years ago! Was there ever a more tremendous and searching social revolution? I know of none since the *noblesse* of France were crushed by the *canaille* of Paris.” Some three months later, a jubilant Strong noted that elections had “just been held in Virginia, Alabama, and Louisiana. The freedmen voted for a Reconstruction convention in each state. The whites were against it (preferring continuance of military rule), and the freedmen have prevailed.” Then, as the first of the Black and Tan conventions adjourned in Alabama, Strong rejoiced, observing that the freedmen were actually “helping to reconstruct the chivalric South with a degree of sense and moderation I did not expect.”¹⁰

Southern Republicans, both black and white, were equally pleased. A former slave, George Teamoh, helped frame Virginia’s constitution and then labored tirelessly for its ratification among his Portsmouth-area constituents in order to “follow up the victory so recently achieved by the friends of impartial freedom.” Carpetbag editor Albert Griffin, soon to serve as a delegate in Alabama’s convention, showed equal dedication. On the last day allotted for delegate elections in his state, October 3, 1867, he voiced support for “the great principle which underlies our republican government . . . EQUAL RIGHTS FOR ALL MEN.” Scalawag James G. Taliaferro, who had vocally opposed withdrawal from the Union while a member of Louisiana’s 1861 secession convention, was equally enthusiastic. On November 26, 1867, in his capacity as president of his state’s Black and Tan convention, he reminded attentive fellow delegates of their opportunity to frame a postwar constitution that would “satisfy the advancing wants of the age.”¹¹

In contrast to Taliaferro and his fellow Republicans, Democrats, both North and South, fiercely opposed Reconstruction and, of course, the congressionally mandated conventions. Their resolve was intensified during the fall of 1867, as they actually made strong showings in elections scattered throughout the North, “winning in New York by more than 50,000 votes, coming within 3,000 of electing Ohio’s governor and gaining control of the legislature . . . ,

sweeping California, and . . . reducing Republicans' massive majorities of 1866 by three quarters."¹² These successes even encouraged some exuberant Democrats to conclude they might carry the 1868 elections and thereby bring Reconstruction to a halt.

Such, however, was not to be the case. Republicans secured their conventions in each of ten states under military rule, and frustrated Democrats subsequently heaped abuse upon these assemblies. In New York, George Templeton Strong observed that northern reports critical of "doings in convention vary, of course, but the funny narratives furnished by the *World* and its Democratic congeners, or very possibly manufactured to order in New York, are probably caricatures, easy to draw. . . . [A] phrase or two about the honorable member from Congo, and the intelligent boot-black who represents the county of Tackahoosho, and some stories of black voters putting their ballots into the post office, are quite enough," Strong concluded, "to make these pepper and salt conventions ridiculous in the eyes of Copperheads."¹³

Southern Democrats, such as the editor of the *Jackson Clarion*, were, if less humorous, often even more outspoken than were their northern counterparts. In 1890, Ethelbert Barksdale reminisced that in "qualities of ignorance, corruption and depravity, the [Mississippi] convention was all that the imagination could conceive. It was a fool's paradise for the negroes," he scoffed, "who undertook to perform what they were incapable of doing, and as to their mercenary white leaders, 'the stream of purpose which ran through all their actions was plunder and revenge.'"¹⁴ Appearing around the turn of the century, the initial accounts of the Reconstruction era in the South by professional historians welcomed the restoration of home rule there as confirmation of the then widely accepted tenets of social Darwinism and Anglo-Saxon superiority. Not surprisingly, these narratives generally parroted Barksdale regarding both the Black and Tan conventions and the state regimes established by the constitutions their delegates had drafted. In the sixth of his seven volumes of the *History of the United States from the Compromise of 1850*, James Ford Rhodes, for example, surmised that, given "the ability, experience and legal learning represented generally in the constitutional conventions of our several States . . . [one] may well stand aghast as he regards the composition of those bodies which were to begin anew the work of Reconstruction."¹⁵ William A. Dunning echoed Rhodes in *Reconstruction: Political and Economic, 1865–1877*, concluding that "the mass of the [convention] delegates consisted of whites and blacks whose ignorance and inexperience in respect to political methods were equaled only by the crudeness and distortion of their ideas as to political and social ends."¹⁶

Evaluations such as these held sway for decades. The famed black scholar W. E. B. Du Bois had few listeners when he argued eloquently that traditional accounts of Reconstruction had, through "a mass of ridicule and caricature, deliberate omission and misstatement," missed an opportunity to throw "a world of light on human development and democratic government."¹⁷

World War II, however, contributed immeasurably to a shift in perspective. That epic crusade against racist Nazi Germany abroad was followed soon afterward by a "Second Re-

construction” (ca. 1954–68), which witnessed years of civil rights strife here at home. Racial attitudes of many white Americans underwent significant change, shaped by unforgettable images of clashes in cities such as Little Rock and Birmingham and of Martin Luther King Jr. voicing his dream to throngs massed before the Lincoln Memorial in the nation’s capital.¹⁸ Growing numbers of citizens, troubled by the racist foundations of the Dunningite consensus, consequently sought new answers to questions about what had brought the United States to such a crisis.

In part, replied Kenneth M. Stampp, a leading revisionist historian, the torment of the Second Reconstruction was a consequence of tragic popular misunderstandings of the first—a legacy of Dunning, Rhodes, and others of their kind. Writing in 1965 and echoing Du Bois, Stampp rejected what he called a legendary version of Reconstruction, while regretting its “powerful influence upon the political behavior of many white men, North and South.”¹⁹ In his reassessment of the Black and Tan conventions, he saw “nothing mad and little revolutionary” in their “borrowing heavily from the previous state constitutions and from those of other states.”²⁰ The orthodox documents their delegates framed actually resulted in modest and long-overdue reforms, contributing significantly thereby to the accomplishments of the Reconstruction-era southern state governments: the establishing of public schools, the granting of equal citizenship, and the rebuilding of the regional economy.²¹

While supporting this repudiation of outdated, racist Dunningite studies, a number of recent scholars, generally writing since the 1970s, argue that many revisionists during the era of the Second Reconstruction were too sanguine in their assessments of the first. Although granting that the South experienced a transformation during the 1860s, these postrevisionists have seen that process as evolutionary rather than revolutionary. In so doing, they have generally been much less concerned with the beginnings of Congressional Reconstruction and the Black and Tan conventions than with long-range consequences. They have viewed Reconstruction as part of a long-standing and flawed southern reform tradition, which, despite all the upheavals associated with emancipation, failed to secure lasting economic, racial, and social transformations. Writing in accounts appearing late in the twentieth century—at a time in which racial and social problems appeared persistent, complex, and intractable—these writers tend to portray Reconstruction as counterrevolutionary, an era during which southern white conservatives erased many gains made in the aftermath the Civil War, trapping many—both black and white—in a “vicious system of debt peonage that crippled both economic growth and social mobility throughout the South.”²²

Eric Foner’s prizewinning *Reconstruction: America’s Unfinished Revolution, 1863–1877* (1988), the most authoritative general account of Reconstruction to date, synthesizes revisionist and postrevisionist scholarship. In so doing, Foner asserts—as is detailed and confirmed in this study—that each of the Black and Tan conventions contained radical and moderate elements, allowing delegates to frame “modern, democratic” constitutions, but preventing them from meeting all the aspirations of the South’s newly established Republican party. Even so, the po-

litical, economic, and institutional changes implemented through these new constitutions remained unacceptable to conservative whites, who then successfully mounted, state by state, counterrevolutions, ousting Republicans from power. That outcome, however, also revealed the magnitude of the transformation Reconstruction had actually wrought. Although many of the political gains of the freedmen proved transitory as the Republican party disappeared as a political force in postwar Dixie, the Reconstruction era, according to Foner, managed to leave a legacy of genuine economic, social, and institutional achievement, narrowing thereby the chasm separating the lives of blacks from those of whites. While many postrevisionist scholars have emphasized the recrudescence of white domination over a basically inert throng of passive freedmen during the last quarter of the nineteenth century, Foner concludes from his research that postemancipation outcomes, as we affirm in the case of the Black and Tan conventions, were “shaped by blacks as well as whites, in ways historians have only begun to investigate.”²³

Given this historiographical setting, it is abundantly clear that the Black and Tan conventions and their delegates—the first racially mixed group of politicians elected to positions of authority in the nation’s history—oblige careful and systematic study. The Republican coalitions that evolved within their delegate ranks framed the constitutions under which ten former Confederate states were to operate during Reconstruction, and many of their members held public office in the Republican regimes established in those states during Reconstruction.²⁴ Given such historical conditions, the Black and Tan conventions and their delegates obviously merit much more detailed and systematic attention than they have received in historical accounts generally, as well as a more balanced treatment than has been given them by either their late-nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century critics or their more recent revisionist champions.

Simply confirming the fact that the traditional Dunningesque caricatures of the Black and Tan conventions (and of the radical state governments established through their labors) are largely founded on racist bigotry and not on sound historical evidence is no longer sufficient. In building upon scholarship of the last half century, we readily admit that many of our findings will hardly surprise specialists familiar with the revisionist view of Reconstruction. That said, however, we believe that they will enrich the revisionist synthesis by demonstrating a much higher degree of diversity and complexity in the political environment of Congressional Reconstruction as it unfolded during the proceedings of these conventions, which we examine here for the first time comprehensively and in detail.

The Civil War—its origins and its aftermath—had fashioned within each of the southern states a particular mix of historical, political, socioeconomic, and regional conditions. Our study—the first detailed overview of all ten Black and Tan conventions—thus presents, on both a state-by-state and a comparative basis, a fresh, quantitative, and systematic analysis of issues critical to an understanding of the beginnings of Reconstruction in the South. We strive to define more precisely the overlapping but distinct objectives of the black, southern white

(both scalawag and conservative), and carpetbag delegates. In so doing, we examine both issues on which Republicans united and those which exposed intraparty divisions that were destined to undermine their unity and their resolve for decades after. As for the conservative opposition, we detail both the genesis and early evolution of what were to become resolute and successful campaigns that sooner or later brought the Reconstruction experiment to an end.

To set the stage for accomplishing these analytical goals, the chapter to follow first establishes the number of delegates in attendance at each convention; it then presents a biographical overview of all 1,018 convention delegates and concludes with an examination of the manner in which power was distributed within their ranks.²⁵ This introductory overview is followed by the five-chapter heart of our study, each installment of which examines a pair of conventions, comparing and contrasting the composition of their delegate blocs while analyzing systematically the outcome of roll-call votes sorted into issue scales on economics, race, miscellaneous matters, government structure, and suffrage.²⁶

Whereas on four of these issue scales Republican positions will generally be rather obvious, divisions on economic issues will admittedly, at times, be more problematic. For some states, discussion of Republican positions on economic issues will be limited in scope, focused almost exclusively on votes to provide convention financing, a matter on which Republicans (because they, for obvious reasons, supported the conventions) would generally agree. In other states, on issues such as debtor relief or support for improvements in the economic infrastructure, especially railroads, Republicans might sometimes find themselves more divided than would be the case on other issue scales. While it is well established that Republican support, especially among scalawags, declined in the case of racial issues, we hope to establish, when data allow, whether similar fissures appeared on economic questions.²⁷

After addressing delegates and their voting behaviors in each of the Black and Tan conventions, in our final chapter we analyze three fundamental matters. The first of these integral concerns is that of the key provisions of the respective Black and Tan constitutions. The second is the voting behavior—overall as well as state by state—of various delegate blocs: blacks, carpetbaggers, scalawags, and other southern whites. Since both black and carpetbag delegates voted overwhelmingly as radicals and, except for Louisiana, South Carolina, and perhaps Florida (blacks enjoyed delegate majorities in both South Carolina and Louisiana and a delegate plurality in Florida), were not numerous enough to control the conventions, much of our focus here (and in material on particular conventions in chapters 3 through 7 as well) is on the divisions among southern whites, who did not vote together so consistently.²⁸ Since native whites were in the majority in seven of the conventions, this splintering into blocs of radical, conservative, and swing delegates was of critical importance. The closing section of our last chapter addresses the legacy of the Black and Tan conventions and their constitutions.

Finally, we include three appendixes. To avoid burdening the reader with knotty technical details, discussion of the methodology we have used in collecting our data and in formulating the quantitative elements of our study—such as the voting scales on economic, government

structure, miscellaneous matters, race, and suffrage—has been deferred to appendix A. Much of our quantitative methodology, especially those elements that allow proper assessment of the reliability and analysis of voting scales, was devised with the advice and aid of Professor Paul R. Hagner, formerly of the Political Science Department at Washington State University and now at the University of Hartford. Appendix B provides a tabular summary of the voting of each of the delegates in each of the conventions, and appendix C offers a biographical overview of each delegate, including race, age, profession, property, geographical origin, home district, additional political experience, and so forth.

2

DELEGATES AND LEADERS

At this time the “Black and Tan” Convention is holding its sessions in this city. One of the papers calls them the “Bones and Banjo” Convention. A black Negro occupies the chair, and whites and blacks are sprinkled alternately through the house. These are the men who are to frame a new constitution for the state! I think the sooner the Radicals run this race the better.

—MRS. MARY S. MALLARD, New Orleans, November 1867

OVERVIEW

This chapter, a survey of all 1,018 Black and Tan delegates, provides a foundation for what is to be developed in the five to follow, each of which compares and contrasts a pair of conventions. But to begin with the basics, we here first offer the most accurate and complete headcount of delegates to date, verifying the numbers of participating southern white, black, and outside white delegates in each convention and overall. We start by documenting two points central to our study: (1) that southern white majorities were elected in most (seven of ten) of the states and (2) that the delegate mix—the respective percentages blacks, carpetbaggers, and southern whites—varied significantly among the conventions, reflecting the distinctive geographic, demographic, economic, political, and historical realities of the states in which they assembled. This established, we then confirm empirically, through careful and systematic quantitative analysis of the racial characteristics of delegate home districts, what has long been assumed: that blacks and carpetbaggers tended to be returned from districts with heavier concentrations of African American voters than was generally the case among those that returned southern whites.

After authenticating delegate numbers, the proportions of southern whites, blacks, and outside whites in each of the conventions, and the racial mix of delegate home districts, we turn to the second section of this chapter: a statistical analysis of our collected biographical data, comparing and contrasting (in all cases for which such information is available) the age, property holdings, and professions of all members of each of these three delegate groups—southern whites, blacks, and outside whites. To an extent this analysis confirms what has long been assumed, that blacks were indeed the poorest delegates in each of the conventions. Such scrutiny, however, also offers new insights of importance: for example,

southern white delegates—frequently members of their region’s bourgeoisie—were hardly ne’er-do-wells; they were the wealthiest delegate group in six of the conventions (a distinction enjoyed by outside whites in the other four).

Finally, we conclude this chapter with an examination of power and leadership, identifying and supplying biographical data on the convention presidents, on the chairs of convention standing committees, and on the rank-and-file members of those committees. Our findings here are among our most important. Even in the conventions in which their percentages of the delegates were the greatest, black delegates possessed only marginal institutional power. Outside whites, in contrast, enjoyed much greater influence than was to be expected, especially given their relatively small delegate numbers. Southern whites, however, not only accounted for a majority of delegates overall in the ten conventions. They also presided over most of them (six out of eleven, counting the two conventions held in Florida) and held over half of all their standing committee chairmanships, in addition to more than half of the rank-and-file appointments to these committees. Consequently, as will become clear in the five chapters to follow, the degree to which Republicans were able to control proceedings in particular conventions was often dependent upon their ability to attract support from southern white delegate majorities as native whites splintered among radicals, swing voters, and conservatives.

SOUTHERN WHITES, BLACKS, AND OUTSIDE WHITES: NUMBERS AND HOME DISTRICTS

Although there is necessarily a degree of irreducible arbitrariness in virtually all classificatory schemes, we have chosen to define southern whites (as opposed to outside whites) as Caucasian residents of a Confederate state before the war. Outside whites (as the name implies) are Caucasians who came from outside the Confederate states after the war began. The classification “black” includes those persons who at the time would have been designated as “mulattoes” as well as those whom census returns designate as black.¹

The clearest evidence that the Black and Tan conventions have hardly received the scrutiny and analysis they merit is the disagreement in the literature over even the fundamental matter of numbers.² Although 1,027 delegates were elected initially, only 1,018 actually served. This discrepancy was due to absences of some delegates, refusal to seat others, and seating disputes that resulted in some delegates being removed and replaced with others. To clarify this matter, we begin with an enumeration (table 2.1) of the seats—those apportioned initially and those actually occupied—in each of the conventions. Table 2.2 offers the first and only definitive count by group of the delegates who occupied those seats: the 574 southern whites, 268 blacks, 164 outside whites, and 12 unclassified whites (southern- or outside-white status unknown) who actually took part in the ten conventions. While the general (although not precise) figures might appear familiar to specialists, a number of readers who think of the Black and Tan conventions in stereotypical terms as having been dominated by blacks and carpetbag-

gers will be surprised to learn that all but three of these conventions were, if not dominated, then largely shaped by southern whites.

One of the often most underappreciated facts central to this study is that although an enormous revolution had indeed engulfed the entire South generally, each of the Black and Tan constitutions was in fact a product of a specific convention, each with its own distinctive delegate mix and corresponding assortment of ideological and political factions.³ Southern whites, who comprised 55.0% of delegates overall, enjoyed their highest percentage in Texas (76.1%) and their lowest in South Carolina (28.1%). Blacks, who made up 26.3% of convention membership overall, were most numerous in South Carolina (59.5%) and least numerous in Texas (10.9%). Those from just two states—South Carolina and Louisiana—accounted for nearly half (45.5%) of all blacks in the conventions. Outside whites, 17.4% of delegates overall, were most conspicuous in Florida (26.0% of delegates) and least so in Georgia (7.3%).

Table 2.3 represents what we have chosen to call the black parity index. It was obtained by dividing the percentage of black delegates in each convention by the percentage of registered black voters in the corresponding state and multiplying the resulting numbers by 100. It shows clearly the degree to which black representation varied among the states. In fully half the conventions, black delegates were chosen at less than a third of the rate their numbers appear among registered voters, and in only two states, South Carolina and Louisiana—both of whose conventions were black dominated (at least in regard to delegate numbers)—did the figures even approach full parity. Contrary to legend, then, as seen in table 2.2, southern whites actually enjoyed delegate majorities in seven of the conventions (the only exceptions being Florida, Louisiana, and South Carolina); in contradiction to the caricature suggested by the moniker “Black and Tan,” blacks were underrepresented, often substantially, in eight of the conventions.

Table 2.4 shows the average percentage state by state of registered black voters in the districts electing southern white, black, and outside white delegates. The figures in the right column are simply the average percentage of registered black voters in the districts of all the delegates in each state. Because some districts had multiple delegates, that figure, it should be noted, does not represent the percentage of registered blacks in the state as a whole, but the two percentages are quite close to one another.⁴ Not surprisingly, the table confirms empirically what has long been generally assumed. Except for Louisiana and South Carolina, southern whites tended to represent white-majority districts, a fact especially noticeable in Arkansas, North Carolina, and Virginia. In contrast, districts returning black or outside white delegates generally counted substantial majorities (over 60%) of freedmen among their electorates (an average of 62.4% among districts returning outside whites and 64.1% among those returning blacks). Indeed, the percentages of freedmen among voters in the home districts of black and/or outside white delegates rose above 70% in three instances: Louisiana outside whites (75.1%), South Carolina outside whites (70.7%), and Mississippi blacks (70.6%). Only in Texas did districts represented by outside whites or blacks have an average black constitu-

ency of less than half (45.9% among districts represented by outside whites) of all registered voters.

We turn now to an overview of data accumulated from manuscript census returns (and various other sources). We have obtained for the first time at least some biographical information on all the Black and Tan delegates, many of whom were obscure or even entirely unknown. In total, we located 839 (82.4% of the 1,018) of our sample in census returns, our major source of such information. Table 2.5 first breaks down the numbers of these delegates—southern whites, blacks, and outside whites—for each convention. Not surprisingly, we obtained the highest overall location rate for southern whites (534 of 574 delegates, or 93%), whom we searched for in both 1860 and 1870 census enumerations. We found significantly fewer black and outside white delegates (a bit over 70% in each instance), but for obvious reasons we sought them out systematically only in the 1870 returns. Table 2.6 thus also presents data for southern white delegates alone, denoting those located in either the 1860 or 1870 census or in both.⁵

Table 2.7 reveals remarkable consistency in the ages of convention delegates.⁶ Given the extraordinary casualty rates suffered by young southern white men during the war, it is hardly surprising that native white delegates—a number of whom were experienced politically and employed as lawyers or physicians—averaged 46 years of age and were the oldest delegate bloc in each convention.⁷ Ranging from an average age of nearly 43 in Arkansas to almost 49 in Mississippi, they were about 7 years senior to black delegates and about a decade older than outside whites. In all conventions, blacks constituted the second-oldest delegate group. Overall, they averaged slightly more than 38 years of age, with contingents ranging from a high average of 42 in Mississippi to a low average of 36 in South Carolina. Finally, although close to blacks in average age in both Carolinas, outside whites—frequently relatively young Union army veterans—averaged 35 years of age, ranging from an average just under 32 in Louisiana to an average slightly over 37 in North Carolina. Considering the somewhat bold and risky venture of pulling up roots and relocating to an often hostile social environment, it is not surprising that outside whites constituted the youngest delegate faction in the conventions. Among the conventions individually, delegates in Mississippi and North Carolina, with average ages of 45 years, were the oldest; South Carolina delegates, with an average age of just under 39, were the youngest, a fact explained in part by the presence of so few southern whites and so many blacks.

Although the caricature of “Negro incapacity” has long been taken as the uniquely typifying characteristic of the Black and Tan conventions, from an occupational perspective these bodies were hardly different from other contemporary conventions. As shown in table 2.8, some 36.9% of the Black and Tan delegates with known occupations were employed in professional pursuits, a figure virtually identical to that of the Oregon Constitutional Convention of 1857, where 36.7% were listed as professionals. Farmers, however, accounting for 33.4% of all delegates, were a bit less common in the Black and Tans than in Oregon, where they accounted

for almost half (45%) of delegates. Following professionals and agrarians, in rank order the delegates of known occupation at the Black and Tan conventions included 114 laborers (skilled and unskilled), 106 businessmen, and 58 government functionaries (local, state, federal, and judicial).⁸

Two-fifths of southern whites (221 of 553) were engaged in agriculture. Two points here are especially noteworthy. First, the percentage of farmers among southern white delegates (40%) is not only significantly larger than any other occupational category among native whites, it is also much larger than the corresponding percentage among either black or outside white delegates. Second, in contrast to outside white farmers, who tended (probably as a result of romantic illusions of status) to identify themselves as planters, virtually all the 221 native white delegates engaged in agricultural pursuits categorized themselves simply as farmers.⁹

The chapters on particular conventions that follow reveal southern white agricultural employment to have been most common among delegates in North Carolina, where two-thirds of native white delegates called themselves farmers (and although 2 of the 59 southern whites there were farm laborers, none were listed as “planters”). Agriculture was least prominent among southern whites in the Virginia, Louisiana, and South Carolina conventions, where under 30% of their number was engaged in farming. After farming, law was the most common profession among southern whites, accounting for approximately 18% of southern white delegates overall, with percentages in specific states ranging from a low of about 3% in North Carolina to a high of approximately a third of southern whites in Virginia (31.7%) and Louisiana (34.6%). Significant numbers of native whites (about 13%) were merchants and businessmen. These professions were most common among the South Carolina and Texas delegations, where they accounted for about one-fifth of all southern whites. Physicians (just over 11% overall) were prominent in Alabama and Mississippi. Although comprising only 5% of southern white delegates overall, skilled laborers were especially evident in Louisiana, accounting for slightly under a sixth (4 of 26) of that convention’s native whites. Finally, ministers were not numerous among native whites; none appeared within their ranks in either Louisiana or Florida, although they were more visible in Arkansas and Texas, where they made up about 6% of southern white delegates.

In contrast to the prominence of agricultural employments among southern whites, the ministry and skilled labor were the most common careers among the 238 black delegates whose occupations are known.¹⁰ Fifty-nine (25%) came to their conventions from pulpits. Ministers made up half or more of the black delegates in Mississippi, Georgia, and Arkansas, whereas they accounted for less than 10% of black delegates in Virginia and Louisiana. Although none of the 65 skilled laborers who were black appeared in either the Arkansas or Texas delegations, they were especially numerous in Virginia and the Carolinas.¹¹ After the ministry and skilled labor, farming was the third most frequent employment among black delegates, accounting for half of those at the Arkansas convention and over a third of those in Alabama. Significant numbers of blacks (22) came to the conventions from teaching, es-

pecially in South Carolina, which counted 11 teachers among its 72 black delegates. Whereas teachers were most common in South Carolina, 12 of the 17 blacks in all the conventions who were employed as merchants or businessmen were delegates to Louisiana's.¹² The prominence of ministers, skilled laborers, and teachers among the black delegations is hardly surprising. These were the fields where the greatest opportunities lay open to them. Teachers and ministers, especially, were far more likely to be literate, politically aware, and active in organizing the freedmen, at least initially, than were black farmers.

Professional occupations were the most common pursuits among outside whites. Almost 35% of the 147 with known occupations fell into this category. Agrarian employment was the second most common occupation of outside whites (accounting for 29% of their number), hardly surprising in view of the fact that land was cheap, newly pauperized southerners were eager to sell, and northerners had money worth considerably more than the paper it was printed on. As noted above, however, over half (23) of these agrarians identified themselves as "planters" (perhaps reflecting romantic notions about farming), a practice in marked contrast to that of the 221 southern white agriculturalists. In specific occupational categories (table 2.8), the practice of law was the second most common calling among both southern and outside whites (an identical 18% in each case). That was followed, however, by 13 federal employees among outside whites, a category especially prominent among those in Florida and North Carolina. Last of all, some 17 outside whites were engaged in mercantile or business activities.

Table 2.9 shows the median property holdings of the 755 delegates located in manuscript returns of the 1870 census. The wealthiest of these by far were seated in Texas, followed, at a considerable distance, by those in Virginia. Although this situation reflects the fact that each of these two conventions comprised large numbers of native whites, such a mix did not automatically translate into high delegate affluence. The Arkansas and North Carolina delegations, composed overwhelmingly of native whites, rank relatively low (sixth and seventh respectively) in overall delegate wealth, a consequence of the large number of nonaffluent delegates from the Ozarks and Appalachians.¹³ It is clear, though, that conventions with the largest percentages of blacks among their numbers placed lowest in overall delegate assets. Louisiana and South Carolina, the only conventions with black majorities, placed eighth and ninth in overall delegate assets, and the Florida convention, with the smallest median assets, counted the third-largest percentage of blacks among its delegates. The lack of affluence among Florida's delegates probably also reflects the postwar situation of a frontier state in which wartime neglect had contributed to significant economic decay.

Table 2.9 also shows the median 1870 property holdings (real, personal, and total) of southern whites, blacks, and outside whites at each convention. Southern whites comprised the wealthiest delegate bloc in six conventions and held total median assets ranging from a low of \$1,700 in South Carolina to a high of \$6,000 in Texas and Virginia. Outside whites,

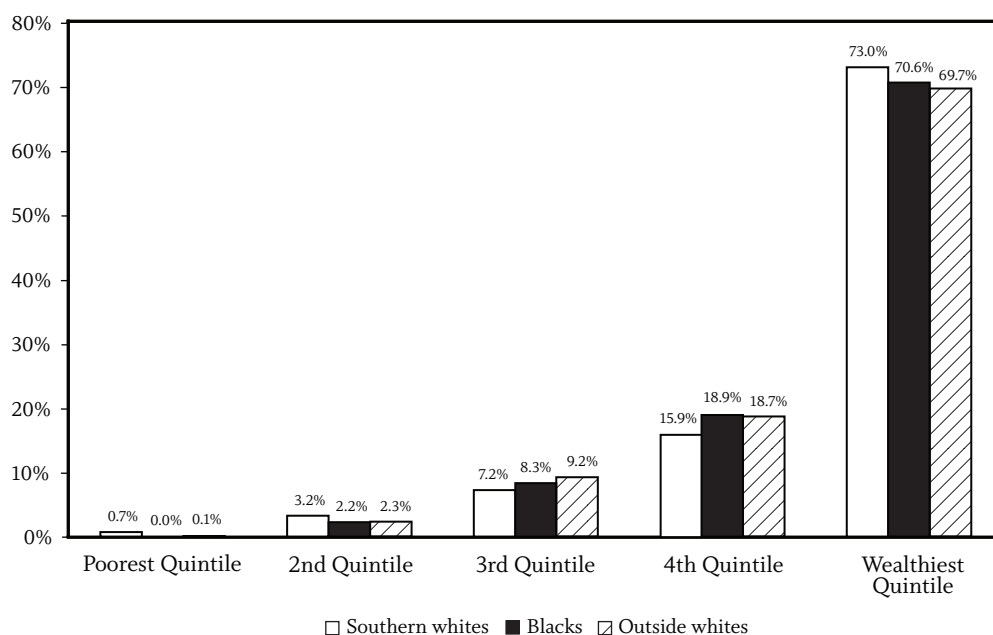


Figure 1. Percentage of total delegate wealth by quintiles

the wealthiest group in the other four conventions (Arkansas, Georgia, Louisiana, and South Carolina), recorded median assets ranging from \$800 in North Carolina to \$8,300 in Arkansas. With the single exception of North Carolina, where their total median wealth (\$900) was slightly greater than that of outside whites, blacks, with median assets ranging from \$0 in Alabama to \$1,500 in Louisiana, constituted the least prosperous delegate group in every convention. Overall, then, aggregate median property holdings for outside and native whites were relatively close (medians of \$4,000 for the former and \$3,180 for the latter), a fact that clearly challenges the stereotypical portrayal of the carpetbagger as a destitute vagabond. Although the overall median figure for black delegate assets was only \$700, substantially less than those of either of the other two delegate blocs, these data show that blacks possessed financial resources greater than those often attributed to them.

Figures 2.1 through 2.3, which portray the distribution of property among the delegates found in the census of 1870, demonstrate the remarkable similarity of asset distributions within the ranks of the 455 southern whites, 185 blacks, and 115 outside whites with ascertained property.¹⁴ Dividing these three delegate groups into quintiles, figure 1 reveals a striking likeness in the distribution of assets; the wealthiest fifth of each group held about 70% of that group's total wealth. Between groups, however, there was a remarkable economic disparity. Blacks, as one would suppose, were on the whole considerably poorer than either white con-

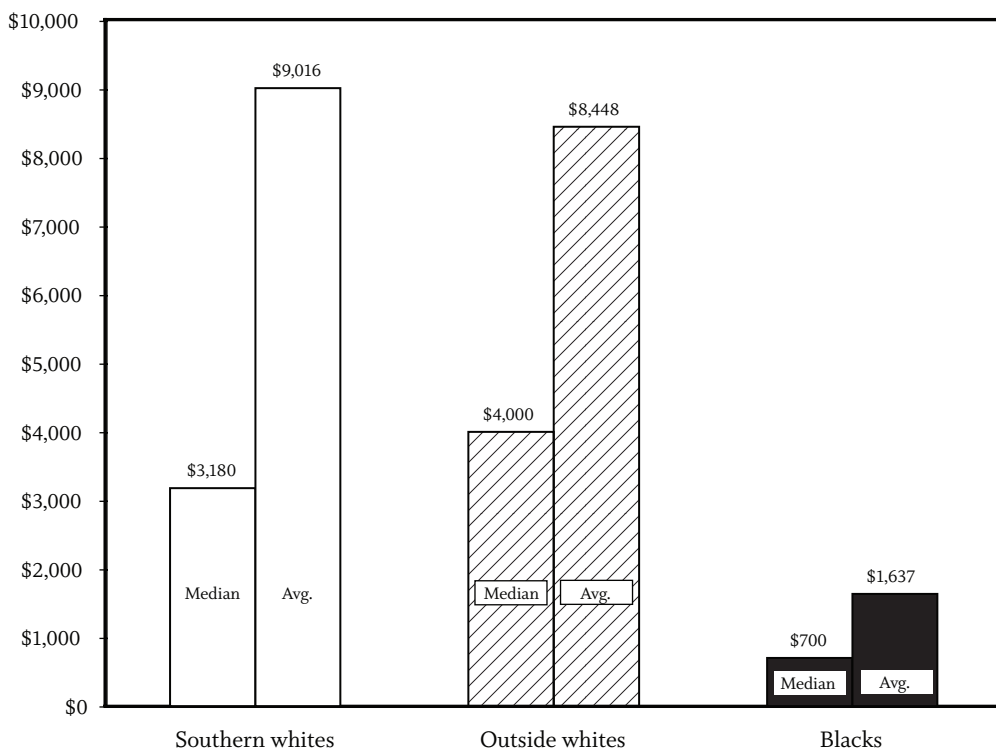


Figure 2. Average and median property values by delegate group

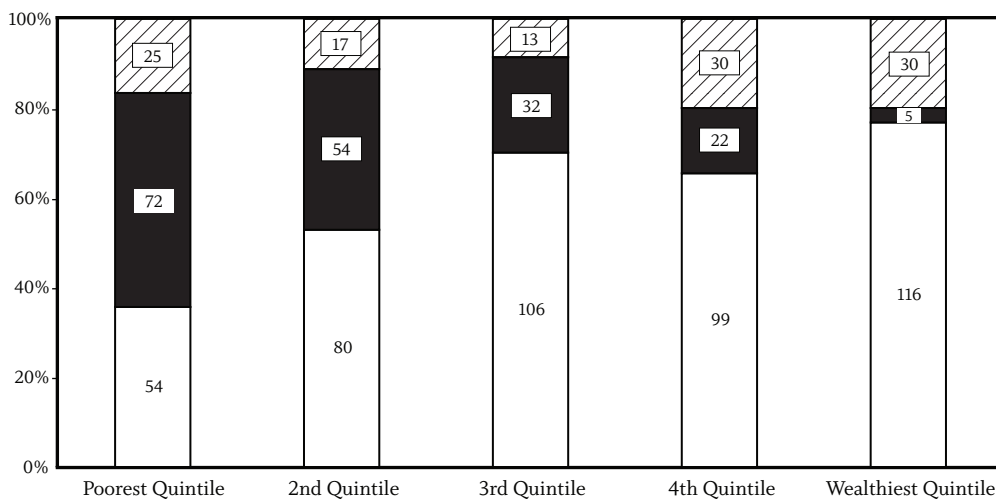


Figure 3. Number of delegates by group within each quintile

tingent. Their average property valuation, as illustrated in figure 2, was only about one-fifth that of the white groups. As figure 3 shows, the vast majority of southern whites appeared in the upper three quintiles of delegate wealth, while the vast majority of blacks (all but 27 of 185) occupied the lowest three. Outside whites, on the other hand, were fairly evenly distributed among the quintiles.

Table 2.10 offers detail on the prewar (1860) slaveholding of 445 (77.5%) of the 574 southern white delegates. Slightly over half (224 or 50.3%) whose slaveholdings are known had held bondsmen just prior to the war. Nearly two-thirds (145, or 64.7%) of the 224 delegates known to have owned slaves at that time possessed 10 or fewer, 44 (19.6%) held 11 to 20, and the remaining 35 (15.6%) owned more than 20. As seen in table 2.11, ex-slaveholders comprised a slight majority among southern whites in the Louisiana, Alabama, Georgia, Texas, and Mississippi conventions. Native whites divided evenly between slaveholders and nonslaveholders in Florida and South Carolina; former slaveholders were slightly less numerous than nonslaveholders in Virginia, and they made up less than 40% of the southern white delegates with ascertained prior slaveholdings in North Carolina and Arkansas.

According to census data, roughly a third of white families in the ten-state region of this study had owned slaves in 1860. It is clear, then, that slave ownership had been considerably more common among the native white delegates than among whites generally. That said, however, the holdings of most of these delegates were modest—even though 35 (16%) of the 224 known to have owned slaves in 1860 had held 20 or more. It appears that very few among the southern white delegates (no more than 10 or so) might be categorized accurately as poor; many of the 44 who had held neither property nor slaves were, in 1860, teenagers (living at home) or young men only getting started. These delegates thus came disproportionately from three socioeconomic groups within southern white society. The first two were those defined recently by Samuel C. Hyde—plain folk and “middling and larger farmers.” The third was professionals and merchants, the nonagrarian element among what F. N. Boney has categorized as the southern white bourgeoisie. Thus, while a third of the 102 delegates known to have owned one to five slaves were farmers, the majority, including 26 lawyers and 19 physicians, were not.¹⁵

While the bulk of southern white delegates, slaveholders and nonslaveholders alike, were generally drawn from among the yeoman, middling farmers, or elements of the bourgeoisie, black delegates, despite their relatively modest property holdings, clearly came disproportionately from the elites among their respective communities.¹⁶ As seen in table 2.12, about a third (89) were freeborn. Another 26 had gained their freedom prior to or during the war; less than half (98 of the 213 whose slave status is known) had remained in bondage until the war’s end. Persons of mixed race, who, by the way, made up only about 13% of the South’s black population overall, comprised a plurality of nonwhites in the conventions (117 mixed race, 106 blacks, and 45 of unknown racial heritage). While W. E. B. Du Bois estimated that only around 5% of the South’s black population was literate in 1860, census returns and other sources indi-

cate (as shown in table 2.13) that 206 of the black delegates could read and write and that only 27 could not.¹⁷

The literacy of these black delegates was clearly crucial to the rapid development of political awareness among their newly enfranchised black constituents. These delegates' ability to read and write allowed them to keep abreast of political issues, to be informed of pending political assemblies, and to alert illiterate freedmen of political matters generally. In this context, it is important to note that at least 35 black delegates had previously been involved in a variety of organizational efforts, another 22 had recent experience as Republican organizers and/or Union League officials, and 21 had been associated with the Freedmen's Bureau or with missionary associations. In addition, carpetbaggers were hardly the only Union veterans in the Black and Tan conventions; some 44 black delegates had also recently honed their leadership and organizational skills while wearing Union blue.¹⁸

Except in South Carolina generally, and in two regions of Louisiana, the total number of black delegates seated was not proportionate to their numbers among the electorates of their respective states. To a considerable degree, of course, this resulted from the fact that many of the 164 outside white delegates represented largely black constituencies. Over half of these recent arrivals (at least 89) had served in the Union army, and, as shown in table 2.14, many returned to the areas of Dixie with which their military experience had made them familiar: New Englanders were especially numerous in the Carolinas, natives of the Middle Atlantic region in Alabama and Virginia, and midwesterners in Arkansas. A sizeable majority (70) of these veterans had served as officers, some 11 even having reached the rank of general. In addition, 17 had commanded black troops, and 34 had been associated with the Freedmen's Bureau or with other federal agencies active in the postwar South. All but 6 of the 104 about whom such information is known arrived in the states in which they were to act as convention delegates prior to 1867—that is, before passage of the Reconstruction Acts opened up career possibilities in politics. Although often attracted at first to planting or mercantile activities, many soon migrated into urban areas, often to the capital cities of their respective adopted states, which offered both greater physical security and additional possibilities for furthering their emerging political callings.¹⁹

POLITICAL POWER

Turning from biographical detail on the delegates to analysis of their political power, southern whites, as would be expected, given their delegate numbers, served as presidents of a majority (six) of the conventions—Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Texas.²⁰ Outside whites, however, with only 16% of the 1,018 delegates, presided over the other five—Arkansas, each of the two in Florida, Mississippi, and Virginia—and blacks, although comprising some 26% of delegates overall, saw no convention president elevated from

among their ranks. As seen in table 2.15, there was a similar general distribution among the 201 standing committee chairmanships in the eleven conventions (counting two in Florida). Native whites presided over a proportionate number (108, or 54%) of these committees, ranging from a high of 95% (20 of 21) in Texas to a low of 35% (8 of 23) in the more radical of the two Florida conventions. Such proportionality relative to their overall delegate numbers was not at all evident among the other two delegate factions. Outside whites chaired well over a third (79, or 39.3%) of standing committees, while blacks chaired only 13 (about 6.5%). Even that minuscule number is misleading. Six of these 13 were secured in the more radical Florida convention, a body that framed a constitution eventually rejected by Congress, which, consequently, never went into effect. In addition, only 6 (3 in each convention) of the combined 25 standing committee chairmanships in South Carolina and Louisiana went to blacks, despite the fact that they were in the majority in those conventions.

Southern whites also enjoyed membership representation proportionate to their total numbers on the conventions' 201 standing committees. Of the 1,264 members of these committees, over half (726, or 57%) were southern whites. Their standing committee membership ranged from a high of more than three-quarters of standing committee seats in Texas and Georgia to a low of about a third in South Carolina and the two Florida conventions. In contrast to the consistent chairmanship and membership ratios seen among southern white delegates, outside whites, who presided over almost 40% of standing committees, accounted for only 20% of their members, a fact probably reflective of their relatively sparse numbers. The opposite was true of blacks. Although holding only 6% of chairmanships, they were much better represented as committee members, holding 22% of such positions overall. This proportion of committee memberships was almost exactly equal to their proportion of overall delegate numbers in every instance except in Georgia. There, a startling disproportion was apparent (which helps to explain some of the strange machinations unique to that convention): although accounting for 22.6% of delegates, blacks obtained only 6% of standing committee appointments.

Of course, not all standing committees were of equal importance, especially when large numbers of them (30 in the case of Arkansas) were created. To assess this crucial consideration, we examined the leadership of 66 key committees that addressed six issues of major importance in each convention: the legislative, executive, and judicial articles of their respective constitutions; their bills of rights; and their articles on education and suffrage.²¹ Here again, as seen in tables 2.16 and 2.17, consistency is striking. Southern whites chaired 36 (54.5%) of these panels, a total once again reflective of their overall delegate numbers. Notable here again for their relative absence in leadership positions were blacks, who presided over only 5 of these committees, while outside whites, who held the remaining 25 chairmanships, were considerably overrepresented.²² Close to half (28) of these 66 key committees, were presided over by lawyers, whereas only 8 were headed by farmers. Given their legal backgrounds, many

of these chairmen were temperamentally more inclined to advance programs of measured, incremental reform than to promote agendas that risked potential revolutionary social or economic upheaval.²³

In conclusion, this overview confirms many similarities among the Black and Tan conventions. In most cases, the new constitutions were framed by assemblies in which southern whites comprised the most affluent, numerous, and powerful delegate bloc. Blacks, generally literate, were elected in proportion to their numbers in the electorates of their respective states only in Louisiana and South Carolina. Once seated as delegates, African Americans secured few leadership positions but managed to hold committee memberships proportional to their numbers in every state except Georgia. In contrast, outside whites, although the smallest of the delegate blocs, were exceptionally influential, securing the presidencies of five conventions (including the two conventions in Florida) and the chairmanships of a disproportionately large number of standing committees. Finally, lawyers, whether southern or outside whites, chaired a disproportional number of the key committees in most of the conventions.

Despite such considerations, though, the conventions also demonstrated striking variety. While each was to produce a new constitution securing the fruits of Union Civil War victory as mandated by Congress, the context within which they accomplished this task was not to be shaped exclusively in Washington. Each Black and Tan state had its own history, geography, particular racial mix, and distinctive class and economic divisions. These factors, too, would shape the conventions, as would the South's recent tumultuous history, which had witnessed secession, war, defeat, and two presidential efforts at Reconstruction. These events—while common to the region as a whole—varied substantially in their effects from state to state, and these differences were to be of compelling importance in determining the course of each convention.

Each of the next five chapters pairs a set of conventions. Although widely separated geographically, both Virginia and Arkansas had undergone extensive wartime Reconstruction. In both states, delegate voting patterns were clearly defined, and Republicans remained securely in control in both. Although scalawags were more prominent in Alabama than in Mississippi, the delegate percentages of southern whites, outside whites, and blacks were virtually identical in both of those states' conventions. In addition, they were the only two conventions whose constitutions were fated to fail in the congressionally mandated ratification elections. In both the Georgia and North Carolina conventions, southern whites enjoyed comfortable majorities. In Atlanta, the convention was dominated by nondelegate Joseph E. Brown, whose commitment to Reconstruction was questionable; in Raleigh, the comparable eminence grise, William Holden, used his influence to establish the most impressive native white Republican coalition of the entire Reconstruction era. Blacks enjoyed delegate majorities only in Louisiana and South Carolina. These two conventions, however, were strikingly dissimilar despite the similarity of their composition. Delegate votes failed to scale in South Carolina, where no organized opposition emerged and where the few disputed votes were cast, in what seems an

almost random fashion. Such was not the case in Louisiana, where the African American majority was wealthier and more culturally distinct because of Afro-French (also called Creole) influences. Finally, the last of the five convention chapters chronicles the turbulent Florida and Texas assemblies, where Republicans splintered. In Tallahassee, that process produced two separate conventions and the expulsion of one president and the election of another; in Austin, although Edmund Davis managed to hold on as the presiding officer, he steadily lost support as proceedings there crawled along interminably.

Data Tables on Delegates and Leaders

TABLE 2.1. BREAKDOWN OF DELEGATES BY CONVENTION

<i>Convention</i>	<i>Originally elected</i>	<i>Replacements</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Absent</i>	<i>Not seated</i>	<i>Total participants</i>
Alabama	100	0	100	1	0	99
Arkansas	75	0	75	2	0	73
Florida	46	5	51	0	1	50
Georgia	169	0	169	5	0	164
Louisiana	98	1	99	2	0	97
Mississippi	100	0	100	4	0	96
North Carolina	120	4	124	2	0	122
South Carolina	124	0	124	3	0	121
Texas	90	4	94	1	1	92
Virginia	105	0	105	0	1	104
Total	1,027	14	1,041	20	3	1,018

TABLE 2.2. DELEGATE GROUPS (NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE)

<i>Convention</i>	<i>Southern whites</i>		<i>Blacks</i>		<i>Outside whites</i>		<i>Unclassified whites</i>	
	<i>No.</i>	<i>Pct.</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>Pct.</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>Pct.</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>Pct.</i>
Alabama	56	56.6	17	17.2	24	24.2	2	2.0
Arkansas	48	65.7	8	11.0	17	23.3	0	0.0
Florida	17	34.0	19	38.0	13	26.0	1	2.0
Georgia	114	69.5	37	22.6	12	7.3	1	0.6
Louisiana	31	32.0	50	51.5	14	14.4	2	2.1
Mississippi	54	56.3	17	17.7	21	21.9	4	4.1
North Carolina	90	73.7	14	11.5	18	14.8	0	0.0
South Carolina	34	28.1	72	59.5	15	12.4	0	0.0
Texas	70	76.1	10	10.9	10	10.9	2	2.2
Virginia	60	57.7	24	23.1	20	19.2	0	0.0
Total	574	—	268	—	164	—	12	—

Delegates and Leaders

TABLE 2.3. BLACK PARITY INDEX BY STATE,
FROM LOWEST TO HIGHEST

<i>State</i>	<i>BPI</i>
Texas	25
Alabama	27
North Carolina	29
Mississippi	29
Arkansas	32
Georgia	44
Virginia	49
Florida	68
Louisiana	78
South Carolina	92

TABLE 2.4. PERCENTAGE OF BLACKS AMONG ELECTORATES IN DISTRICTS RETURNING
SOUTHERN WHITE, BLACK, AND OUTSIDE WHITE DELEGATES

<i>Convention</i>	<i>Southern whites</i>	<i>Blacks</i>	<i>Outside whites</i>	<i>Overall</i>
Alabama	44.1	68.0	69.2	54.1
Arkansas	23.8	66.3	51.8	35.0
Florida	47.3	67.1	60.7	58.3
Georgia	44.4	61.4	65.0	49.9
Louisiana	63.4	65.6	75.1	66.3
Mississippi	49.1	70.6	69.6	58.3
North Carolina	35.2	60.8	53.7	40.9
South Carolina	55.2	63.4	70.7	62.0
Texas	43.6	59.6	45.9	45.6
Virginia	38.6	60.0	56.1	46.9
Overall	42.7	64.1	62.4	51.6

BLACKS, CARPETBAGGERS, AND SCALAWAGS

TABLE 2.5. TOTAL DELEGATES AND DELEGATES FOUND IN 1850–1880 CENSUS ROLLS

<i>Convention</i>	<i>Total delegates</i>	<i>Southern whites</i>	<i>Blacks</i>	<i>Outside whites</i>	<i>Total found</i>	<i>Pct. found</i>
Alabama	99	52	13	20	85	85.9
Arkansas	73	47	7	13	67	91.8
Florida	50	17	14	9	40	80.0
Georgia	164	109	22	7	138	84.1
Louisiana	97	21	34	10	65	67.0
Mississippi	96	49	12	14	75	78.1
North Carolina	122	88	10	8	106	86.9
South Carolina	121	29	56	14	99	81.8
Texas	92	63	4	5	72	78.3
Virginia	104	59	17	16	92	88.5
Total	1,018	534	189	116	839	
Pct. all states		93	71	70.7	82.4	

Note: One southern white delegate from Alabama was found *only* in the 1850 census. All other white delegates in these totals were found in the 1860 and/or 1870 census. All black delegates enumerated here were found in the census of 1870 except for three from Louisiana who were found in the 1860 census and one from South Carolina found in the 1880 census.

TABLE 2.6. SOUTHERN WHITE DELEGATES FOUND IN 1860 AND/OR 1870 CENSUS

<i>State</i>	<i>1860</i>	<i>1870</i>	<i>Both</i>	<i>Either</i>
Alabama	39	42	30	51
Arkansas	34	45	32	47
Florida	9	16	8	17
Georgia	95	86	72	109
Louisiana	17	16	12	21
Mississippi	41	40	32	49
North Carolina	79	82	73	88
South Carolina	24	23	18	29
Texas	48	55	40	63
Virginia	53	50	44	59
Total	439	455	361	533
Percent	76.5	79.3	62.9	93.0

Delegates and Leaders

TABLE 2.7. AVERAGE AGE OF DELEGATES BY CONVENTION, DELEGATE GROUP, AND OVERALL

State	Southern whites		Blacks		Outside whites		All delegates	
	Avg. age	No. age known	Avg. age	No. age known	Avg. age	No. age known	Avg. age	No. age known
Alabama	46.6	54	39.6	12	35.9	21	43.0	87
Arkansas	43.3	48	37.6	7	35.1	17	40.8	72
Florida	44.3	16	37.6	15	33.0	10	39.1	41
Georgia	45.1	111	40.2	29	34.8	8	43.6	148
Louisiana	46.0	21	37.8	37	31.5	11	39.3	69
Mississippi	48.9	48	42.3	12	35.6	17	45.0	77
North Carolina	47.0	88	37.7	11	37.2	12	45.0	111
South Carolina	44.6	31	36.7	67	36.2	14	38.9	112
Texas	46.2	67	40.3	8	32.0	6	44.6	81
Virginia	43.7	59	39.4	18	35.7	16	41.5	93
Overall/total	45.7	543	38.4	216	35.1	132	42.3	891

TABLE 2.8. KNOWN DELEGATE OCCUPATIONS

Occupation	Southern whites		Blacks		Outside whites		All delegates	
	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.
Farmer/planter	40.0	221	20.6	49	29.3	43	33.4	313
Merchant/business	13.0	72	7.1	17	11.6	17	11.3	106
Professional	36.2	200	39.9	95	34.7	51	36.9	346
Physician	11.2	62	0.8	2	4.8	7	7.6	71
Lawyer	17.9	99	2.1	5	18.4	27	14.0	131
Engineer	0.2	1	0.0	0	2.0	3	0.4	4
Educator	1.1	6	9.2	22	2.7	4	3.4	32
Minister	3.8	21	24.8	59	4.8	7	9.3	87
Dentist	0.2	1	0.4	1	0.0	0	0.2	2
Druggist	0.4	2	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.2	2
Newspaper editor	1.4	8	2.5	6	2.0	3	1.8	17
Government official	4.5	25	1.3	3	20.4	30	6.2	58
Local	1.3	7	0.8	2	7.5	11	2.1	20
State	0.2	1	0.4	1	0.7	1	0.3	3
Judicial ^a	1.8	10	0.0	0	3.4	5	1.6	15
Federal	1.3	7	0.0	0	8.8	13	2.1	20
Labor	6.1	34	31.1	74	4.1	6	12.2	114

BLACKS, CARPETBAGGERS, AND SCALAWAGS

TABLE 2.8. (continued)

Occupation	Southern whites		Blacks		Outside whites		All delegates	
	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.
Skilled	5.4	31	27.3	65	4.1	6	10.9	102
Unskilled	0.5	3	3.8	9	0.0	0	1.3	12
None	0.2	1	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.1	1
Total	—	553	—	238	—	147	—	938

^aIncludes judicial officials at all levels—federal, state, and local.

TABLE 2.9. MEDIAN PROPERTY BY STATE AND DELEGATE GROUP

	Real	Personal	Total	No. property known
All delegates	\$11,000	\$600	\$2,160	755
Southern whites	2,000	1,000	3,180	455
Blacks	500	200	700	185
Outside whites	1,300	1,000	4,000	115
Alabama	1,000	1,000	2,600	75
Southern whites	1,550	1,000	3,713	42
Blacks	0	0	0	13
Outside whites	1,050	1,370	3,500	20
Arkansas	1,200	500	2,025	65
Southern whites	1,000	500	1,917	45
Blacks	0	400	500	7
Outside whites	4,000	2,000	8,300	13
Florida	500	175	800	39
Southern whites	500	400	2,000	16
Blacks	200	0	250	14
Outside whites	0	200	1,000	9
Georgia	1,330	700	2,400	115
Southern whites	2,000	950	3,300	86
Blacks	200	200	750	22
Outside whites	0	800	5,000	7
Louisiana	800	500	2,000	57
Southern whites	2,000	1,250	3,750	16
Blacks ^a	800	200	1,500	31
Outside whites	0	2,725	6,000	10
Mississippi	1,500	842	2,372	65

Delegates and Leaders

TABLE 2.9. *(continued)*

	<i>Real</i>	<i>Personal</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>No. property known</i>
Southern whites	2,750	1,068	4,220	40
Blacks	400	175	675	12
Outside whites	0	600	1,000	13
North Carolina	1,015	530	1,820	100
Southern whites	1,200	800	2,150	82
Blacks	550	275	900	10
Outside whites	575	200	800	8
South Carolina	650	450	1,500	92
Southern whites	831	800	1,700	23
Blacks ^a	500	250	800	55
Outside whites	1,250	2,000	7,150	14
Texas	3,000	1,000	5,665	65
Southern whites	3,792	1,000	6,000	55
Blacks	250	50	550	4
Outside whites	5,000	2,000	5,500	5
Virginia	2,000	500	3,000	83
Southern whites	3,750	900	6,000	50
Blacks	146	200	350	17
Outside whites	2,250	500	3,000	16

^aIn chapter 6 (covering the Louisiana and South Carolina conventions, in which African Americans comprised delegate majorities), property holdings of these delegates are broken into subgroupings of black, mixed, and unknown delegates.

TABLE 2.10. KNOWN SLAVEHOLDINGS OF SOUTHERN WHITE DELEGATES

	<i>No slaves</i>	<i>1–10 slaves</i>	<i>11–20 slaves</i>	<i>>20 slaves</i>	<i>Total</i>
<i>Alabama (high holding 93)</i>					
Slaveholders	16	13	9	3	25
Slaves in category	0	51	142	165	358
<i>Arkansas (high holding 74)</i>					
Slaveholders	21	8	1	3	12
Slaves in category	0	21	19	163	203
<i>Florida (high holding 8)</i>					
Slaveholders	5	4	0	0	5 ^a
Slaves in category	0	20	0	0	20

BLACKS, CARPETBAGGERS, AND SCALAWAGS

TABLE 2.10. (continued)

	No slaves	1–10 slaves	11–20 slaves	>20 slaves	Total
<i>Georgia (high holding 110)</i>					
Slaveholders	40	32	17	8	57
Slaves in category	0	120	231	418	769
<i>Louisiana (high holding 27)</i>					
Slaveholders	7	6	3	1	10
Slaves in category	0	22	43	27	92
<i>Mississippi (high holding 102)</i>					
Slaveholders	20	12	0	9	21
Slaves in category	0	50	0	408	458
<i>North Carolina (high holding 112)</i>					
Slaveholders	49	21	5	5	31
Slaves in category	0	85	71	280	436
<i>South Carolina (high holding 84)</i>					
Slaveholders	12	9	1	2	12
Slaves in category	0	43	18	135	196
<i>Texas (high holding 104)</i>					
Slaveholders	24	22	2	3	27
Slaves in category	0	85	27	162	274
<i>Virginia (high holding 45)</i>					
Slaveholders	27	18	6	1	25
Slaves in category	0	61	87	45	193
<i>All states</i>					
Slaveholders	221	145	44	35	224
Slaves in category	0	558	638	1,803	2,999

^aPlus one delegate who had once held an unknown number of slaves in Virginia.

TABLE 2.11. DELEGATE SLAVEHOLDING STATISTICS

Convention	No. slaveholdings known	Percentage slaveholders	Avg. no. of slaves per holder	Median no. of slaves per holder	Standard deviation
Alabama	41	60.1	14.3	8.0	19.2
Arkansas	33	36.4	16.9	3.5	25.6
Florida	10	50.0	5.0	6.0	2.9
Georgia	97	58.8	13.5	8.0	20.6
Louisiana	17	58.8	9.2	6.0	8.3

Delegates and Leaders

TABLE 2.11. (*continued*)

<i>Convention</i>	<i>No. slaveholdings known</i>	<i>Percentage slaveholders</i>	<i>Avg. no. of slaves per holder</i>	<i>Median no. of slaves per holder</i>	<i>Standard deviation</i>
Mississippi	41	51.2	21.8	8.0	27.7
North Carolina	80	38.8	14.0	6.0	22.8
South Carolina	24	50.0	16.3	6.5	25.2
Texas	51	52.9	10.1	4.0	20.2
Virginia	52	48.1	7.7	4.0	9.4

TABLE 2.12. RACIAL HERITAGE AND PRIOR SLAVE STATUS OF NONWHITE DELEGATES

<i>Racial heritage</i>	<i>Ala.</i>	<i>Ark.</i>	<i>Fla.</i>	<i>Ga.</i>	<i>La.</i>	<i>Miss.</i>	<i>N.C.</i>	<i>S.C.</i>	<i>Tex.</i>	<i>Va.</i>	<i>Total</i>
<i>Slaves at end of Civil War</i>											
Black	7	3	4	3	3	1	2	18	5	3	49
Mixed	2	2	4	0	1	2	3	13	0	3	30
Unknown	2	0	0	3	2	1	2	3	3	3	19
Total	11	5	8	6	6	4	7	34	8	9	98
<i>Free before end of Civil War</i>											
Black	0	0	2	1	0	2	0	3	0	1	9
Mixed	2	1	0	2	1	1	1	4	0	4	16
Unknown	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Total	3	1	2	3	1	3	1	7	0	5	26
<i>Freeborn</i>											
Black	1	0	0	1	5	0	3	10	0	4	24
Mixed	2	2	4	2	22	2	2	20	2	4	62
Unknown	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	1	0	0	3
Total	3	2	4	3	29	2	5	31	2	8	89
<i>Status before end of Civil War unknown</i>											
Black	0	0	2	13	3	5	0	0	0	1	24
Mixed	0	0	0	4	3	1	0	0	0	0	8
Unknown	0	0	3	8	8	2	1	0	0	1	23
Total	0	0	5	25	14	8	1	0	0	2	55
<i>All nonwhite delegates</i>											
Black	8	3	8	18	11	8	5	31	5	9	106
Mixed	6	5	8	8	27	6	6	37	3	11	117
Unknown	3	0	3	11	12	3	3	4	2	4	45
Total	17	8	19	37	50	17	14	72	10	24	268

BLACKS, CARPETBAGGERS, AND SCALAWAGS

TABLE 2.13. LITERACY OF NONWHITE DELEGATES BY RACIAL HERITAGE

<i>Racial heritage</i>	<i>Ala.</i>	<i>Ark.</i>	<i>Fla.</i>	<i>Ga.</i>	<i>La.</i>	<i>Miss.</i>	<i>N.C.</i>	<i>S.C.</i>	<i>Tex.</i>	<i>Va.</i>	<i>Total</i>
Literate											
Black	5	2	7	11	10	6	5	27	4	8	85
Mixed	6	5	8	7	27	6	6	35	1	10	111
Unknown	0	0	0	3	1	0	1	2	2	1	10
Total	11	7	15	21	38	12	12	64	7	19	206
Illiterate											
Black	3	0	1	6	1	1	0	4	1	1	18
Mixed	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	1	4
Unknown	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	3	5
Total	3	0	1	8	1	1	0	5	3	5	27
Literacy unknown											
Black	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	3
Mixed	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
Unknown	3	0	3	7	11	3	2	2	0	0	31
Total	3	1	3	8	11	4	2	3	0	0	35

TABLE 2.14. NUMBER OF OUTSIDE WHITES FROM VARIOUS REGIONS

<i>Convention</i>	<i>New England</i>	<i>Middle Atlantic</i>	<i>Midwest</i>	<i>Border region</i>	<i>Foreign</i>	<i>Unknown</i>
Alabama	8	10	4	0	1	1
Arkansas	0	8	7	0	2	0
Florida	6	6	0	0	1	0
Georgia	6	1	2	3	0	0
Louisiana	6	2	1	0	4	1
Mississippi	3	6	5	1	3	3
North Carolina	9	2	2	0	0	5
South Carolina	10	2	0	1	2	0
Texas	0	4	3	1	0	2
Virginia	2	10	0	3	5	0
Total	50	51	24	9	18	12

Note: Delegates from U.S. regions were native to the following states: New England: Connecticut, Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, and Vermont; Middle Atlantic: New Jersey, New York, and Pennsylvania; Midwest: Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, and Ohio; border region: District of Columbia, Kentucky, and Maryland.

Delegates and Leaders

TABLE 2.15. GROUP PERCENTAGES OF STANDING COMMITTEE CHAIRS AND MEMBERS

<i>Convention</i>	<i>No. of committees</i>	<i>Standing committee chairs (%)</i>				<i>Standing committee members (%)</i>			
		<i>Sthrn. whites</i>	<i>Blacks</i>	<i>Outside whites</i>	<i>Unkwn. whites</i>	<i>Sthrn. whites</i>	<i>Blacks</i>	<i>Outside whites</i>	<i>Unkwn. whites</i>
Ala.	15	47	0	53	0	57	17	24	2
Ark.	30	37	3	60	0	51	11	38	0
Fla. (Rad.)	23	35	26	39	0	32	41	26	1
Fla. (Cons.)	21	43	0	57	0	35	35	29	1
Ga.	16	88	0	13	0	87	6	6	1
La.	14	50	21	29	0	42	42	15	1
Miss.	13	38	0	54	7	55	18	23	4
N.C.	14	57	0	43	0	74	11	15	1
S.C.	11	55	27	18	0	34	50	16	0
Tex.	21	95	0	5	0	78	8	11	2
Va.	23	57	0	43	0	57	24	19	0
Total/overall	201	54	6	39	1	57	22	20	1

TABLE 2.16. OCCUPATIONS OF KEY COMMITTEE CHAIRS

<i>Occupation</i>	<i>Southern whites</i>	<i>Blacks</i>	<i>Outside whites</i>
Lawyer	20	0	8
Physician	2	0	3
Minister	2	2	4
Civil engineer	0	0	1
Editor	1	0	0
Teacher	0	1	0
Planter	1	0	2
Farmer	3	0	1
Rancher	1	0	0
Businessman	2	0	1
Merchant	1	0	0
Bankruptcy registrar	1	0	1
Freedmen's Bureau official	0	0	1
Customs collector	1	0	0
Treasury agent	0	0	1
Surveyor public land	0	0	1
Postmaster	1	0	0

BLACKS, CARPETBAGGERS, AND SCALAWAGS

TABLE 2.16. (*continued*)

<i>Occupation</i>	<i>Southern whites</i>	<i>Blacks</i>	<i>Outside whites</i>
Barber	0	1	0
Carpenter	0	1	0
Total	36	5	24
Percentage	54.5%	7.6%	37.9%

Note: Key committees include executive, judicial, legislative, bill of rights, suffrage, and education.

TABLE 2.17. SOUTHERN WHITE, BLACK,
AND OUTSIDE WHITE MEMBERS OF KEY COMMITTEES

<i>Committee</i>	<i>Southern whites</i>		<i>Blacks</i>		<i>Outside whites</i>		<i>Total no.</i>
	<i>No.</i>	<i>Pct.</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>Pct.</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>Pct.</i>	
Legislative	43	58.9	17	23.3	13	17.8	73
Executive	48	64.0	16	21.3	11	14.7	75
Judicial	52	64.2	10	12.3	19	23.5	81
Suffrage	36	49.3	17	23.3	20	27.4	73
Bill of rights	41	56.9	24	33.3	7	9.7	72
Education	39	44.3	30	34.1	19	21.6	88
Total/overall %	259	56.1	114	24.7	89	19.3	462

3

VIRGINIA AND ARKANSAS

Victory from the Jaws of Defeat and Defeat from the Jaws of Victory

In this convention, we did not have a colored member who could off set a speech of any great length coming from the other side but we have invariably voted right on the proposition from which the arguments were drawn, independent of the many stages of amendments &c through which it may have had to pass.

—GEORGE TEAMOH, black delegate to the Virginia convention

He [conservative delegate John Bradley] appeals to the oracles of Divine truth, to show that he is sincere in his belief that the Africans are an inferior race, and not our equals. And I, while I shall record my vote [on the adoption of the new Arkansas constitution] in the affirmative, appeal to the Scripture, for the truth of my belief that God has created in one image all the nations of men.

—WALTER BRASHEAR, scalawag delegate to the Arkansas convention

OVERVIEW

Virginia's representatives gathered in the great hall of the House of Delegates in Richmond for their initial meeting on December 3, 1867. Their proceedings, largely because they took place in the former Confederate capital, received extensive press attention nationally for some four and a half months, until the delegates adjourned on April 17, 1868, after 103 days of actual sessions.¹ By contrast, Arkansas' delegates convened in relative anonymity and received little press attention, while completing their task much more expeditiously. Following their opening session in the hall of the House of Representatives in Little Rock, on January 7, 1868, about a month after the Virginians began, the Arkansas delegates finished their task in only 31 days. They adjourned on February 13, 1868, about a month before the Virginians.² On the surface these two conventions—one gathered in the administrative center of the former Confederacy and the other in the distant trans-Mississippi West—seem quite dissimilar. On closer examination, however, they shared much in common and are consequently paired in this chapter.

The Civil War had resulted in dramatically different demographic outcomes for these two states. In 1860, Arkansas' population (435,450) was only slightly more than a quarter that of Virginia (1,596,318). Blacks made up about a quarter (25.6%) of prewar Arkansans and about

a third (34.4%) of antebellum Virginians. The wartime creation of West Virginia, carved from the mountainous hinterlands where few slaves resided, changed these figures dramatically; by 1870, Arkansas' population was almost 40% that of recently divided Virginia. Virginia's population had declined by almost a quarter, while Arkansas' increased by about 10%. With the loss of Virginia's western, largely white counties in 1863, blacks accounted for a considerably larger proportion (41.9%) of Virginians, while their relative numbers in Arkansas had remained nearly constant.³ These factors were to be essential in determining the delegate composition of both conventions.

While there were clearly differences between Virginia and Arkansas, it is important to note similarities between the two states as well. Each was located in the Upper South, and each had seceded only after shots had been fired at Fort Sumter. Once war began, Virginia obviously witnessed a disproportionate share of the fighting; surprisingly, though, only three Confederate states saw a greater number of military engagements than Arkansas. Significant numbers of Unionists had also resided in both states, at least initially. After the creation of West Virginia, though, only scattered pockets of Union sentiment remained in the Old Dominion. In contrast, Unionist enclaves persisted in Arkansas, especially in the northern counties, throughout the war, and it is estimated that as many as a fifth of all Arkansans who experienced Civil War combat did so as Union soldiers.⁴ Federal authority, however, was established quickly in regions of both states regardless of the relative strengths of their Unionist sympathizers. From the beginning of the war, the Lincoln administration recognized Governor Francis Pickens' authority in Virginia, even though in practice he could at first exercise it only in the pro-Union mountain regions to the west and in Alexandria and its suburbs. The Union also secured the Portsmouth area early on, while later extending its authority into additional Virginia counties as northern armies advanced. Similarly, only a few short months after West Virginia had secured statehood, federal authorities occupied Little Rock. By January 1864, Governor Isaac Murphy's Unionist government had gained control of most of northern Arkansas.

As they assembled, there were obvious differences between the two conventions. Blacks were relatively numerous in Virginia; they were not nearly so conspicuous in Arkansas. In addition, while a slight majority of southern whites in Arkansas would vote as radicals, an even more substantial fraction of those in Virginia (60%) would vote as conservatives. In both conventions, though, Republicans remained solidly in control, losing only 1 of 34 scaled roll-calls in Arkansas and just 6 of 50 in Virginia. Despite this, however, Virginia and Arkansas were actually the most polarized of all the conventions, due largely to bitter divisions within their southern white delegations. Just one white southerner voted as a swing delegate in Virginia, as did only eight in Arkansas. In Little Rock, the overall Republican support scores (RSSs) among southern whites would range from an average of 4.53 for radicals to only .27 among conservatives; in Richmond this span was a similar—4.30 to .14. The difference between these figures—which was never above 4.0 (on a scale of 0 to 5) in any of the other conventions for which we were able to calculate such scores—was consequently an imposing 4.26 for Arkan-

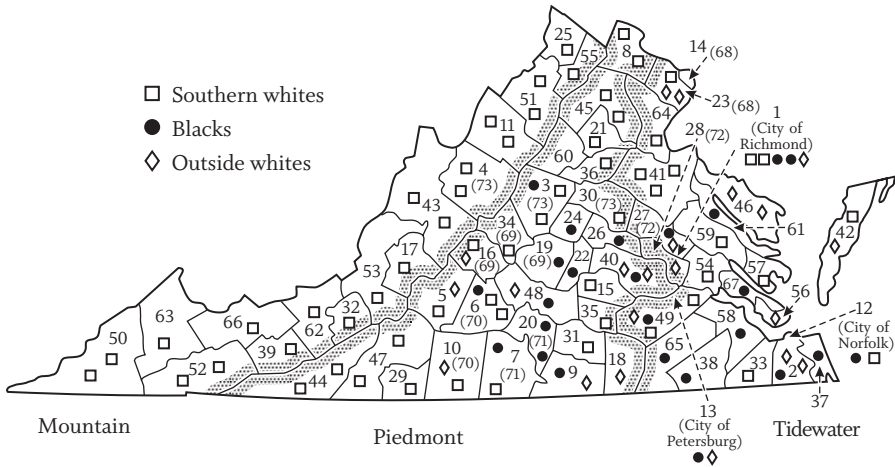
sas and 4.16 for Virginia. Such dramatic polarization has been the compelling consideration in our decision to pair these two conventions in this chapter.

INTRODUCTION

In March 1867, John Schofield assumed command of the First Military District, which consisted of the state of Virginia, and Edward Otho Cresap Ord did likewise in the Fourth Military District, which included the states of Arkansas and Mississippi. Enthusiastic Republicans in each state locally selected candidates to the congressionally mandated constitutional assemblies. Then in statewide conventions, in Richmond in mid-April and early August and in Little Rock in April, Republicans chose their leaders and wrote their party platforms.⁵ In contrast, stunned conservatives in both states failed to organize politically until December. The outcomes of the pending elections—those authorizing the conventions and selecting delegates—were consequently hardly in doubt, even though there were significant numbers of anticonvention votes cast in both states. On November 2, General Schofield announced the Virginia results. In contests that had begun on October 22 (and in which ballots replaced viva voce voting for the first time), voters approved a convention by a margin of more than five to three (107,342 to 61,887). On December 21, General Ord made public a similar outcome in Arkansas. In elections there starting on November 5, voters had endorsed a convention by a margin of about two to one (27,576 to 13,558).⁶

Proportionately, the mix of white delegates was quite similar in Virginia and Arkansas. Among all the conventions, they ranked fourth and fifth respectively in percentages of southern whites, each having native white majorities of close to 60%: 65.7% (48 of 73) in Arkansas and 57.7% (60 of 104) in Virginia.⁷ Both, too, had sizable outside white components. The 17 carpetbaggers (23.3% of total delegates) at the Arkansas convention placed it third among all the conventions in percentage of outside whites; Virginia, with 20 outside whites (19.2%), ranked fifth. In their proportions of black delegates, though, as shown in table 3.1, the two conventions were markedly different. Although underrepresented in each, African Americans, who comprised some 42% of Virginia's population, made up about a quarter (23.1%) of Virginia's delegates, placing the Virginia convention fourth in this respect among all the Black and Tan conventions. Although accounting for a quarter of Arkansas' population, blacks returned only eight delegates to the Little Rock assembly, placing it (with an 11% black membership) slightly ahead of only Texas.

As shown in table 3.2 and on the Virginia and Arkansas maps, southern white, black, and outside white constituencies were not distributed evenly among the three geographic regions within each state. Virginia's black and outside white delegates came exclusively from the Tidewater and Piedmont. Blacks were divided evenly between those two regions, and 60% of outside whites came from the former and 40% from the latter. Arkansas showed a similar pattern. A large majority of both black and outside white delegates (75% and about 71% respectively)



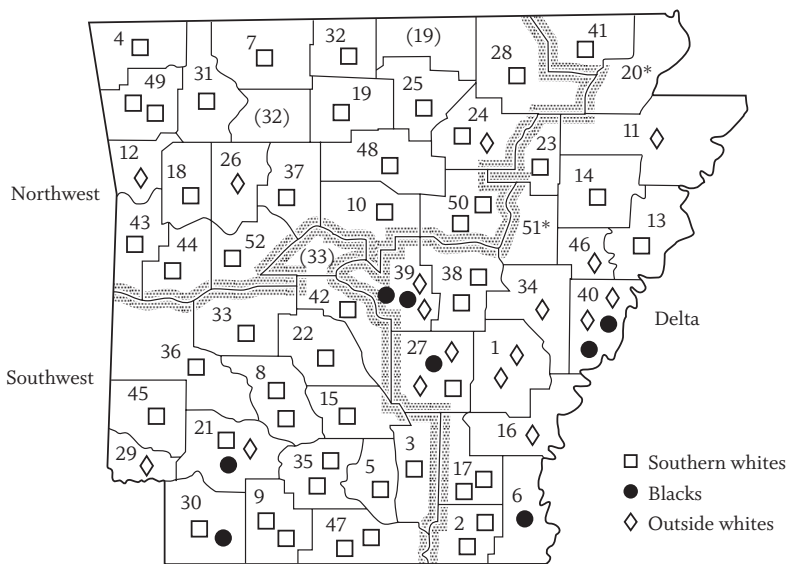
Virginia regions, districts, and delegate distribution

Alexandria and Fairfax counties, single districts (14 and 23, respectively), also form a combined district (68). Amherst, Buckingham, and Nelson counties, single districts (16, 19, and 34), also form a combined district (69). Campbell and Pittsylvania counties, single districts (6 and 10), also form a combined district (70). Charlotte and Halifax counties, single districts (20 and 7), also form a combined district (71). Henrico and Hanover counties, single districts (28 and 27), also form a combined district (72), encircling the district of the city of Richmond. District 2 is made up of Norfolk County and the city of Portsmouth and encircles the district of the city of Norfolk (12). District 49 is made up of Dinwiddie and Prince George counties and encircles the district of the city of Petersburg. The delegate from district 60 was absent.

were returned from the Delta region. On the other hand, 75% of southern white delegates in Virginia resided either in the Piedmont or Mountain regions, and only a quarter inhabited the Tidewater. Similarly, over three-quarters (about 77%) of Arkansas' southern whites hailed from Southwest or Northwest constituencies, while only about 23% called the Delta home.

Tables 3.3 and 3.4 show that, although the average ages of the Virginia and Arkansas delegates were quite similar, occupational patterns were not. Almost half of southern white delegates from Arkansas (46%) were farmers, whereas only a quarter of those from Virginia were. Lawyers, 19 of them, comprised the largest occupational group among Virginia's southern whites; the 11 southern white lawyers in Arkansas were only half as numerous as the farmers. Occupational patterns among the respective outside white contingents were the reverse of those of white natives. Lawyers constituted a plurality of outside whites (7 of 17) in Arkansas, whereas farming was the most common occupation among outside whites (6 of 18) in Virginia. Finally, laborers made up almost half of Virginia's black delegates, whereas four of the eight blacks in Arkansas were ministers.

Analysis of the distribution of delegate wealth in the two conventions (table 3.5) is instructive. With overall median delegate assets of \$3,000, Virginia placed second among all the conventions in general affluence (behind only Texas). In contrast, Arkansas' median of \$2,025 was sixth. This lower level of relative affluence, as compared with the Virginia delegates, was not,



Arkansas regions, districts, and delegate distribution

*Delegates representing districts 20 and 51 failed to attend the convention.

however, owing to a paucity of assets among Arkansas' blacks or outside whites. In fact, outside whites in Arkansas, with median total holdings of \$8,300, were wealthier than outside whites in any other convention. In Virginia, their median total assets of \$3,000 placed them seventh among outside white contingents in the conventions. Although the contrast here is not nearly as great, Arkansas' blacks were likewise more prosperous than those in Virginia. Their median total assets of \$500 placed them seventh among the black delegations; Virginia blacks, with median holdings of \$350, ranked eighth. Obviously, then, the striking disparity in overall affluence between the two conventions' delegates resulted almost entirely from substantial differences in the wealth of their of southern white contingents. While those in Virginia tied with Texas (\$6,000) for the wealthiest of all southern white delegate groups, those in Arkansas, with median holdings of \$1,917, ranked a distant ninth, bettering in terms of median affluence only those in South Carolina.

Given this variance in wealth, it is not surprising that more southern whites in Virginia than in Arkansas had owned slaves before the war. As seen in table 3.6, almost half (25 of 52) of southern white delegates in Virginia whose slaveholdings are known had held bondsmen in 1860, while only about a third (12 of 33) of those in Arkansas had done so. Interestingly, though, the average number of slaves held was more than twice as high in Arkansas (17) as in Virginia (8). This was owing in part to the disparately large holdings of the two men who had owned more slaves than any of their fellow southern whites in either convention: W. H. Pickett from Jackson County in the cotton-growing Delta region of Arkansas (74 slaves) and

William Owen (45 slaves) from the tobacco-growing region of Virginia adjacent to the North Carolina border. Significantly, there were four known slaveholders in each of Arkansas' three regions, but 70% of the 203 slaves they owned were held by delegates from the Delta. In Virginia, slaveholders were similarly almost equally divided (7 from the Tidewater and 9 each from the Piedmont and Mountain regions) among the state's three regions. About half of the 193 slaves known to have been owned by Virginia delegates were held by Piedmont representatives, but almost exactly half of those were owned by just one man: the aforementioned William Owen.⁸

Outside whites presided over both conventions. Virginia's delegates selected a New York-born abolitionist, John Underwood, who had moved to Fauquier County during the 1840s. Because of the unpopularity of his antislavery views, he was run out of the state in the 1850s. He returned during the war, when Abraham Lincoln appointed him judge of the District Court of Virginia. Thomas Bowen, the president of the Arkansas convention, was an Iowa attorney and former state legislator who had settled in Kansas during the late 1850s. A Douglas Democrat who became a Republican, he served throughout the war in the Union army, where he rose to the rank of brevet brigadier general. After presiding over the Arkansas convention, he would remain politically active, serving as a member of the Arkansas Supreme Court, as a territorial governor of Idaho, and as a state legislator and later United States senator for Colorado.⁹

On December 12, 1867, President Underwood began staffing his convention's 23 standing committees. Thirteen of them were chaired by southern whites and the remaining ten by outside whites, a proportion just over twice that of their representation among delegates in the convention. Outside whites did even better in Little Rock, where their chairmanships exceeded their delegate proportions by a factor of 2.5. Beginning with his appointments on January 9, 1868, President Bowen eventually gave almost two-thirds (18) of the 30 Arkansas standing committee chairmanships to outside whites; 1 went to a black and the remainder to southern whites. Interestingly, as shown in table 3.7, although excluding Virginia blacks from chairmanships, the former abolitionist Underwood offered them rank-and-file committee memberships fully proportionate to their delegate numbers, as he also did to both southern and outside whites. In Arkansas, by contrast, outside whites were overrepresented not only as chairs but also as members of standing committees.¹⁰

THE VIRGINIA CONVENTION

During their 103 days in session (they broke for Christmas and on several other occasions), the Virginia delegates cast 428 roll-call votes.¹¹ We have divided 50 of these into five scales—miscellaneous issues, economic issues, government structure issues, racial issues, and suffrage issues—which we have analyzed systematically in order to classify the members of the convention politically as radical, swing, or conservative on the basis of their overall RSSs.

Miscellaneous Issues

The first vote in the seven-vote miscellaneous issues scale occurred on December 4, 1867, and resulted in John Underwood's defeating Norval Wilson, a southern white from Frederick County, in the contest for the convention's presidency.¹² Three additional votes then decided several routine matters: reprimanding Frederick S. C. Hunter for calling fellow-delegate James Hunnicutt a liar, refusing to seat Fayette Mauzy as a delegate, and expelling Jacob Liggett for violation of convention rules. A fifth vote on March 13 (included here rather than in the suffrage scale because it did not deal directly with voting rights) thwarted an attempt to retain Virginia's traditional viva voce voting.

The two most interesting votes in this scale concerned a proposed invitation to Benjamin F. Butler, a former Union general, who by declaring runaway Virginia slaves "contraband of war" had not only prepared the way but made inevitable the abolition of slavery in the South, to speak to the convention. If his declaration on runaways was not sufficient to make him one of the most reviled figures in the former Confederacy, as military governor of New Orleans he had also mandated that a woman treating the occupying forces with discourtesy was to be dealt with as "a woman of the town plying her avocation." January 14 witnessed extended debate as to the conditions under which the former general, who was then a radical Republican congressman and an observer at the Virginia convention, was to be allowed to make his remarks. After heated discussion and over the vehement protest of the conservative opposition, Butler, who was later to lead the prosecution in the impeachment trial of President Andrew Johnson, delivered a surprisingly conciliatory address to the delegates.¹³ Contrary to the compromising tone of Butler's speech, though, conservatives then charged President Underwood with acting arbitrarily and improperly during the discussion of the conditions under which Butler had been summoned to speak. Their effort to have these charges ratified by the convention were, however, voted down on January 15.

Economic Issues

The initial vote in the seven-vote economic issues scale took place on December 13, when Eustace Gibson (a Giles County southern white and future West Virginia congressman) failed to table a petition from Daniel Norton (a mixed-race physician from York County) for a "homestead exemption" (protecting debtors from losing their homesteads to creditors). On January 18, 1868, Republicans lost a close vote when the convention rejected (due to fears of repudiation of a portion of Virginia's state debt) a call from Richard Ayer (outside white and future congressman from Richmond County) for a special committee to investigate means of debt relief.¹⁴ Ten days later delegates accepted section 3 of the report of the Committee on Finance and Taxation, which provided for both a state income tax and licensing fees. On February 17, the convention refused to table a requirement for a three-fifths voter approval of local im-

provement projects, and on the following day, delegates shelved a call for a special committee to ascertain how best to complete construction of the Chesapeake and Ohio Railroad. They then addressed two initiatives from James Clements, a southern white from Portsmouth who chaired the Committee on Finance and Taxation. On March 30, they referred to committee his proposal to suspend interest payments on the state debt, and on April 10, they accepted his report mandating that the next legislature establish the precise means by which a homeowner would establish a homestead exemption.¹⁵

Government Structure Issues

Two of the eight votes chosen for the government structure issues scale focused on national issues. On January 3, 1868, John Hawxhurst (a southern white from Alexandria County) successfully proposed a resolution calling for the continuation of the Freedmen's Bureau, and on March 4, the convention endorsed the impeachment of President Johnson. At the same time, delegates attended to state matters, adopting on January 27 a resolution authorizing the legislature to tax income. In addition, they dealt with the structure of Virginia's government in two other votes, giving Richmond and Henrico County eight seats in the House of Delegates and establishing a network of townships throughout the state. On April 13, the convention authorized a state militia, and on the following day it accepted an amendment from Charles Porter (an outside white and future congressman representing Chesterfield and Powhatan counties) that prohibited future constitutional amendments restricting suffrage. Three days later, the delegates finally endorsed their finished constitution in a vote of 51 to 26.¹⁶

Racial Issues

On January 4, 1868, in the first vote in the twelve-vote racial issues scale, Eustace Gibson attempted to undo a resolution from James Bland (a black from Prince Edward County) that had entitled black delegates to travel on first-class railcars. Ever a bulwark of the conservative faction, Gibson wanted it recorded that Bland's motion had merely been referred to committee instead of passed by the convention, but delegates voted him down.¹⁷ Concerns involving segregation in public transport arose once again on April 14, when Charles Porter succeeded in mandating that state railroad charters outlaw discrimination on all lines. A similar antidiscriminatory effort focused on the convention itself met a contrary fate on February 6, when Lewis Lindsey (a mixed-race delegate from the city of Richmond) witnessed the tabling of his resolution requiring that observers be admitted to the galleries without distinction as to race.¹⁸ In contrast, though, two later votes resulted in a return to a more antidiscriminatory policy. On March 7, Jacob Liggett, a southern white from Rockingham County (destined for expulsion from the convention that very day), failed to table discussion of James Bland's proposed addition to the bill of rights guaranteeing that certain basic rights would forever be accorded to adult male citizens. A week later, southern white William McLaughlin (a trustee of Washington College—soon to become Washington and Lee University) met a similar defeat, fail-

ing to strike down a section of the voter registration oath guaranteeing the civil and political equality of all men.

In early February, delegates also easily thwarted the tirelessly conservative Eustace Gibson's attempt to restrict the office of governor to whites. Then, beginning with three votes on March 27, they tackled the issue of race and the public schools. The first of these postponed discussion of a resolution from James French (a former Confederate colonel from Bland County) that would have mandated racially separate schools. The next two thwarted Eustace Gibson's efforts to maintain better public schools for whites than blacks by removing the word "uniform" from a directive implementing Virginia's public school system and by requiring that schools for whites be supported by poll taxes from whites and those for blacks be financed by poll taxes from blacks.

Several days later, on March 30, Edgar Allan (an outside white representing Prince Edward and Appomattox counties) moved successfully to table yet another of Gibson's bids to require separate schools. Then on April 7 Thomas Bayne introduced a resolution mandating that no child be ejected from a public school as a consequence of his or her race. This initiated heated exchanges until Joseph Holmes (a black delegate from Charlotte County) moved successfully on April 8 to terminate discussion.¹⁹ Charles Porter then introduced unsuccessfully a measure providing that public schools be open to "all persons and classes" and that "no one . . . be excluded for any cause which . . . [did] not apply equally to all persons and classes without distinction."²⁰ Following this outcome, the question of the racial mix of the public schools was dropped by the Republican delegates, who were more than willing to hold this volatile matter over for resolution by legislative action in the future.²¹

Suffrage Issues

Majority and minority reports presented on February 19 by the Committee on Elective Franchise and Qualification for Office sparked heated discussions, which continued through most of March.²² A number of delegates, led by Orrin Hine (an outside white of Fairfax County) and committee chairman James Hunnicutt (a southern white from the city of Richmond), were determined to disenfranchise numerous southern whites and to exclude various classes of former Confederates from public office. Conservatives opposed what they saw as a vindictive policy, and a number of national Republican leaders, including House Speaker Schuyler Colfax (soon to be vice president of the United States) and Congressman Elihu Washburne, also cautioned that excessive harshness risked political backlash in the North.²³

In the first of three votes on the suffrage issue scale on March 4, Jacob Liggett failed to pass a motion to mandate enfranchisement of all adult white males. Robert Scott (a Fauquier County resident who had served on George Pickett's staff) managed to limit the voting rights of transient blacks and outside whites by increasing the local residence requirement for voters from three to six months.²⁴ The franchise article's first section then passed.²⁵ March 6 also witnessed three related votes during a single day. An amendment of Edward Snead (a former Whig of

Accomac County), providing that voting for ratification of the state's secession ordinance (which had carried by a vote of 128,884 to 32,134) did not constitute rebellion, failed.²⁶ Hine then offered a substitute for the fourth clause of the first section of the franchise report, disenfranchising public officials who had formerly sworn fidelity to the federal constitution and subsequently supported the Confederacy. Immediately following his success in getting this motion passed, Hine then secured an additional fifth section to the franchise article, preventing Virginians who had held Confederate military rank above first lieutenant from voting.²⁷ Delegates then reconsidered several of these outcomes and modified them slightly in four additional votes on March 12, finally adopting (by a vote of 53–28) a franchise article crafted in a manner quite agreeable to Hine and his supporters.²⁸

On March 13, Hine sprang into action again, gaining approval of a requirement that voters take an oath swearing their support of the state constitution. The following day, William McLaughlin failed to exempt former Confederate militia officers from the constitution's disenfranchising provisions, and delegates endorsed the oath that was to be required of state officeholders. On March 24, they expanded that affirmation with a revision presented by Hine, this time applying the oath to local officials as well. Finally, however, Hine met defeat, failing on March 26 to disenfranchise those who had voted for candidates sympathetic to disunion in the February 4, 1861, election of delegates to the secession convention.²⁹ Even this outcome, however, failed to allay General Schofield's growing concerns. Several weeks later, on April 17, he entered the convention hall, addressed the assembled delegates, and informed them of his anxiety that excessive disenfranchisement and disqualifications for office might prove fatal to their constitution.³⁰

THE ARKANSAS CONVENTION

The Arkansas convention met a total of 31 days between January 7 and February 14, 1868, and 73 of the 75 delegates elected participated in the 71 roll-call votes that resulted in the new congressionally mandated Arkansas constitution. Of these votes, we have chosen 34 of special significance and apportioned them into five issue areas. Then we analyzed the results and correlated them statistically with geographical, financial, occupational, and demographic variables in order to provide a deeper understanding of the social and political dynamic of the Black and Tan phase of Arkansas' Reconstruction.

Miscellaneous Issues

Although generally not involving basic constitutional issues, the seven miscellaneous votes of the first scale for the Arkansas convention clearly reveal the strength of its Republican coalition. In the first of these votes, taken at the opening session on January 7, Thomas Bowen was easily chosen to preside over the convention; those opposed to his selection failed even to unite on a common alternative choice.³¹

Delegates then turned their attention to the disputed returns from Izard and Ashley counties, where the elections had been marred by allegations of fraud and violence. On January 10, the conservative faction of the convention, led by William Hicks, a southern white from Prairie County, failed to postpone consideration of the Izard controversy.³² Six days later, Gayle Kyle (a southern white from Dallas County) failed in an effort to seat two Ashley County delegates, and Joseph Brooks (an outside white of Phillips County) then got the whole matter of the disputed returns referred to the Committee on Elections.³³ John Sarber of Johnson County, the outside white chairman of that investigative committee, then reported that the three challenged delegates would keep their seats and that the convention was fully empowered to decide on the legitimacy of elections.³⁴

On January 18, delegates tabled an attempt to resubmit to committee James Hinds's proposal authorizing \$75,000 from the state treasury for meeting convention expenses. On January 24, they also endorsed a property tax to defray their expenditures. Funding matters thus having been resolved, the delegates turned their attention in mid-February to other matters, adopting a committee report extremely critical of the manner in which Arkansas' antebellum and wartime governments had managed the state penitentiary.³⁵

Suffrage Issues

The next area of interest, suffrage, first surfaced on January 13, when J. N. Cypert, a former Confederate major, called for submitting the 1864 constitution (which did not enfranchise the freedmen) to the voters for their approval. Four days later, Cypert's initiative was easily defeated.³⁶ Then on January 22, an effort to table a resolution disenfranchising several categories of southern whites, including persons who had treated "Union citizens or prisoners of war" cruelly, met a similar fate. At the same time, Robert Hatfield (a southern white from Franklin County) offered a resolution intended to disenfranchise all men engaged in rebellion; it avoided being tabled in a relatively close vote. Finally, on February 6, the struggle over definition of the franchise, by then a skirmish of several weeks' duration, came to a close. In the last of the four votes in the suffrage scale, delegates overwhelmingly rejected J. N. Cypert's minority report that would, if passed, have denied the vote to freedmen and given it to former Confederates.³⁷

Economic Issues

Railroad construction, key to Republican development plans in Arkansas and throughout the South, was the focus of the first two of the convention's five scaled economic votes. On January 17, Joseph Brooks successfully requested appointment of a committee to investigate the Little Rock and Fort Smith Railroad, a state-subsidized enterprise with roots going back into the early 1850s.³⁸ The company, which was also facing embarrassing accusations of fraud from lawyers representing the estate of Philip Pennywit (the railroad company's recently deceased treasurer), presented strong objections to such an inquiry. Nevertheless, the delegates

authorized an investigative committee, which then proceeded with an inquiry into the affairs of what outside white delegate John McClure referred to disdainfully as “a ‘one-horse’ railroad company.”³⁹ This investigation, however, was short lived because Republican delegates sensed that the railroad would shift from local (i.e., Democratic) to northern (i.e., Republican) control. After the convention adjourned, this is precisely what happened. The Republican majority of the newly elected General Assembly then awarded the railroad \$1,500,000 in state bonds.⁴⁰

Turning their attention from railroads to other matters in early February, delegates authorized a request to Congress that resident squatters at the Hot Spring reservation (established as a federal land reserve in 1832) be allowed to purchase their homesteads. Finally, on February 13, the convention adopted a report on state finances that lambasted Arkansas’ antebellum governments for squandering state money on “rioting, debauchery, plantations, slaves, and secession.”⁴¹

Government Structure Issues

The first and fourth of the eight scaled government structure votes were taken on January 18 and 21, respectively, with passage of an ordinance approving state funds to cover convention expenses by means of a property tax. While focused on such fiscal matters, delegates also rallied twice (on January 18 and 20) to thwart two initiatives by Samuel Matthews (a southern white of Drew County): the first to restrict delegates to debating matters related exclusively to framing the new constitution and the second to limit the state printer (a staunch Republican ally whom the party wanted to reward) to publishing materials relating only to the framing of the constitution. Delegates then proceeded in two votes on January 30 to authorize President Bowen to call them together again if necessary following their adjournment in case of unforeseen developments (as, for example, failure to procure ratification of the new constitution). Then, in early February, because of growing absences, James Hinds successfully reduced the convention’s quorum requirement from two-thirds to half. Finally, on February 11, delegates approved their new constitution by a vote of 46 to 20.⁴²

Racial Issues

Discussion of racial issues, grouped in a final ten-vote scale, began routinely on January 24 with the request for creation of a special committee to petition Congress for continuation of the Freedmen’s Bureau. Delegates authorized this committee and accepted its request for continuation on February 1, minus an amendment proposed by James Mason (a Chicot County black), who asked that Congress “instruct General [Oliver O.] Howard . . . to officer it with more honest and efficient men.”⁴³

A much more contentious debate erupted suddenly on January 29, when John Bradley (a former Confederate captain from Bradley County) demanded constitutional prohibition of

interracial marriages. William Grey, the convention's most articulate black, lashed out forcefully against such a proposal, and John McClure then moved, quickly but unsuccessfully, to refer Bradley's resolution to (curiously enough) the Committee on the Penitentiary.⁴⁴ The following day, a motion to direct Bradley's restrictive measure to the Committee on the Constitution (with instructions to report on January 31) also failed. With the obvious intent of squelching this potentially catastrophic debate, delegates then passed a proposal to get the miscegenation matter pigeonholed in the Committee on the Preamble and Bill of Rights (with no deadline for reporting back to the convention). For good measure, they also referred an ordinance directing that the General Assembly outlaw miscegenation to the Committee on Memorials and Ordinances. On February 5, the issue surfaced again when Samuel Matthews failed to secure a requirement that the convention direct the legislature to forbid interracial marriages. Joseph Corbell (a southern white from Sevier County) also failed in yet another effort to insert such a ban into the constitution. James Hinds finally terminated this weeklong imbroglio by gaining a recommendation (not a requirement, as Samuel Matthews had desired) that the next legislature prohibit interracial marriages.⁴⁵ Blacks and carpetbaggers voted unanimously in support of this resolution. On the surface of it, this seems strange, but it was a strategic rather than an ideological vote, the purpose being to get this issue off the floor and to proceed to other, less explosive matters.

ANALYSIS OF ROLL-CALL VOTING

Table 3.8 presents a summary of voting patterns within the five issue areas in the Virginia and Arkansas conventions. Republicans were stronger in Arkansas, where they lost only 1 of 34 votes while enjoying average winning margins of over 70% in divisions on suffrage, government structure, and miscellaneous matters. They garnered an average of 70.4% support for their positions, and their average strength was never below 65% within any issue scale. Although Republicans in Virginia controlled an average of 62.3% of votes overall, they did not achieve the level of dominance that their counterparts in Arkansas did. Majority coalition delegates in Richmond lost 6 of the 50 scaled votes, they failed to receive 70% support on any issue scale, and their backing in two of them (suffrage and economics) did not even reach 60%. Significantly, while Virginia Republicans enjoyed an overall comfortable majority of 64.0% on racial issues, the large standard deviation of 13.0% indicates a widely fluctuating margin of Republican victory. The highest standard deviation in Arkansas (13.1%) is less significant because it was the result of the diverse mix of issues included in that convention's miscellaneous scale.

Table 3.9 exhibits another way of measuring levels of Republican support in the two conventions. Here support was determined not by vote but by delegate. The median and mean figures shown in the table are the medians and means of the total proportion of Republican votes

cast by each delegate within each of the five issue areas and overall. It should be noted that (in contrast to the calculations of table 3.8) we have excluded the scores within each issue area of delegates who voted less than half the time on those issues. The numbers at the right of the chart represent the total number of delegates who voted sufficiently often (i.e., at least half the time) to be scaled in each issue area. The overall figures at the bottom of the table are simply the averages, medians, and standard deviations of the overall RSSs of the delegates who scaled on at least three issue areas. The total numbers of these scaled delegates are at the bottom of the two columns at the right of the table.

The basic patterns established by the general voting figures in table 3.8 are apparent once again in the delegate voting figures of table 3.9. The Republicans appeared to have had somewhat greater control of the Arkansas than of the Virginia convention, as is shown by their respective RSSs of 3.56 and 3.07. With respective standard deviations in RSSs of 1.78 and 2.13, the Virginia convention also seems to have experienced greater polarization than the Arkansas convention, although it should be noted that both displayed (according to these figures) an unusually high degree of divisiveness.

Table 3.10 presents statistics for both conventions on five issue scales. In Virginia, the alphas reveal a high degree of internal consistency (see appendix A for an explanation of alphas). The votes in particular scales there were strongly correlated with one another, with alphas ranging from .93 on economic issues to .99 on miscellaneous votes. In Arkansas, which was somewhat less polarized (with eight swing voters, as opposed to only one in Virginia), the measures of internal consistency (although still very high) were slightly lower. Alphas there measured from .90 on economics to .96 on both race and government structure.

Table 3.11 presents voting patterns on the five issue areas in each convention for southern whites, outside whites, and blacks. Virginia's southern white delegates, with scores ranging from a low of .33 on economic issues to a high of only .38 on government structure and on miscellaneous issues, remained remarkably consistent in their opposition to the Republican position in each area. Even though outside white support slumped a bit (to .73) on economic issues in Virginia, both black and outside white delegates (with RSSs of 4.81 and 4.29, respectively) consistently approved Republican initiatives by very substantial margins. In striking contrast to Virginia, southern whites in Arkansas endorsed the Republican position on all five issue scales, although not by impressive majorities. Not surprisingly, their lowest support (.50) appeared on racial votes and their highest (.67) on suffrage. Also in contrast to Virginia, where blacks were the most radical delegate group, outside whites in Arkansas were on average more radical. That average, however, is somewhat misleading because one of the only eight black delegates in Arkansas was markedly conservative on a single scale.

As shown in table 3.12, voting patterns in Virginia clearly reflected the geographical origins of delegates. Tidewater delegates, with an average RSS of 4.22, strongly approved Republican initiatives. Those from the Piedmont did likewise but with significantly less enthusiasm; their average RSS, at 3.15, was more than 1 point lower. Southern whites from the Mountain

region, however, recorded a minuscule combined RSS of only .45; they steadfastly voted overwhelmingly as conservatives in all issue areas.

Taken as a whole, the Arkansas convention was somewhat less sharply divided than Virginia's. Still, its Northwest region displayed a striking polarization, with all 14 radical delegates having RSSs at or above 4.13 and an average RSS of 4.77; the remaining delegates, 7 conservatives, all had RSSs at or below .14 and an average score of only .07. The region's radical delegates came mostly from the counties that lie along the Arkansas River.

The Delta, with its majority of outside white and black delegates, showed the most solid Republican leaning (average RSS 3.96). Twenty-one of its 25 delegates voted as radicals (average RSS, 4.55), and of the remaining 4, 1 was a swing voter and the other 3 were conservatives. As one would expect, all four of these were southern whites.

Nearly all (seven of eight), swing delegates in Arkansas came from the Southwest, a cotton-growing region with a relatively high black electorate. Most of their colleagues from that region (12 of 21) were radical, and only 2 were conservative. Southwest delegates (with an overall RSS of 3.46) ranked between the less radical northwesterners (average RSS 3.20) and the more radical Delta delegates (average RSS 3.96). The single issue that reveals the greatest degree of sectional contrast is that of suffrage, in which the Northwest (with an average score of .64) was significantly more conservative than either the Southwest or Delta (averages of .81 and .83, respectively).

Table 3.13 shows the regional voting patterns of the southern white delegates only. The voting behavior of Virginia's southern whites exhibits startling regional contrasts. The Mountain delegation, which was exclusively native white, had, of course, the same minuscule RSS shown in table 3.12 (i.e., .45). Southern whites from the Piedmont were still fairly conservative, with an average RSS of 1.88. Southern white delegates from the Tidewater, on the other hand, were quite radical. Their average RSS, at 3.39, was nearly 3 points above the Mountain delegates and more than 1.5 above those from the Piedmont.

In Arkansas, basically the opposite was the case. There, the overall radicalism of the Delta region (the Arkansas analogue of the Tidewater) was due overwhelmingly to the votes of carpetbaggers and blacks. By contrast, southern whites from the Delta region showed an average RSS of only 2.29 and were therefore clearly the most conservative single regional subgroup in that convention. In contrast to Piedmont and Mountain delegates in Virginia, southern whites from the two Arkansas regions with the fewest blacks firmly supported Republican policies, those from the Southwest showing an RSS of 3.12, and those from the Northwest one of 2.93.

The scatterplots that follow record the relationship between RSSs and the black voter percentages in delegates' home districts. The Virginia convention, with only one southern white swing voter, was very polarized. Some 19 southern whites, clustered in districts in which blacks were 30% or fewer of voters, appear along the very bottom of the chart as a consequence of their extremely low RSSs. These delegates were more than offset, however,

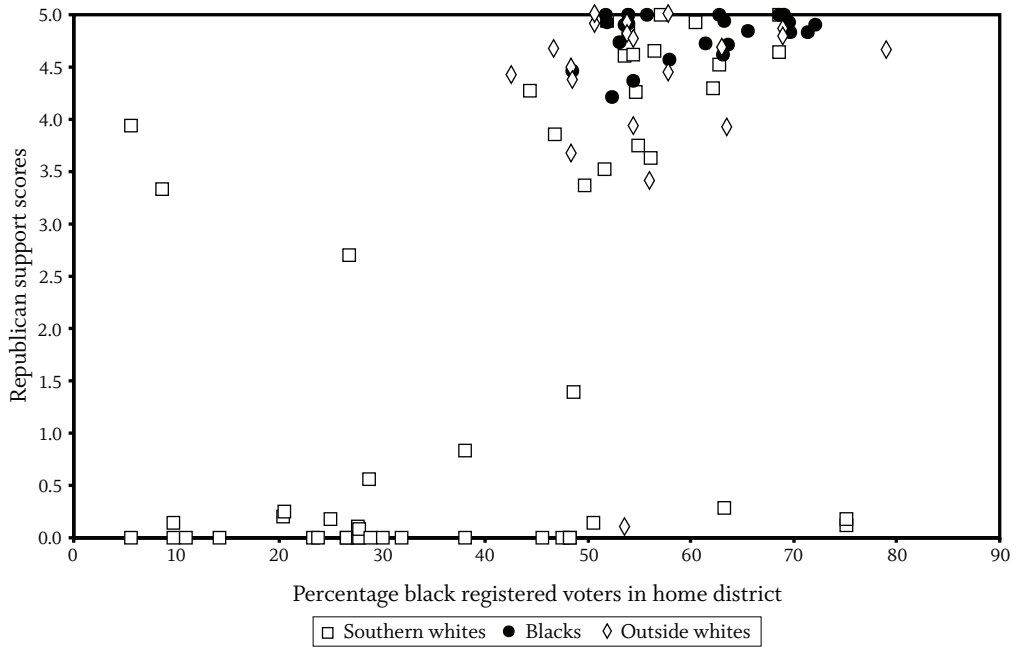
by the very high scores among a coalition of over 50 delegates—blacks, outside whites, and southern whites—who generally represented districts in which blacks comprised 50% to 80% of voters.

The pattern in Arkansas was quite different. There, districts with the lowest numbers of registered black voters (under 20%) returned the majority of both the most radical and the most conservative southern whites. This pattern, then, repeats the previously discussed polarization of the Northwestern region of the state. The eight swing voters, all southern whites, were returned from districts in which blacks made up 30% to 50% of the electorate, and all but one of them represented the Southwest. Only three southern whites were from districts in which blacks numbered above 50%. In contrast, the overwhelming majority of outside whites came from constituencies with electorates that were more than half black, and seven of the eight black delegates were from districts in which freedmen comprised over 60% of registered voters.

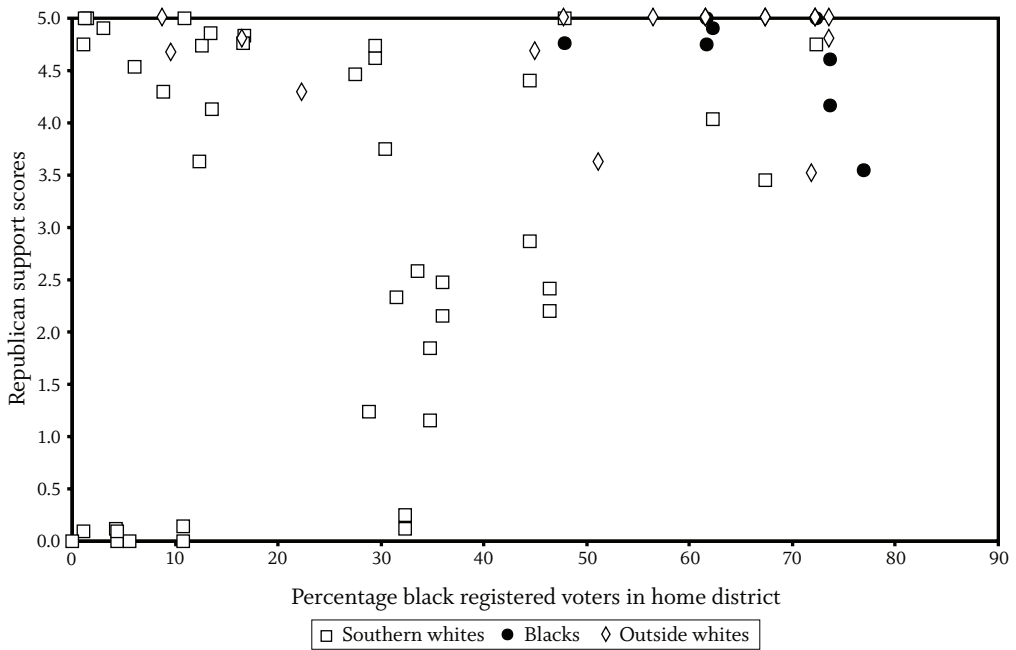
A clear relationship also existed between delegate wealth and Republican support. In table 3.14 we have divided the delegates into three roughly equal groups on the basis of affluence. In both conventions the least affluent one-third of the delegates were the most strongly Republican; those of medium affluence likewise voted Republican, but at notably lesser levels. The wealthiest delegates in Virginia, however, were markedly conservative, voting Republican only about a third of the time on scaled votes. In Arkansas, on the other hand, the more moderate RSS (3.08) of the most affluent group reflects the fact that wealthiest one-third of the delegates there were almost evenly divided between eight highly radical outside whites (with an average RSS of 4.78) and nine conservative southern whites (with an average RSS of 1.35), plus one affluent black (with an RSS of 3.55).

In the case of southern whites exclusively (table 3.15), delegates in Arkansas were decidedly more Republican than those in Virginia, where even the least affluent native whites (with an average RSS of 2.56) were far from radical and where the wealthiest one-third (with a minuscule average RSS of only .87) were strikingly conservative. As one might expect, the extreme polarization of the Virginia convention (with only one swing voter) was reflected in the voting of its southern whites. The least affluent third consisted of about 60% radicals, with an average RSS of 4.34, and about 40% conservatives, with an average RSS of only .18. The middle third was almost evenly divided, with 53% conservatives (averaging an abysmally low .06 RSS) and 47% radicals (averaging a lofty 4.40 RSS). The final and wealthiest group was dominated by conservatives (11 of 14 delegates, having an average RSS of .19). The other three delegates were divided between two radicals who were somewhat moderate (RSSs of 3.38 and 3.94) and the state's lone swing voter (RSS 2.70).

As already noted Arkansas' southern whites were far more radical than Virginia's. The two less affluent groups (with average RSSs of 3.70 and 3.09) contained all but two of the state's eight swing voters. The most affluent group was markedly more conservative (RSS 1.55), the consequence almost entirely of the fact that outside whites, many of whom were wealthy and



Scatterplot of Virginia delegates' RSSs and home district black voter constituencies



Scatterplot of Arkansas delegates' RSSs and home district black voter constituencies

radical, are not included in this sample. Even so, Arkansas' most wealthy southern whites were notably less conservative than those in Virginia.

Republicans enjoyed substantial majorities in both conventions. About 66% (63 of 96) of Virginia delegates with RSSs voted as radicals; about 70% (47 of 67) of the Arkansas delegates with RSSs did likewise. Table 3.16 shows a stunning geographical dichotomy in Virginia, where nearly 90% of the Tidewater delegates voted as radicals and nearly 90% of the Mountain delegates voted as conservatives. Among Piedmont delegates, a little more than two-thirds voted as radicals and a little less than one-third voted as conservatives.

The Arkansas convention was less starkly contrasted by region, with radicals varying in proportion among the delegations from 57% of the Southwest delegates to 84% of those from the Delta. As noted before, seven of the state's eight swing voters came from the Southwest, and Northwest delegates were the most sharply divided, with two-thirds of the latter voting as radicals and one-third as conservatives.

Table 3.17 confirms the general observations that have already been made about the Virginia and Arkansas conventions. In Virginia 95% of the southern white radicals came from the Tidewater and the Piedmont, and Arkansas' Delta region supplied the smallest proportion of southern white radicals (14%). The Northwest Ozarks area (comparable to Virginia's Mountain region) supplied fully half (11 of 22) of the state's southern white radicals.⁴⁶

Table 3.18 shows the percentage of radical, conservative, and swing southern whites belonging to each of the listed professions. Over half (55%) of Virginia's native white radicals were farmers or merchants, and another 20% were skilled laborers. In Arkansas fully 41% of the group of radical southern whites listed their profession as farmers. Interestingly, farmers counted for a third and a fourth, respectively, of Arkansas and Virginia conservatives, but lawyers accounted for a plurality (42%) of conservatives in both conventions. Five of eight swing voters in Arkansas and the sole swing voter in Virginia were farmers.

Table 3.19 depicts the percentage of delegates in each profession belonging to the three political groups that we have determined from RSSs—radical, swing, and conservative. In most cases, the number of persons listed under any single profession was too small to be statistically significant, but not in the case of farmers and lawyers, numbering, respectively, 14 and 15 in Virginia and 18 and 9 in Arkansas. Farmers in Virginia were about evenly divided, about half radical and half conservative. In Arkansas exactly half the farmers were radical, and the other half divided almost equally between swing and conservative delegates. Quite strikingly, the median property value of Virginia's conservative southern white farmers (\$12,745) was over two and one-half times that of its radical southern white farmers (\$4,800). In Arkansas conservative and swing native white farmers had a combined median wealth of \$2,025, over one and a half times that of radical white farmers (\$1,100).

Table 3.20 analyzes the voting patterns in each convention of three southern white delegate groups that we have divided by age in such a way as to make the numbers in each group come out as evenly as possible. Our data show that only 10% of Virginia's radical southern

white delegates were from among the third who were younger than 39; more than half (55%) belonged to the third who were older than 48. A plurality of young native white delegates in the Arkansas convention were conservative. The older delegates in Virginia and the delegates of the middle age group in Arkansas were the most radical. Those two groups also had lower median property valuations than the other age groups in their respective conventions.⁴⁷ In both conventions, as seen in table 3.21, a plurality of radical southern whites (47% in Virginia and 50% in Arkansas) appeared in the low affluence category. In contrast, a plurality (44%) of Virginia conservatives and a majority (58%) of those in Arkansas were among the most prosperous members of their respective conventions.

RATIFICATION: ARKANSAS ROUTINE, VIRGINIA CONVOLUTED

After the Arkansas convention adjourned on February 14, the constitution its delegates had drafted was quickly ratified. Conservatives held a convention in Little Rock on January 27 and opted against nominating candidates for statewide offices, focusing instead on defeating the constitution, which they contended would subject the state to “Negro rule.”⁴⁸ Powell Clayton, selected as the Republican gubernatorial candidate at a convention in Little Rock on January 15, countered these alarmist forebodings by emphasizing the constitution’s progressive features—enfranchisement of the freedmen, state support of public education, and the creation of a strong executive. The referendum, which began on March 13, 1868, proved successful largely because of Clayton’s proconstitutional campaign and the Republican party platform, which espoused funding of much-needed infrastructural improvements. Although the vote on the constitution was uncomfortably close (27,913 to 26,597), it was ratified; Clayton easily won the governor’s office, and Republicans rolled up sizable majorities in both houses of the legislature. Several months later, in early July, their triumphant supporters gathered at the capitol to listen raptly to Clayton’s inaugural remarks, after which he and ex-governor Isaac Murphy took a tour of the dilapidated executive mansion and toasted one another’s health with a jug of “mountain dew.”⁴⁹

Restoration of civilian government proved much more complex in Virginia. Although they selected Robert Withers as their gubernatorial candidate on May 7 at a Richmond convention, conservatives would have actually preferred a continuation of military rule to what they presumed would be a victory of their radical opponents.⁵⁰ Republicans, resolved to govern on their own without federal troops, gathered in their Richmond convention on May 6. There, they selected Henry Wells (an outside white Union veteran who had helped hunt down John Wilkes Booth) as their gubernatorial candidate and organized for a ratification election, which they assumed would occur in early June. To their chagrin, though, General Schofield, who remained convinced that the constitution’s test oath and disenfranchisement provisions were so restrictive as to thwart establishment of a viable government in postoccupation Virginia, simply refused to authorize a vote. Despite Republican appeals for congressional intervention

to override what they believed to be obstructionism on Schofield's part, the means by which Virginia's constitution was to be validated remained in limbo.⁵¹

A letter signed "Sene," appearing Christmas Day in several Richmond newspapers, finally charted a possible course through this impasse.⁵² The author of this letter, former Whig congressman Alexander H. H. Stuart, a native Virginian and former United States secretary of the interior, suggested that conservatives abandon their opposition to enfranchisement of the freedmen in return for removal of the political disabilities the constitution imposed upon southern whites. At the beginning of the new year, Stuart brought together a committee of nine eminent Virginians who shared his views, and the "Committee of Nine" met in Washington on January 9, first with congressional leaders and later with President Grant. Following these meetings, a bill authorizing a ratification election, with separate plebiscites on the constitution's two most controversial sections, made its way through Congress. On May 14, the president scheduled the election for July 6, 1869, and authorized individual votes on both the test oath and disenfranchisement provisions of the new constitution.⁵³

Grant's announcement found Virginia's Democrats and Republicans both divided. Although Wells had been once again nominated as the Republican standard-bearer at a convention in Petersburg on March 9, "True Republicans" (as they labeled themselves), believing Wells too radical, then announced their support of Gilbert Walker, a native New Yorker who had moved from Chicago to Norfolk in 1865. Conservatives not wanting to split their vote, an action that would assure a radical victory, switched their support from Withers to the "True Republican" candidate, Walker. This action represented the initial (and most successful) "New Departure" on the part of southern Democrats—an attempt to convince northerners that their return to power would not mean simply a return the South's old order.⁵⁴

Walker, who endorsed the constitution (expunged of its controversial provisos), defeated Republican Wells, who had been a champion of the unexpunged constitution, by a margin of 119,535 to 101,204. The constitution was ratified overwhelmingly (210,585 to 9,136), without its test oath or disenfranchisement provisions. These items were defeated 124,715 to 83,458 and 124,360 to 84,410, respectively. Walker, who assumed office in late September, then called the legislature, which had Democratic majorities in both houses, into special session in early October, and Virginia was officially restored to the Union on January 26, 1870. Democrats, then, not Republicans, ruled the state under its purged Black and Tan constitution. Since they controlled the state, they did not need to alter the 1869 constitution, which remained in force for a third of a century, until finally replaced in 1902.⁵⁵ The Virginia constitution thereby holds the distinction of being the longest lived of the ten Black and Tan constitutions.

These two conventions, then, had clearly established the parameters for the outcome of Reconstruction in their respective states. In Virginia, where delegates were extremely polarized, a radical coalition of black and outside white delegates (with support of some native whites as well) had its way, drafting a proscriptive constitution over the fierce opposition of an outspoken conservative minority, at the core of which were 18 southern white delegates who

failed to cast even a single Republican vote in scaled divisions and who, with 15 others, protested against specific provisions of the new constitution once it was drafted.⁵⁶ These conservatives forged a potent opposition even while the convention was in session; their cause was strengthened immeasurably by the political skills of Alexander Stuart and by the actions of General Schofield, who believed conservative and moderate support essential to governance once civilian rule was reestablished in Virginia. Conservatives were consequently able to campaign effectively both in Washington and in Virginia for the removal of the provisions restricting the voting and office-holding privileges of former Confederates. Securing the ratification of the constitution without those provisions, they took control of the governor's office and both houses of the legislature in the June 1869 elections. Ironically, then, the radical Orrin Hine, who had vanquished his opposition in the convention, unwittingly created a reactionary backlash that buried Republican aspirations and ambitions and delivered Virginia early on to the emerging Democratic citadel of the "Solid South."

Initially, things had gone much more smoothly for the Republicans in Arkansas, even though some 15 southern white delegates there had also formally protested certain provisions of the new constitution, which was ratified quickly and intact (although in a surprisingly close vote). The party then took control of the governorship and both houses of the legislature, and for several years Republicans were successful in maintaining much of the unity they had enjoyed during the convention. However, in 1871 Governor Powell Clayton went to the United States Senate and before leaving Little Rock stealthily maneuvered to prevent James Johnson, the state's scalawag lieutenant governor and intraparty rival, from replacing him in the executive office. These byzantine machinations fractured Arkansas Republicans' solidarity. The outcome was a bitterly contested 1872 gubernatorial election between Elisha Baxter, a scalawag endorsed by Clayton, and Joseph Brooks, a carpetbagger and former convention leader who had become a self-styled "reform" critic of Clayton.⁵⁷ Although Baxter probably won the fraud-ridden vote, Brooks challenged the result and with the help of a friendly circuit court was finally declared governor in April of 1874. He briefly occupied the governor's mansion, but the dispute over which man had rightly been elected continued and became what would come to be known as the "Brooks-Baxter War."

The issue was finally settled only when President Grant declared for Baxter in May 1874. Baxter, who by then had successfully cultivated Democratic support during his struggles with the now-deposed Brooks, endorsed the calling of a new constitutional convention, which assembled on July 14, 1874. In the subsequent October 13 ratification referendum, which was boycotted by Republicans, voters endorsed the new constitution. At the same time, Democrat Augustus H. Garland (who ran unopposed) was elected governor, and Democratic majorities were returned to both houses of the legislature.

By the early to mid-1870s, then, Reconstruction had run its course in both Virginia and Arkansas. Although they had lost on most of the roll-call votes in the Virginia convention, resolute conservatives in the Old Dominion then managed to snatch victory from the jaws

of defeat. In the ratification referendum of June 1869, they were victorious, thwarting Reconstruction almost before it had begun by stripping the new state constitution of several of what they regarded as its most objectionable features, securing the election of an acceptable gubernatorial candidate, and gaining control of both houses of the General Assembly. In Arkansas, by contrast, political fortunes had appeared initially to be quite different. There, in the ratification contests in March of 1868, Republicans saw their new constitution adopted as written; at the same time, they also secured control of both houses of the General Assembly and elected Powell Clayton governor. Soon after these triumphs, however, they found themselves hopelessly factionalized. By March of 1871, as Clayton left Little Rock for Washington to claim his newly won seat in the United States Senate, they were crippled by internal divisions. In Arkansas, then, Republicans were already well on the way toward snatching defeat from the jaws of their recent victories.

SUMMARY

There have long existed two variant fables of the Black and Tan conventions. The first and most lurid—the Louisiana and South Carolina stereotype—is that of radical black delegate majorities running roughshod over their hapless opposition. The second—only slightly less lurid and the stereotype of the other conventions—is that of assorted radical coalitions (carpetbagger and scalawag leaders and their black minions) doing much the same. Without the pejoratives traditionally associated with it, the Virginia and Arkansas conventions represent this second pattern. Although blacks were more numerous in Virginia, nonaligned delegates were few and carpetbaggers were many in both conventions.

Overall, southern white delegates in Virginia were much more affluent than were those in Arkansas; whatever their economic standing, though, in both conventions, the political divide between radical and conservative southern whites was especially noteworthy. On an RSS scale ranging from 0 to 5, this gulf amounted to 4.16 in Virginia and to 4.26 in Arkansas, the only instances among the eight conventions for which such scales have been created in which this figure exceeded 4.0. In Virginia, this vast chasm separated from their radical associates a core of over 30 solidly conservative delegates, a number of whom were instrumental in the chain of events that resulted in the modification of the new constitution and the ending of both military rule and Republican control in the Old Dominion. Meanwhile, in Arkansas, as Governor Clayton left Little Rock for the United States Senate in 1871, it was scalawag-carpetbagger dissension, the Achilles' heel of the Republicans throughout so much of the South, that destroyed the coalition that had so thoroughly dominated that state's Black and Tan convention.

Data Tables for the Virginia and Arkansas Conventions

TABLE 3.1. PERCENTAGE OF ELECTORATE BLACK AND NUMBER OF
BLACK DELEGATES BY REGION

<i>Region</i>	<i>Blacks in region (%)</i>	<i>No. of black delegates expected^a</i>	<i>Actual no. of black delegates</i>
<i>Virginia</i>			
Tidewater	55	21	12
Piedmont	53	23	12
Mountain	20	4	0
Total	—	48	24
<i>Arkansas</i>			
Northwest	8	2	0
Southwest	35	8	2
Delta	55	16	6
Total	—	26	8

^aBased on percentage of blacks in electorate.

TABLE 3.2. PERCENTAGE OF DELEGATE GROUPS FROM EACH REGION

<i>Region</i>	<i>Southern whites</i>	<i>Blacks</i>	<i>Outside whites</i>	<i>Overall</i>
<i>Virginia</i>				
Tidewater (%)	25.0	50.0	60.0	37.5
Piedmont (%)	40.0	50.0	40.0	42.3
Mountain (%)	35.0	0.0	0.0	20.2
Total no.	60	24	20	104
<i>Arkansas</i>				
Northwest (%)	39.6	0.0	17.6	30.1
Southwest (%)	37.5	25.0	11.8	30.1
Delta (%)	22.9	75.0	70.6	39.7
Total no.	48	8	17	73

BLACKS, CARPETBAGGERS, AND SCALAWAGS

TABLE 3.3. AVERAGE AND MEDIAN AGE BY DELEGATE GROUP

	Average		Median		Number	
	Va.	Ark.	Va.	Ark.	Va.	Ark.
Southern whites	44	43	43	41	59	48
Blacks	39	38	42	36	18	7
Outside whites	36	35	36	34	16	17
Overall	41	41	41	39	93	72

TABLE 3.4. KNOWN DELEGATE OCCUPATIONS BY GROUP (%)

Occupation	Southern whites		Blacks		Outside whites		All delegates	
	Va.	Ark.	Va.	Ark.	Va.	Ark.	Va.	Ark.
Farmer/planter	25.0	45.8	20.8	50.0	33.3	17.6	25.5	39.7
Merchant/businessman	13.3	8.3	0.0	0.0	11.1	11.8	9.8	8.2
Physician	10.0	12.5	4.2	0.0	5.6	17.6	7.8	12.3
Lawyer	31.7	22.9	0.0	0.0	16.7	41.2	21.6	24.7
Engineer	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	5.9	0.0	1.4
Educator	1.7	0.0	8.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.9	0.0
Minister	3.3	6.3	8.3	50.0	11.1	5.9	5.9	11.0
Dentist	0.0	0.0	4.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.0	0.0
Newspaper editor	3.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.0	0.0
Local government official	1.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.0	0.0
Judicial officer	1.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.0	0.0
Fed. government official	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	5.6	0.0	1.0	0.0
Skilled laborer	6.7	2.1	45.8	0.0	16.7	0.0	17.6	1.4
Unskilled laborer	0.0	2.1	8.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.0	1.4
None	1.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.0	0.0

TABLE 3.5. AVERAGE AND MEDIAN 1870 REAL AND PERSONAL PROPERTY BY DELEGATE GROUP

	Average (\$)		Median (\$)		No. in sample	
	Va.	Ark.	Va.	Ark.	Va.	Ark.
<i>1870 real property</i>						
Southern whites	6,341	2,912	3,750	1,000	50	45
Blacks	541	3,029	146	0	17	7
Outside whites	5,011	7,654	2,250	4,000	16	13
Overall	4,897	3,873	2,000	1,200	83	65

Virginia and Arkansas

TABLE 3.5. (continued)

	Average (\$)		Median (\$)		No. in sample	
	Va.	Ark.	Va.	Ark.	Va.	Ark.
<i>1870 personal property</i>						
Southern whites	5,438	1,533	900	500	50	45
Blacks	211	529	200	400	17	7
Outside whites	4,875	3,315	500	2,000	16	13
Overall	4,259	1,781	500	500	83	65
<i>1870 total property</i>						
Southern whites	11,779	4,445	6,000	1,917	50	45
Blacks	752	3,557	350	500	17	7
Outside whites	9,886	10,969	3,000	8,300	16	13
Overall	9,156	5,654	3,000	2,025	83	65

TABLE 3.6. KNOWN 1860 SLAVEHOLDINGS OF
SOUTHERN WHITE DELEGATES

	Virginia	Arkansas
Owned no slaves	27	21
Owned 1–10 slaves	18	8
Owned 11–20 slaves	6	1
Owned >20 slaves	1	3
Known slaveholdings	52	33

TABLE 3.7. REPRESENTATION OF DELEGATE GROUPS
ON STANDING COMMITTEES

	Virginia	Arkansas
<i>Standing committee chairs</i>		
Southern whites	13	11
Blacks	0	1
Outside whites	10	18
Unknown whites	0	0
Total	23	30
<i>Standing committee members</i>		
Southern whites	89	81
Blacks	38	17

TABLE 3.7. (continued)

	Virginia	Arkansas
Outside whites	30	60
Unknown whites	0	0
Total	157	158

TABLE 3.8. SUMMARY OF VOTING PATTERNS BY ISSUE AREA

Issue area	Avg. support for Republican positions (%)		Stand. dev. (%)		Republican victories (%)	
	Va.	Ark.	Va.	Ark.	Va.	Ark.
Suffrage	58.9	75.5	9.9	11.7	81	100
Race	64.0	67.9	13.0	9.6	83	90
Gov. structure	67.8	73.6	6.8	7.2	100	100
Economics	56.9	65.2	4.7	9.8	86	100
Miscellaneous	66.3	71.1	7.2	13.1	100	100
Overall	62.3	70.4	10.0	10.2	88	95

TABLE 3.9. AVERAGE RSS BY ISSUE AREA

Issue area	Mean		Median		Stand. dev.		No. of delegates scaled	
	Va.	Ark.	Va.	Ark.	Va.	Ark.	Va.	Ark.
Suffrage	.61	.77	.81	1.00	.42	.36	90	65
Race	.62	.68	.86	1.00	.42	.41	90	67
Gov. structure	.65	.73	1.00	1.00	.44	.40	91	69
Economics	.56	.67	.69	1.00	.42	.40	96	63
Miscellaneous	.65	.71	1.00	.83	.46	.36	90	66
Overall ^a	3.07	3.56	4.33	4.54	2.13	1.78	96	67

^aValues for delegates who voted at least half the time in at least three issue areas.

TABLE 3.10. RESULTS OF RELIABILITY ANALYSIS FOR FIVE VOTING SCALES—
INTER-ITEM CORRELATIONS

Issue area	Mean		Minimum		Maximum		Alpha	
	Va.	Ark.	Va.	Ark.	Va.	Ark.	Va.	Ark.
Suffrage	.74	.72	.20	.52	1.00	.89	.98	.91
Race	.78	.69	.45	.22	1.00	1.00	.98	.96
Gov. structure	.79	.77	.50	.59	.95	.96	.97	.96
Economics	.66	.65	.31	.44	.85	.83	.93	.90
Miscellaneous	.91	.61	.69	.42	1.00	1.00	.99	.92

TABLE 3.11. AVERAGE RSS BY DELEGATE GROUP AND ISSUE AREA

Issue area	Southern whites		Blacks		Outside whites	
	Va.	Ark.	Va.	Ark.	Va.	Ark.
Suffrage	.34 (47)	.67 (42)	.94 (23)	.93 (8)	.85 (20)	.92 (17)
Race	.35 (47)	.50 (42)	.96 (24)	.96 (8)	.85 (19)	.94 (17)
Gov. structure	.38 (47)	.59 (44)	.98 (24)	1.00 (8)	.91 (20)	.96 (17)
Economics	.33 (54)	.54 (39)	.95 (24)	.79 (8)	.73 (18)	.93 (16)
Miscellaneous	.38 (48)	.55 (41)	.99 (23)	.92 (8)	.91 (19)	.97 (17)
Overall	1.79 (52)	2.90 (42)	4.81 (24)	4.59 (8)	4.29 (20)	4.73 (17)

Note: Numbers in parentheses are the numbers of delegates in each group who had sufficient votes to scale.

TABLE 3.12. AVERAGE RSS BY REGION AND ISSUE AREA

Region	Suffrage	Race	Gov. structure	Econ.	Misc.	Avg. overall RSS
Virginia						
Tidewater	.82	.82	.85	.82	.89	4.22
Piedmont	.60	.65	.69	.56	.69	3.15
Mountain	.11	.10	.11	.09	.06	.45
Arkansas						
Northwest	.64	.65	.66	.67	.62	3.20
Southwest	.81	.58	.75	.64	.67	3.46
Delta	.83	.75	.76	.69	.81	3.96

TABLE 3.13. AVERAGE SOUTHERN WHITE RSS BY REGION AND ISSUE AREA

<i>Region</i>	<i>Suffrage</i>	<i>Race</i>	<i>Gov. structure</i>	<i>Econ.</i>	<i>Misc.</i>	<i>Avg. overall RSS</i>
<i>Virginia</i>						
Tidewater	.63	.61	.64	.70	.75	3.39
Piedmont	.32	.40	.44	.32	.41	1.88
Mountain	.11	.10	.11	.09	.06	.45
<i>Arkansas</i>						
Northwest	.60	.59	.60	.61	.56	2.93
Southwest	.77	.49	.69	.55	.60	3.12
Delta	.61	.34	.36	.33	.42	2.29

TABLE 3.14. AVERAGE RSS BY LEVEL OF AFFLUENCE AND ISSUE AREA

<i>Affluence level</i>	<i>Suffrage</i>		<i>Race</i>		<i>Gov. structure</i>		<i>Econ.</i>		<i>Misc.</i>		<i>Overall</i>	
	<i>Va.</i>	<i>Ark.</i>	<i>Va.</i>	<i>Ark.</i>	<i>Va.</i>	<i>Ark.</i>	<i>Va.</i>	<i>Ark.</i>	<i>Va.</i>	<i>Ark.</i>	<i>Va.</i>	<i>Ark.</i>
Low	.83	.84	.80	.77	.86	.81	.80	.80	.90	.78	4.14	4.08
Medium	.64	.72	.60	.54	.67	.68	.61	.52	.71	.66	3.21	3.13
High	.34	.67	.36	.60	.35	.61	.19	.55	.29	.60	1.59	3.08

Note: In Virginia, low is ≤\$1,400 and high is >\$6,000. In Arkansas, low is ≤\$1,000 and high is >\$5,500.

TABLE 3.15. AVERAGE SOUTHERN WHITE RSS BY LEVEL OF AFFLUENCE AND ISSUE AREA

<i>Affluence level</i>	<i>Suffrage</i>		<i>Race</i>		<i>Gov. structure</i>		<i>Econ.</i>		<i>Misc.</i>		<i>Overall</i>	
	<i>Va.</i>	<i>Ark.</i>	<i>Va.</i>	<i>Ark.</i>	<i>Va.</i>	<i>Ark.</i>	<i>Va.</i>	<i>Ark.</i>	<i>Va.</i>	<i>Ark.</i>	<i>Va.</i>	<i>Ark.</i>
Low	.52	.77	.41	.67	.50	.73	.55	.68	.57	.68	2.56	3.70
Medium	.38	.71	.39	.54	.49	.66	.32	.51	.45	.67	2.08	3.09
High	.19	.46	.21	.21	.17	.32	.13	.21	.18	.26	.87	1.55

Note: In Virginia, low is ≤\$2,500 and high is >\$9,000. In Arkansas, low is ≤\$1,000 and high is >\$3,500.

Virginia and Arkansas

TABLE 3.16. REGIONAL ORIGIN OF RADICALS, SWING VOTERS, AND CONSERVATIVES

Region	Radicals			Swing voters			Conservatives		
	No.	% T	% R	No.	% T	% R	No.	% T	% R
Virginia									
Tidewater	34	54	89	0	—	—	4	13	11
Piedmont	28	44	70	0	—	—	12	38	30
Mountain	1	2	6	1	100	6	16	50	89
Total	63	—	—	1	—	—	32	—	—
Arkansas									
Delta	21	45	84	1	13	4	3	25	12
Southwest	12	26	57	7	88	33	2	17	10
Northwest	14	30	67	0	—	—	7	58	33
Total	47	—	—	8	—	—	12	—	—

% T = percentage of voting group (radical, swing, conservative) in state from region

% R = percentage of region's delegates in voting group

TABLE 3.17. REGIONAL ORIGIN OF SOUTHERN WHITE RADICALS, SWING VOTERS, AND CONSERVATIVES

Region	Radicals			Swing voters			Conservatives		
	No.	% T	% R	No.	% T	% R	No.	% T	% R
Virginia									
Tidewater	10	50	71	0	—	—	4	13	29
Piedmont	9	45	45	0	—	—	11	35	55
Mountain	1	5	6	1	100	6	16	52	89
Total	20	—	—	1	—	—	31	—	—
Arkansas									
Delta	3	14	43	1	13	14	3	25	43
Southwest	8	36	47	7	88	41	2	17	12
Northwest	11	50	61	0	—	—	7	58	39
Total	22	—	—	8	—	—	12	—	—

% T = percentage of voting group (radical, swing, conservative) in state from region

% R = percentage of region's delegates in voting group

TABLE 3.18. PERCENTAGE OF SOUTHERN WHITES BY VOTING GROUP
BELONGING TO VARIOUS OCCUPATIONS

<i>Occupation</i>	<i>Radicals (%)</i>		<i>Swing voters (%)</i>		<i>Conservatives (%)</i>	
	<i>Va.</i>	<i>Ark.</i>	<i>Va.</i>	<i>Ark.</i>	<i>Va.</i>	<i>Ark.</i>
Farmer	30	41	100	63	23	33
Merchant/businessman	25	9	0	13	10	8
Physician	0	18	0	13	16	8
Lawyer	10	14	0	13	42	42
Educator	5	0	0	0	0	0
Minister	5	14	0	0	3	0
Newspaper editor	5	0	0	0	3	0
Local government official	0	0	0	0	3	0
Skilled laborer	20	5	0	0	0	0
Unskilled laborer	0	0	0	0	0	8

TABLE 3.19. PERCENTAGE OF SOUTHERN WHITES BY OCCUPATION
BELONGING TO EACH VOTING GROUP

<i>Occupation</i>	<i>Radicals (%)</i>		<i>Swing voters (%)</i>		<i>Conservatives (%)</i>	
	<i>Va.</i>	<i>Ark.</i>	<i>Va.</i>	<i>Ark.</i>	<i>Va.</i>	<i>Ark.</i>
Farmer	43	50	7	28	50	22
Merchant/businessman	63	50	0	25	38	25
Physician	0	67	0	17	100	17
Lawyer	13	33	0	11	87	56
Educator	100	0	0	0	0	0
Minister	50	100	0	0	50	0
Newspaper editor	50	0	0	0	50	0
Local government	0	0	0	0	100	0
Skilled laborer	100	100	0	0	0	0
Unskilled laborer	0	0	0	0	0	100

Virginia and Arkansas

TABLE 3.20. PERCENTAGE OF SOUTHERN WHITES BY AGE GROUP IN EACH VOTING GROUP

Age group	Radicals (%)		Swing voters (%)		Conservatives (%)	
	Va.	Ark.	Va.	Ark.	Va.	Ark.
Young	10	27	100	13	50	50
Middle	35	41	0	13	33	33
Old	55	32	0	75	17	17

Note: In Virginia, the young group includes delegates through age 38 and the middle group through 48. In Arkansas, the young group includes delegates through age 38 and the middle group through 47.

TABLE 3.21. PERCENTAGE OF SOUTHERN WHITES BY PROPERTY GROUP IN EACH VOTING GROUP

Property group	Radicals (%)		Swing voters (%)		Conservatives (%)	
	Va.	Ark.	Va.	Ark.	Va.	Ark.
Low	47	50	0	25	24	17
Medium	41	35	0	38	32	25
High	12	15	100	38	44	58

Note: In Virginia, low is ≤\$1,400 and high is >\$6,000. In Arkansas, low is ≤\$1,000 and high is >\$5,500.

Selected Roll-Call Votes of the Virginia and Arkansas Conventions

VIRGINIA

Miscellaneous Votes

1. A vote on December 4 in which John Underwood was selected to preside over the convention (64–33). The 33 opposing votes were cast mostly for Norval Wilson, with the remainder split among several other delegates. Underwood 66%, others 34%. Republican position: Underwood. Votes cast: 97. SD: .48. (*Journal of the Convention of Virginia*, 4; *Debates and Proceedings of the Convention of Virginia*, 7.)
2. A vote on January 9 to sustain President Underwood's ruling that Daniel Norton's call for a reprimand of Frederick S. C. Hunter was in order. Hunter had called fellow delegate James Hunnicutt a liar. Underwood was sustained, 56–26. Yea 68%, Nay 32%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 82. SD: .47. (*Journal*, 77–78; *Debates*, 320.)
3. A vote on January 14 on a resolution calling for appointment of a committee to invite General Benjamin Butler to speak to the convention. It was authorized, 45–35. Yea 56%, Nay 44%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 80. SD: .50. (*Journal*, 86; *Debates*, 431.)
4. A vote on January 15 on a resolution offered by Moses Walton, accusing President Underwood of abusing his powers. It failed, 30–49. Yea 38%, Nay 62%. Republican position: Nay. Votes counted: 79. SD: .49. (*Journal*, 89; *Debates*, 454–57.)
5. A vote on February 20 declaring Fayette Mauzy ineligible for a seat in the convention. It passed, 50–30. Yea 62%, Nay 38%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 80. SD: .49. (*Journal*, 194.)
6. A vote on March 7 on David White's motion to expel Jacob Liggett, who had violated the rules of the convention. He was expelled in a vote of 56–15 (recorded as 54–16). Yea 79%, Nay 21%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 71. SD: .41. (*Journal*, 225.)
7. A vote on March 13 on Hugh Lee's amendment to the franchise article. That measure, requiring viva voce voting in all elections, failed, 21–49. Yea 30%, Nay 70%. Republican position: Nay. Votes counted: 70. SD: .46. (*Journal*, 243–44.)

Economic Votes

1. A vote on December 13 on Eustace Gibson's motion to table a petition, offered by Daniel Norton, calling for a homestead exemption. The effort to table failed, 43–52. Yea 45%, Nay 55%. Republican position: Nay. Votes counted: 95. SD: .50. (*Journal*, 32; *Debates*, 90.)

2. A vote on January 18 on Richard Ayer's resolution calling for a committee to inquire into state debts acquired during the war. It failed, 42–45. Yea 48%, Nay 52%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 87. SD: .50. (*Journal*, 98; *Debates*, 499–501.) **REPUBLICAN LOSS.**
3. A vote on January 28 on the adoption of section 3 of the report of the Committee on Finance and Taxation. This section, which authorized income and license taxes, passed, 58–34. Yea 63%, Nay 37%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 92. SD: .49. (*Journal*, 125; *Debates*, 665, 725.)
4. A vote on February 17 to table William McLaughlin's proposal requiring three-fifths majorities in elections authorizing county/municipal internal improvements. It failed, 30–44. Yea 41%, Nay 59%. Republican position: Nay. Votes counted: 74. SD: .49. (*Journal*, 180, 182–83.)
5. A vote on February 18 to table Edgar Allan's call for a committee to investigate means to complete the Chesapeake and Ohio Railroad. Allan's proposal was tabled, 45–30. Yea 60%, Nay 40%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 75. SD: .49. (*Journal*, 161, 188–89.)
6. A vote on March 30 on Jonathan Gibson's motion to refer to committee James Clements's resolution calling for appointment of a committee to consider suspending interest payments on the state debt. It was referred, 36–27. Yea 57%, Nay 43%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 63. SD: .50. (*Journal*, 306–7.)
7. A vote on April 10 on James Clements's instructions regarding procedures through which the legislature was to implement a homestead exemption. Clements's proposal was endorsed, 48–38 (recorded as 47–37). Yea 56%, Nay 44%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 86. SD: .50. (*Journal*, 350–51.)

Government Structure Votes

1. John Hawxhurst's resolution on January 3 calling for continuation of the Freedmen's Bureau. It passed, 52–14. Yea 79%, Nay 21%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 66. SD: .41. (*Journal*, 59; *Debates*, 160, 196.)
2. A vote on January 27 on Christopher Thomas's resolution authorizing the legislature to tax income. It passed, 56–30. Yea 65%, Nay 35%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 86. SD: .48. (*Journal*, 118–20; *Debates*, 699–700.)
3. A vote on March 4 on Gaston Curtiss's resolution approving the impeachment of Andrew Johnson. It passed, 53–33. Yea 62%, Nay 38%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 86. SD: .49. (*Journal*, 210, 212.)
4. A vote on March 11 on the adoption of section 2 of the report of the Committee on County Courts and County Organizations. It authorized townships and their bureaucracies after passing, 50–27 (recorded as 50–26). Yea 65%, Nay 35%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 77. SD: .48. (*Journal*, 234–35.)
5. A vote on April 2 on a motion by President Underwood to give Henrico County and the city of Richmond eight seats in the lower house of the legislature. It passed, 44–17 (recorded as 43–17). Yea 72%, Nay 28%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 61. SD: .45. (*Journal*, 322.)
6. A vote on April 13 on the first section of the article establishing a state militia. It was endorsed, 39–13. Yea 75%, Nay 25%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 52. SD: .44. (*Journal*, 362.)

7. A vote on April 14 on an amendment to procedures for amending the constitution. Offered by Charles Porter, it provided that no future amendment could restrict the right of suffrage. It passed, 40–28. Yea 59%, Nay 41%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 68. SD: .50. (*Journal*, 366.)

8. A vote on April 17 on the adoption of the constitution. It was endorsed by a vote of 51–26. Yea 66%, Nay 34%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 77. SD: .48. (*Journal*, 389.)

Racial Votes

1. A vote on January 4 on Eustace Gibson's resolution requesting a correction in the *Journal*. He had resolved that a measure opening first class rail cars to all delegates be referred to committee but not actually enacted. This effort failed, 30–48. Yea 38%, Nay 62%. Republican position: Nay. Votes counted: 78. SD: .49. (Source: *Journal*, 56, 65–66; *Debates*, 202, 209.)

2. A vote on February 6 to table a resolution by Lewis Lindsey requiring observers to be admitted to the convention hall with "no distinction." It was tabled by a tie vote, 42–42 (recorded as 43–42). Yea 50%, Nay 50%. Republican position: Nay. Votes counted: 84. SD: .50. (*Journal*, 147, 152.) **REPUBLICAN LOSS.**

3. A vote on February 6 on a motion by Eustace Gibson to allow only whites to serve as governor. It failed, 24–56. Yea 30%, Nay 70%. Republican position: Nay. Votes counted: 80. SD: .46. (*Journal*, 153.)

4. A vote on March 7 on Jacob Liggett's motion to table discussion of a proposed section to the bill of rights (offered by James Bland) stating that certain rights would never be denied to male citizens. The motion failed, 22–54. Yea 29%, Nay 71%. Republican position: Nay. Votes counted: 76. SD: .46. (*Journal*, 196–97, 223–24.)

5. A vote on March 14 on William McLaughlin's effort to strike "civil and political equality of all men" from the proposed voter registration oath. It failed, 21–50. Yea 30%, Nay 70%. Republican position: Nay. Votes counted: 71. SD: .46. (*Journal*, 250.)

6. A vote on March 27 on a motion to postpone discussion of James French's resolution requiring separate schools. It passed, 53–26. Yea 67%, Nay 33%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 79. SD: .47. (*Journal*, 299.)

7. A vote on March 27 on Eustace Gibson's move to strike "uniform" from the constitutional provision implementing the public school system. It failed, 25–44. Yea 36%, Nay 64%. Republican position: Nay. Votes counted: 69. SD: .48. (*Journal*, 300.)

8. A vote on March 27 to table Eustace Gibson's resolution requiring separate schools. Those for whites were to be supported by poll taxes paid by whites and those for blacks by poll taxes from blacks. It was tabled, 41–15. Yea 73%, Nay 27%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 56. SD: .45. (*Journal*, 301.)

9. A vote on March 30 on Edgar Allan's motion to table Eustace Gibson's effort to secure an education article mandating separate schools. Allan was successful, 38–20. Yea 66%, Nay 34%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 58. SD: .48. (*Journal*, 301, 308.)

10. A vote on April 8 on Joseph Holmes's attempt to table William Andrews's effort to reconsider a vote on establishing and funding racially segregated schools. Holmes was successful, 50–31. Yea 62%, Nay 38%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 81. SD: .49. (*Journal*, 337.)

11. A vote on April 8 on Charles Porter's resolution mandating no exclusions in public schools unless such exclusions applied to all students "equally to all persons and classes without distinction." It failed, 27–60 (recorded as 27–59). Yea 31%, Nay 69%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 87. SD: .47. (*Journal*, 335, 339.) **REPUBLICAN LOSS.**

12. A vote on April 14 on Charles Porter's measure requiring that state railroad charters prohibit discrimination. It passed, 47–10. Yea 82%, Nay 18%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 57. SD: .38. (*Journal*, 354, 371.)

Suffrage Votes

1. A vote on March 4 on Jacob Liggett's substitute for the report of the Committee on Elective Franchise. It was defeated, 28–59 (recorded as 29–59). Yea 32%, Nay 68%. Republican position: Nay. Votes counted: 87. SD: .47. (*Journal*, 190, 213.)

2. A vote on March 4 on Robert Scott's proposal to increase local residence requirements for voters from three to six months. It succeeded, 42–36. Yea 54%, Nay 46%. Republican position: Nay. Votes counted: 78. SD: .50. (*Journal*, 214.) **REPUBLICAN LOSS.**

3. A vote on March 4 on section 1 of the franchise article. It was endorsed, 58–25. Yea 70%, Nay 30%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 83. SD: .46. (*Journal*, 216.)

4. A vote on March 6 on an amendment by Edward Snead stating that voting for secession was not to be deemed as engaging in rebellion. It failed, 34–53. Yea 39%, Nay 61%. Republican position: Nay. Votes counted: 87. SD: .49. (*Journal*, 220–21.)

5. A vote on March 6 on Orrin Hine's substitute for paragraph 4, the disenfranchising provision of section 1 of the franchise report. It passed, 48–28 (recorded as 49–28). Yea 63%, Nay 37%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 76. SD: .49. (*Journal*, 219–21.)

6. A vote on March 6 on an additional section (offered by Hine) of the franchise article, disenfranchising all those above the rank of first lieutenant in the Confederate army. It passed, 54–35. Yea 61%, Nay 39%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 89. SD: .49. (*Journal*, 221–22.)

7. A vote on March 12 to reconsider section 1, clause 4, of the franchise article, which Hine had secured in vote 5 above. The clause was reconsidered in a vote of 42–34. Yea 55%, Nay 45%. Republican position: Nay. Votes counted: 76. SD: .50. (*Journal*, 237.) **REPUBLICAN LOSS.**

8. A vote on March 12 on Hine's amendment to section 1, clause 4, of the franchise article, slightly modifying the registration oath. It passed, 44–38. Yea 54%, Nay 46%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 82. SD: .50. (*Journal*, 237–38.)

9. A vote on March 12 on Christopher Thomas's addition to clause 4 of section 1 of the franchise article, allowing the legislature to remove disabilities with a three-fifths vote in both houses. It passed, 44–34. Yea 56%, Nay 44%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 78. SD: .50. (*Journal*, 239.)

10. A vote on March 12 on the amended first section of the franchise article. It passed, 53–28. Yea 65%, Nay 35%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 81. SD: .48. (*Journal*, 240.)

11. A vote on March 13 on Hine's amendment to clause 4 of section 1 of the franchise article requiring vot-

ers to take an oath in support of the state constitution. It passed, 50–21. Yea 70%, Nay 30%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 71. SD: .46. (*Journal*, 245–46.)

12. A vote on March 14 on William McLaughlin's effort to exclude Confederate militia officers from disenfranchisement. It failed, 21–46. Yea 31%, Nay 69%. Republican position: Nay. Votes counted: 67. SD: .47. (*Journal*, 249.)

13. A vote on March 14 on the original oath of office proposed by the Franchise Committee. It passed, 48–22. Yea 69%, Nay 31%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 70. SD: .47. (*Journal*, 250.)

14. A vote on March 24 on Orrin Hine's substitute for an oath to be taken by state officials. It passed, 40–32. Yea 56%, Nay 44%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 72. SD: .50. (*Journal*, 283–84.)

15. A vote on March 24 on Hine's motion to require city and county officers to take the same oath as state officials. It passed, 38–35. Yea 52%, Nay 48%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 73. SD: .50. (*Journal*, 284–85.)

16. A vote on March 26 on Hine's proposal to disenfranchise all who had voted for pro-secession candidates to the secession convention. It failed, 32–51. Yea 39%, Nay 61%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 83. SD: .49. (*Journal*, 291, 295.) **REPUBLICAN LOSS.**

ARKANSAS

Miscellaneous Votes

1. A vote of 43 to 8 on January 7 in which Thomas Bowen was selected to preside over the convention. The eight votes against him were divided among three other delegates. Bowen 84%, others 16%. Republican position: Bowen. Votes counted: 51. SD: .37. (*Journal of the Convention of Arkansas*, 48.)

2. A vote on January 10 on a motion offered by William Hicks to postpone discussion of the disputed election in Izard County. Hicks's effort failed, 26–34. Yea 43%, Nay 57%. Republican position: Nay. Votes counted: 60. SD: .50. (*Journal*, 70.)

3. A vote on January 16 on Gayle Kyle's motion to seat W. D. Moore and George Norman from Ashley County immediately. The motion failed, 29–31. Yea 29%, Nay 31%. Republican position: Nay. Votes counted: 60. SD: .50. (*Journal*, 135.)

4. A vote on January 16 on Joseph Brooks's motion to refer the seating of the Ashley County delegates to the Committee on Elections. Brooks's motion was endorsed, 45–19. Yea 70%, Nay 30%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 64. SD: .46. (*Journal*, 130, 138.)

5. A vote on January 18 on whether to continue discussion of James Hinds's ordinance to withdraw \$75,000 from the state treasury to meet convention expenses. Samuel Matthews's motion to resubmit this measure to committee was tabled, 56–11. Yea 84%, Nay 16%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 67. SD: .37. (*Journal*, 178.)

6. A vote on January 24 on the final passage of the ordinance establishing a property tax to meet convention expenses. It passed, 53–12. Yea 82%, Nay 18%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 65. SD: .39. (*Journal*, 314, 821.)

Virginia and Arkansas

7. A vote on February 13 on the adoption of the majority report of the Committee on the Penitentiary, which was critical of the “arrogated wisdom” of the state’s antebellum and wartime governments. It was endorsed, 34–15 (recorded as 35–16, with James Portis listed as voting twice). Yea 69%, Nay 31%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 49. SD: .47. (*Journal*, 742, 477–83.)

Suffrage Votes

1. A vote on January 17 on an ordinance offered by J. N. Cypert that would have allowed submission of the state’s 1864 constitution (which did not enfranchise freedmen) for a vote of the people. This effort failed, 10–53. Yea 16%, Nay 84%. Republican position: Nay. Votes counted: 63. SD: .37. (*Journal*, 88, 157.)

2. A vote on January 22 to table a resolution to disenfranchise certain groups of whites, such as those who had been cruel to Unionist citizens. The motion, offered by W. W. Reynolds, failed, 12–49. Yea 20%, Nay 80%. Republican position: Nay. Votes counted: 61. SD: .40. (*Journal*, 234–35.)

3. A vote on January 22 on a motion by George McGown to table Robert Hatfield’s resolution disenfranchising all whites who supported the rebellion. The effort to table failed, 25–35. Yea 42%, Nay 58%. Republican position: Nay. Votes counted: 60. SD: .50. (*Journal*, 243–44.)

4. A vote on February 6 on the adoption of J. N. Cypert’s minority report of the Committee on the Franchise (enfranchising only whites). It failed, 13–50. Yea 21%, Nay 79%. Republican position: Nay. Votes counted: 63. SD: .41. (*Journal*, 514–17.)

Economic Votes

1. A vote on January 17 on Joseph Brooks’s resolution authorizing appointment of a three-man commission to investigate the affairs of the Little Rock and Fort Smith Railroad. The investigation was authorized, 41–21. Yea 66%, Nay 34%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 62. SD: .48. (*Journal*, 159, 165.)

2. A vote on January 22 on John McClure’s motion to reject a letter from an officer of the Little Rock and Fort Smith Railroad objecting to such an investigation. The letter was rejected, 43–18. Yea 70%, Nay 30%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 61. SD: .46. (*Journal*, 230.)

3. A vote on February 6 on whether to delay a memorial to Congress regarding the sale of the Hot Spring reservation. The delay was rejected, 22–35. Yea 39%, Nay 61%. Republican position: Nay. Votes counted: 57. SD: .49. (*Journal*, 518, 522.)

4. A vote on February 6 on the aforementioned memorial to Congress urging sale of land to squatters already present on the Hot Spring reservation. The memorial was endorsed, 29–28. Yea 51%, Nay 49%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 57. SD: .50. (*Journal*, 522.)

5. A vote on February 13 on the adoption of a report on the finances of the state (which was very critical of antebellum practices). It passed, 40–12. Yea 77%, Nay 23%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 52. SD: .43. (*Journal*, 485–88, 741–42.)

Government Structure Votes

1. A final vote on January 18 on an ordinance from the Committee on Memorials and Ordinances that authorized drawing \$75,000 in state funds to meet expenses of the convention. It passed, 55–11. Yea 83%, Nay 17%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 66. SD: .38. (*Journal*, 175, 179.)

2. A vote on January 18 to table Samuel Matthews's effort to limit the convention exclusively to matters involving the drafting of the new constitution. The motion to table, from William Hollis, passed, 47–17. Yea 73%, Nay 27%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 64. SD: .45. (*Journal*, 180, 184.)
3. A vote on January 20 to table an amendment by Matthews to an ordinance naming John Price printer to the convention. The amendment (restricting the printer to matters related exclusively to framing of the constitution) was tabled, 46–16. Yea 74%, Nay 26%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 62. SD: .44. (*Journal*, 193.)
4. A vote on January 21 on an ordinance authorizing property taxes to meet expenses of the convention. It passed, 56–10. Yea 85%, Nay 15%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 66. SD: .36. (*Journal*, 212, 821.)
5. A vote on January 30 on James Hodges's amendment allowing President Bowen to reassemble the convention. It passed, 46–20. Yea 70%, Nay 30%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 66. SD: .46. (*Journal*, 394–95.)
6. A vote on January 30 on the resolution authorizing Bowen to recall the convention if the constitution were to be rejected in the ratification referendum. It passed, 40–17 (recorded as 41–18, with Charles Oliver listed as voting twice). Yea 70%, Nay 30%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 57. SD: .46. (*Journal*, 416, 418.)
7. A vote on February 7 on a measure declaring a quorum to be one-half of the delegates. This rules amendment passed, 40–23. Yea 63%, Nay 37%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 63. SD: .49. (*Journal*, 536–37.)
8. A vote on February 11 on the adoption of the constitution. It was endorsed, 46–20. The vote is recorded as 45–21, but Anthony Hinkle voted nay and later changed his vote to yea. Yea 70%, Nay 30%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 66. SD: .46. (*Journal*, 656–57.)

Racial Votes

1. A vote on January 24 to petition Congress for continuation of the Freedmen's Bureau. That action was authorized, 47–18. Yea 72%, Nay 28%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 65. SD: .45. (*Journal*, 308–9.)
2. A vote on January 29 on whether to refer a resolution banning interracial marriages to the Committee on the Penitentiary. The effort failed, 32–34. Yea 48%, Nay 52%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 66. SD: .50. (*Journal*, 363–67.) **REPUBLICAN LOSS.**
3. A vote on January 30 on whether to refer the interracial marriage ban to the Committee on the Constitution, with instructions to report on the following day. This also failed, 21–45. Yea 32%, Nay 68%. Republican position: Nay. Votes counted: 66. SD: .47. (*Journal*, 391–93.)
4. A vote on January 30 to refer the question of interracial marriages to the Committee on the Preamble and Bill of Rights. This referral, containing no deadlines for reporting back to the convention, passed, 43–23. Yea 65%, Nay 35%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 66. SD: .48. (*Journal*, 393.)
5. A vote on January 30 to refer an ordinance urging the General Assembly to prohibit interracial mar-

riages to the Committee on Memorials and Ordinances. It passed, 42–22 (recorded as 43–23, with John Priddy listed as voting twice). Yea 66%, Nay 34%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 64. SD: .48. (*Journal*, 393–94.)

6. A vote on February 1 on James Mason's amendment to the resolution calling for continuation of the Freedmen's Bureau. His amendment failed, 24–37. Yea 39%, Nay 61%. Republican position: Nay. Votes counted: 61. SD: .49. (*Journal*, 427–28, 433, 469.)

7. A vote on February 1 on a memorial to Congress calling for the continuation of the Freedmen's Bureau. It passed, 43–17. Yea 72%, Nay 28%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 60. SD: .45. (*Journal*, 470.)

8. A vote on February 5 on a measure offered by Samuel Matthews requiring that the General Assembly act to prohibit interracial marriages. It failed, 19–43. Yea 31%, Nay 69%. Republican position: Nay. Votes counted: 62. SD: .46. (*Journal*, 500–501, 504–5.)

9. A vote on February 5 on a resolution by Joseph Corbell to insert into the constitution a permanent prohibition of interracial marriages. It failed, 17–42. Yea 29%, Nay 71%. Republican position: Nay. Votes counted: 59. SD: .46. (*Journal*, 491, 505.)

10. A vote on February 5 on James Hinds's recommendation that the General Assembly enact legislation prohibiting interracial marriages. It passed, 56–9. Yea 86%, Nay 14%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 65. SD: .35. (*Journal*, 507.)

4

ALABAMA AND MISSISSIPPI

Imposed Victory

Pleas let me Hear from you & disfranchise every Rebb & confiscate their property that lies in the south & Hange 2 thirds of them[.]

—HENRY SPRINGFIELD, St. Clair County, Alabama, April 1868

We, the carpet-baggist and scalawags from the States of Ohio, Vermont, Connecticutt [sic], Maine, and Africa, do ordain and proclaim this to be the document upon which we predicate all our hopes for the success of the Radical party. . . .

—Preamble to the Mississippi bill of rights proposed by Walter Stricklin

I resign my seat in the convention because I am totally disgusted with its nonsense.

—WALTER STRICKLIN, conservative white delegate to the Mississippi convention

OVERVIEW

The members of the Alabama convention, the first Black and Tan delegates to assemble, convened for their initial meeting on November 5, 1867, at the state capitol in Montgomery, ironically the very building that had been witness to the birth to the Confederate States of America early in 1861. They were the most expeditious of all the Black and Tan delegates in framing their constitution. They sat for only 28 days and adjourned on December 6. A month later, on January 7, 1868, Mississippi delegates converged upon the Hall of the House of Representatives in Jackson for their opening meeting. They remained in session for some 114 days before finally completing their deliberations and adjourning on May 18.¹ Only Texas delegates, who were to begin their deliberations in Austin in June, would be at the task longer.

South Carolina, the first of the Confederate states to secede, had long been the leader of the “states’ rights” cause, dating back at least to its unilateral actions during the nullification crisis of 1831. During the decades following that episode, however, support for decisive action in defense of southern interests became more widespread and especially strong in Mississippi and Alabama. Admitted to the Union at about the same time, December 1817 and December 1819, respectively, these two Deep South states had generally enjoyed flush times, prospering

in the very heart of the emerging cotton kingdom. Mississippi, which had experienced its own abortive secession movement under Governor John A. Quitman just before the Compromise of 1850, quickly followed South Carolina's lead and became, on January 9, 1861, the second of the eleven Confederate states to secede. Two days later, Alabama, the home of fire-eater William Lowndes Yancey, followed suit (just after Florida), becoming the fourth state to leave the Union. As the secession movement continued to gain momentum, Confederate officials then converged upon Montgomery to create their new republic and to select Mississippian Jefferson Davis as their leader.

After its brief appearance at center stage during the birth of the Confederacy, Montgomery, a community of only some 9,000 souls, returned to relative obscurity.² Although the Yankees made wartime inroads to the north along the Tennessee River, Union strategic planners generally overlooked central Alabama, focusing instead on a more crucial strategic objective: the capture of Vicksburg and control of the Mississippi River. Once those objectives had been achieved by mid-1863, Union offensives in the West then shifted to even more distant operations, most notably the taking of Atlanta and General William T. Sherman's subsequent March to the Sea. From midwar on, then, except for Admiral David Farragut's inspiring action against the port of Mobile in August of 1864, it was not until late in 1865, well after hostilities had ended, that either Mississippi or Alabama again received nationwide attention.

This renewed notoriety was provoked by legislators in Mississippi (the first of the ex-Confederate states to complete its Reconstruction under Andrew Johnson), who passed the most infamous of the Black Codes, the intent of which was to place the state's freedmen in a condition of quasi servitude. This act galvanized northern Republicans, who then initiated a more stringent Reconstruction through congressional action taken during March of 1867. Some seven months later, however, national attention again shifted to Alabama, where the first of the Black and Tan conventions met to initiate the newly mandated program of Congressional Reconstruction.

Although Alabama delegates would draft their constitution over a span of a mere four weeks, while those in Mississippi were to labor for some four and a half months to frame theirs, the two conventions had much in common. Their delegate mix was virtually identical: southern whites accounted for a bit over half the members in both, outside whites were only slightly more numerous proportionately in Alabama than in Mississippi, and blacks were just under a fifth of the delegates in each. Although scalawags were a bit more numerous in Alabama (reflecting an especially persistent and well-documented Unionism in that state's northern counties), they were prominent in Mississippi as well and have subsequently been the subjects of especially noteworthy studies.³ There remains, however, an even more compelling reason for the pairing of these two conventions. Among all ten of the Black and Tan constitutions, those of Alabama and Mississippi alone were rejected by voters in their congressionally mandated ratification referenda. Whether due to a technicality as in Alabama, or to an actual defeat as in Mississippi, that outcome—our paramount reason for considering these

two conventions together—obviously bedeviled Republican efforts to get these two states reconstructed and back into the Union promptly.

INTRODUCTION

Events leading to the assembling of the Mississippi and Alabama conventions unfolded during March and April of 1867, as General John Pope assumed control of the Third Military District (which included Alabama), and General Edward Otho Cresap Ord took command of the Fourth (which included Mississippi). Alabama Republicans organized swiftly, drafting a party platform during a June 4 convention in Montgomery. Mississippi's Republicans took similar steps on September 10–11, framing their platform in Jackson at a convention in which William Newsom—a mixed-race Claiborne County resident and future delegate to the constitutional convention—caused a stir by calling for land redistribution. Despite the concerns that reverberated among Mississippi radicals as a result of Newsom's plea for economic equity and the fears of north Alabama Unionists that black enfranchisement would shift control of their new party from their region to the Black Belt, Republican campaigns in both states proceeded with dispatch and relative harmony. In contrast, disheartened conservatives in both Alabama and Mississippi remained, for the moment at least, politically impotent. Such, however, would not always be the case. The ratification referendum of February 1868 would witness the defeat of the Alabama constitution, and the document framed by Mississippi delegates suffered a similar fate the following June.⁴

On January 27, 1868, General George Meade, who had by then replaced Pope in command of the Third Military District, announced the results of the referendum on holding a constitutional convention in Alabama. Balloting began there on October 1, and because most registered whites stayed home, only a slight majority (54%) of the state's 165,813 eligible voters endorsed a convention. The count was 90,283 votes (about 80% cast by blacks) to only 5,583 (nearly all cast by whites). On December 10, 1868, a dispatch from General Alvan Gilem, who had replaced Ord at Fourth Military District headquarters in Vicksburg, confirmed a similar outcome in Mississippi. In elections beginning on November 5, some 54% of that state's 139,690 registered voters authorized a convention, by a margin of 69,739 to 6,227. Both generals were satisfied that, as required by the Reconstruction Act of March 23, 1867, a majority of total registered voters had taken part in their respective state elections. Alabama's 100 delegates were accordingly instructed to meet in Montgomery on November 5, 1867; those in Mississippi, also numbering 100, were to begin their deliberations in Jackson on January 7, 1868.⁵

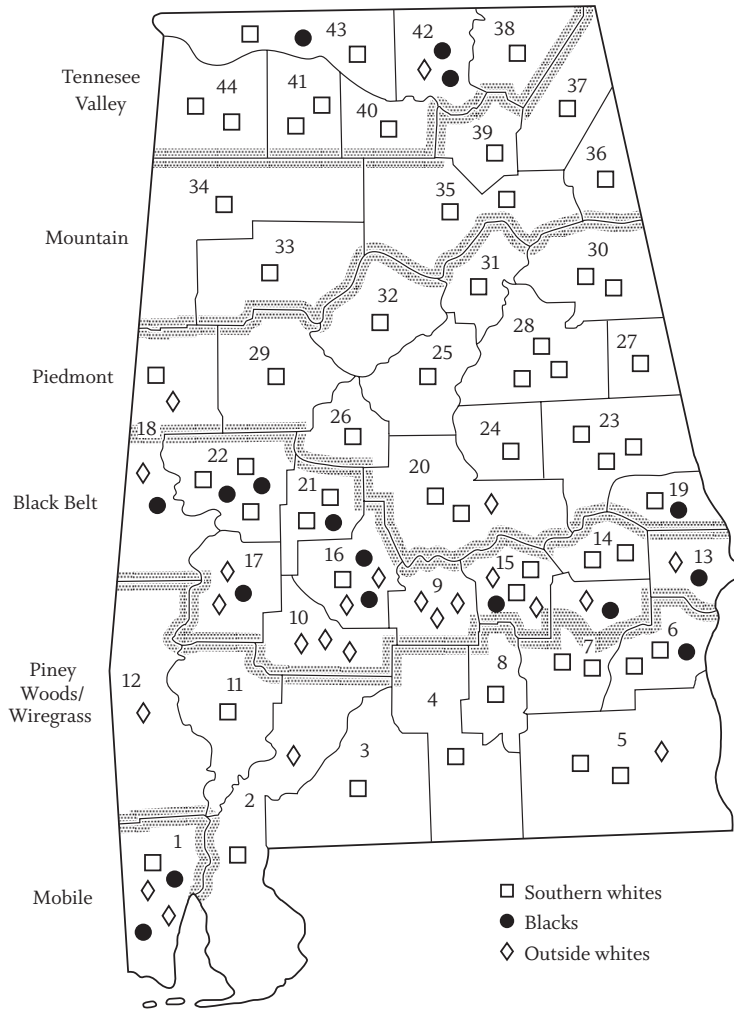
Like the percentages of voters favoring conventions, the similarities of the delegate mixes in the Alabama and Mississippi conventions were also striking. The two ranked sixth and seventh, respectively, in percentage of southern whites among their members. In Montgomery,

56 southern whites comprised 56.6% of the 99 delegates in attendance; the 54 southern whites in Jackson accounted for 56.3% of the 96 delegates who drafted Mississippi's new constitution. The proportions of blacks, sixth and seventh among all ten conventions, reveal dramatic underrepresentation. In Alabama, as seen in table 4.1, the voters returned only 17 blacks (17.2% of all delegates), even though blacks comprised 63% of registered voters. Mississippi's freedmen fared no better; representing 57.6% of the electorate, they accounted for only 17 (17.7%) of the convention's delegates. In contrast, the Alabama convention's 24 outside whites (24.2% of its delegates) placed it second only to Florida's in percentage of carpet-baggers among its ranks. Mississippi's, with 21 northern white immigrant delegates (21.9% of all delegates), ranked fourth among the conventions in that category.

Both table 4.2 and the Alabama and Mississippi maps reveal strong relationships between intrastate geographical regions and delegate blocs. Among Alabama's six regions, the greatest proportion of southern whites (34%) came from Piedmont counties, followed by the Piney Woods/Wiregrass region and the Black Belt (20% and 18%, respectively). Black Belt counties, not surprisingly, returned the majority of both black and outside white delegates (59% and 63%, respectively).⁶ Almost half of Mississippi's southern whites (48%) resided in the North region of the state. By contrast, over half that convention's outside whites came from Delta counties. Almost all of Mississippi's black delegates came from the state's Central or Delta region. Only one resided in the South region, and none came from the North region.

As shown in table 4.3, there was only a slight age difference between Mississippi and Alabama delegates, the former being, on average, two years older than the latter (45 and 43, respectively). Occupational patterns were quite similar too, at least for southern and outside whites if not for blacks. Although a larger proportion of southern whites in Alabama (41.8%) were farmers than in Mississippi (30.6%), the three most common professions among southern white delegates at both conventions were farmer/planter, lawyer, and physician (see table 4.4), as was generally the case at other conventions. Black delegates showed much greater contrast. While 9 of Alabama's 16 blacks with known occupations were farmers, planters, or farm laborers (the latter counted as unskilled laborers in table 4.4), the majority of black Mississippi delegates for whom such information is available (8 of 14) were ministers. In both states, outside whites' occupational patterns paralleled those of southern whites, with farmers/planters (8 in Alabama and 5 in Mississippi) being the most prevalent, followed by lawyers (5 in Alabama and 3 in Mississippi) and government officials (5 in Mississippi and 4 in Alabama).⁷

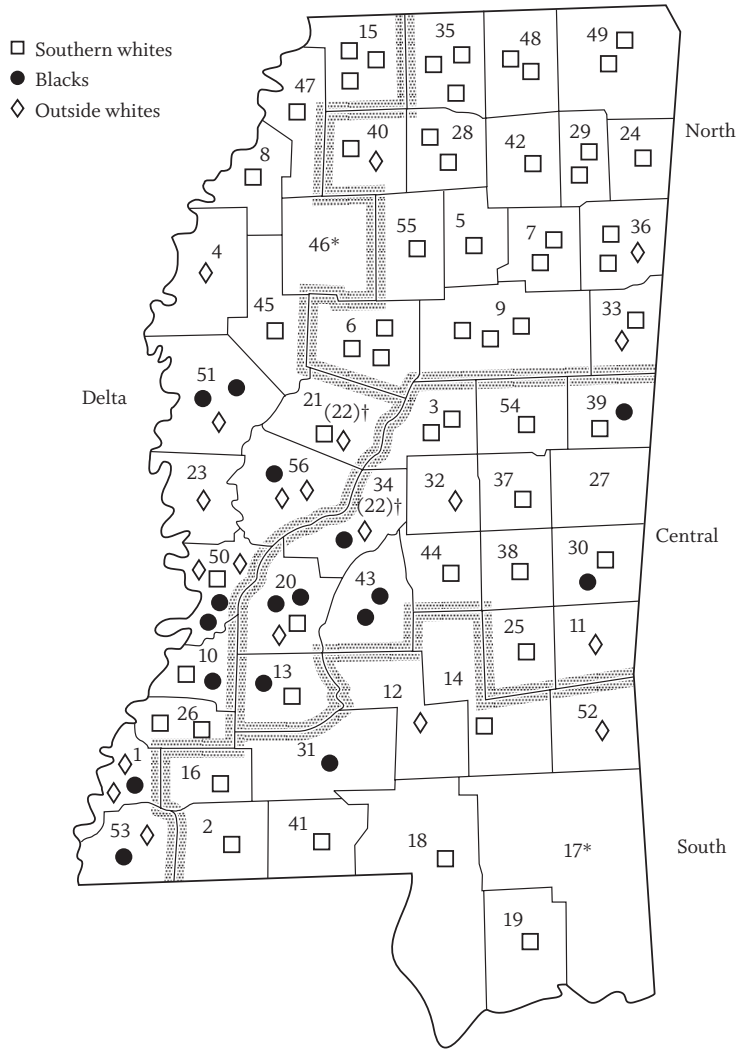
Median aggregate delegate wealth (see table 4.5) was about the same in Alabama (\$2,600) and Mississippi (\$2,372), ranking these conventions third and fifth in that category. Property distribution among the delegate subgroups in the two bodies, however, reveals interesting variation. Southern whites, with median holdings of \$4,220 in Mississippi and \$3,713 in Alabama, were relatively well off, ranking third and fifth respectively among the conventions for that delegate component. Outside whites, however, were relatively less prosperous, ranking



Alabama regions, districts, and delegate distribution

sixth and eighth (tied with Florida), respectively (\$3,500 in Alabama and \$1,000 in Mississippi), in assets among outside whites in all the conventions. Among black delegates, the picture was mixed. Those in Mississippi (with median assets of \$675) were the fifth most prosperous of the black contingents of all the conventions; Alabama's blacks, however, with median assets of \$0, obviously placed dead last.

Slave ownership patterns among southern whites (table 4.6) were similar in the two conventions. Just over half (21 of 41) of the Mississippi delegates whose 1860 slaveholdings are known had held bondsmen; just over 60% (25 of 41) of Alabama's southern white delegates whose slaveholdings are known owned slaves. In Mississippi virtually all (99%) of the slaves held by delegates came from two regions—the Delta (141 slaves) or the North (312 slaves)—



Mississippi regions, districts, and delegate distribution

*Two delegates from single-member districts (17 and 46) failed to attend the convention. Two others, both from multicounty districts, were absent as well. There were four unclassified whites in the Mississippi convention. One was the only delegate from district 27; the others represented multidelegate districts.

†Holmes and Madison counties are combined into one district (22). Each is also a separate district on its own (21 and 34, respectively). The delegate from multiregional district 22 resided in Holmes County (Delta region).

and the largest slaveholder, Joseph Field from Lowndes County, with 102 bondsmen accounted for nearly a third of the North region's total. Slave ownership was somewhat less concentrated among Alabama delegate slave owners. Even so, 76% of the slaves of delegates in that state came from two regions—the Piedmont and the Black Belt. Greene County's Charles Hays, a future Republican congressman, possessed 93 slaves in 1860, nearly three-quarters of the

Black Belt delegates' total and more than one-quarter of the total owned by the entire state's delegates.⁸

Alabama delegates chose 68-year-old southern white Elisha Peck to preside over their deliberations. A wealthy Tuscaloosa lawyer, former slaveholder, and native of Blenheim, New York, Peck had moved to Alabama in 1825, shortly after being admitted to the New York bar. As a Whig, he was appointed chancery judge in 1839. He later opposed secession and identified himself as a "Union man" throughout the war. After chairing the convention, despite being a virtual invalid, he then served as chief justice of the Alabama Supreme Court until 1874.

Delegates to the Mississippi convention selected an outside white as their president. Their choice, Brevet Brigadier General Beroth Eggleston, was an Ohio native who had arrived in Mississippi in 1865 following a distinguished military career that had included duty as commander of Atlanta after that city's final surrender in early May 1865. Investing initially in a plantation near Columbus, he had become a Republican leader in Lowndes County by the fall of 1867.⁹

As seen in table 4.7, the presidents of the Alabama and Mississippi conventions appointed outside whites as chairmen of the standing committees in disproportionately large numbers. In Alabama, 8 of 15 committee chairmanships went to carpetbaggers and the remaining 7 to southern whites. None went to blacks, who were likewise excluded from such positions in Mississippi, where the 13 chairmanships were apportioned among 7 outside whites, 5 southern whites, and an unclassified white. In both conventions the numbers of rank-and-file standing committee appointments from each of the three delegate blocs was much more equitable. Some 51 of 89 (57.3%) standing committee assignments in Alabama went to southern whites, 21 (23.6%) to outside whites, 15 (16.9%) to blacks, and 2 to unclassified whites. In Mississippi, 53 of the total of 96 (55.2%) were held by southern whites, 22 (22.9%) by outside whites, 17 (17.7%) by blacks, and 4 (4.2%) by unclassified whites.¹⁰

THE ALABAMA CONVENTION

During their 28 days of actual sessions, held from November 5 to December 6, 1867, the Alabama delegates cast 88 roll-call votes.¹¹ We have selected 30 of these and categorized them in four scales—government structure, suffrage, racial issues, and miscellaneous matters—for closer examination. Although economic votes produced a coherent fifth scale in most other conventions, they failed to do so in Alabama. This clearly supports Horace Mann Bond's hypothesis that postwar economic issues failed to elicit expected radical/conservative divisions among Alabama's Reconstruction-era politicians, no matter how marked their differences in other areas.¹² It appears, then, that even as early as the fall of 1867 when the Alabama delegates were assembling, economic concerns were already eliciting the bipartisan cooperation Bond discovered in his classic overview of later legislative appropriations for the building of railroads.

Government Structure Issues

Four of the votes in the seven-vote government structure scale involved either the powers of the convention or provisions of the new constitution. The first of these votes concerned an initiative from future congressman Thomas Haughey (a southern white of Morgan County) granting the convention authority to create a state provisional government staffed exclusively by those who had taken the “ironclad” loyalty oath of July 2, 1862. On November 8, Early Greathouse, a southern white of Tallapoosa County, failed by a margin recorded incorrectly as 57–26 to table Haughey’s mandate that southern whites staffing government positions swear to their past as well as their future loyalty. On November 21 and 23, Republicans successfully tabled two other amendments from Greathouse, the first to abolish the proposed office of lieutenant governor and the second to require six rather than three months’ local residency to be eligible to serve in the lower house of the General Assembly. Finally, on December 5, Republicans secured passage of the their new constitution by a vote of 66–8.¹³

Although the remaining three votes in this scale did not involve constitutional provisions, they also revealed strong Republican cohesion. In continuing discussion of moving the capitol from Montgomery, changing the name of Cleburne County (a designation honoring Confederate General Patrick Cleburne) to Lincoln County, and authorizing consideration of similar name changes for other Alabama counties whose names “glorified” the rebellion, the radicals thus prevailed easily in all seven scaled government structure votes.¹⁴

Suffrage Issues

Discussion of the first of the 13 votes comprising the suffrage scale began on November 9, with the successful tabling of a motion from Henry Semple (southern white from Montgomery) that would have prohibited delegates from moving beyond the Reconstruction Acts in disenfranchising southern whites. By November 14, debate over voting restrictions became intense as delegates considered majority and minority reports (presented initially on November 11) from the Committee on the Elective Franchise. Signed by committee chairman Albert Griffin (the outside white editor of the *Mobile Nationalist*) and three others, the three-section majority document called for the disenfranchisement of registered voters who failed to cast ballots in the election in which the state’s new constitution was to be ratified, barring men guilty of treason from the electorate, and requiring that voters swear an oath affirming the civil and political equality of the freedmen. In contrast, the minority report, signed by Joseph Speed (southern white of Perry County) and two other delegates, simply extended the franchise to all men willing to take an oath of allegiance to the government of the United States.¹⁵

The delegates postponed discussion of the majority document until November 18, at which time a contentious debate resumed. Moderates wished to dilute what they regarded as the report’s excessive harshness; radicals offered some 7 or so substitutions (and some 20 amendments), each seeking generally to place additional restrictions on various categories of native

whites. On November 19 and 20 amid the clashing efforts of the convention's rival factions to pass the minority report, reject the majority document, or return the entire matter to committee, it seemed that the convention's majority coalition might well crumble. Fearing that it would, Republican delegates caucused and sought advice from Republican leaders in Washington.¹⁶

Those consulted there were concerned that an excessively proscriptive Alabama suffrage article might hurt the party in the North, where a number of off-year elections hung in the balance and where voters seemed increasingly averse to sweeping disenfranchisements of southern whites. Despite Griffin's continued efforts to secure a stringent suffrage article, delegates heeding the advice of their national leadership endeavored to steer a more prudent course.¹⁷ A watered-down measure was passed in a series of six votes on November 20. Missing from it was the stipulation of the original majority report that national leaders had found most troubling: namely a section that would have stripped the franchise from those who registered to vote and then boycotted the plebiscite required for ratification.¹⁸ Although an overwhelming majority (88%) of delegates voting on a key issue on November 19 had opposed substitution of the minority committee report for the majority report, most of them afterward accepted, albeit reluctantly, the more prudent course urged by Washington. This trend, then, was obvious in a pair of votes on November 29 in which Albert Griffin abandoned his efforts to secure authorization for the legislature to place additional restrictions on the voting rights of southern whites. Following that outcome, Republican delegates finally dispensed with the issue that had the greatest potential for splintering their coalition and endangering their control of the convention.

Racial Issues

Racial issues first attracted delegate attention on November 25, when Joseph Speed spoke in opposition to the Committee on Education's report, which had failed to mandate racially segregated public schools.¹⁹ In the first two votes of this six-vote scale, delegates tabled Speed's substitute resolution requiring separate facilities and adopted the original. Delegates then twice (on November 26 and December 4) tabled initiatives from Henry Semple, a recent Confederate major and a nephew of former president John Tyler, that would have required segregation on steamboats, in hotels, on railroads, and in places of public amusement. Semple was then yet twice again thwarted (on November 29 and December 3) by the tabling of his initiatives to secure a directive mandating legislative prohibition of interracial marriages.²⁰

Miscellaneous Issues

Because of apprehensions concerning the possible adverse consequences of popularly electing judicial officials, the Committee on the Judicial Department, chaired by conservative lawyer Henry Semple, submitted a report proposing senate-approved gubernatorial appointment

of judges. The four votes on the miscellaneous scale, all of which deal with this matter, began on November 26, when William Skinner (a southern white attorney from Franklin County) moved successfully to table the section of the Judicial Committee report requiring appointed judges. Thomas Peters, an attorney from Lawrence County, then moved instead to strike the offending appointment section completely, and delegates then also passed a measure mandating election of inferior court judges. Then, on November 27, Peters scuttled the heart of the original Judiciary Committee report—all judicial officials, from members of the supreme court down through all the lower courts, were to be selected by a vote of the people. In the space of several days, then, in one of the most dramatic reversals witnessed in any of the Black and Tan conventions, the cautious report from Semple's committee had been turned on its head. The selection of judges would not be an executive prerogative but a power entrusted instead to Alabama's new biracial electorate.²¹

THE MISSISSIPPI CONVENTION

Between January 7 and May 18, 1868, Mississippi delegates participated in 281 roll-call votes during the 114 days in which they were in session. Although 96 of the 100 delegates seated in Jackson took part in at least some of these votes, a sizable percentage of them did so only infrequently. Consequently, only about three-quarters (78) of the delegates voted often enough on the 51 votes comprising the five Mississippi issue scales to be assigned Republican support scores (RSSs).²²

Government Structure Issues

Voting on the eight votes in the government structure scale began on January 10, when Marshall County's John Watson, recently a member of the Senate of the Confederate States of America, sought unsuccessfully to prohibit fellow delegates from holding office in a reorganized state government, an attempt to prevent the most effective Republican leaders from holding future offices.²³ Delegates defeated Watson's proposal and then endorsed a call for petition to the federal government proposed by Henry Barry (an outside white from Holmes County) requesting that Congress empower the convention to appoint a loyal new Mississippi government.²⁴ Five days later, Joseph Field secured a resolution declaring it the "sense of the Convention" that all its legislative acts were binding. Then, on January 23—despite vocal opposition from conservative outside white Charles Townsend (like Watson, from Marshall County)—delegates did in fact request congressional authorization to vacate all state offices held by persons of doubtful loyalty.²⁵ After sending their request to purge the state government of unreconstructed rebels to Washington, delegates turned to constitution drafting, endorsing on February 20 section 13 of the bill of rights, which eliminated property holding as a prerequisite for jury duty. Then on March 4 they tabled a motion from William Compton (another

Marshall County southern white) that would have mandated apportionment of representatives solely by county, not from both counties and districts. Finally, the delegates proceeded to apportion the lower house of the state legislature.²⁶

Racial Issues

Racial issues became a focal point of frequent delegate attention from mid-January into mid-May. The first of 17 votes in this scale was taken on January 11, when the delegates defeated Charles Townsend's call for restricting the franchise to whites.²⁷ About a month later, on February 15, Walter Stricklin failed to secure an amendment to section 1 of the bill of rights that would have granted citizenship exclusively to whites.²⁸ Three days later, after endorsing a motion from Nicholas Bridges (southern white of Choctaw County) to table a debate on miscegenation, the convention's Republican majority struck down Stricklin's amendment to the twelfth section of the bill of rights, which would have limited jury duty exclusively to whites. On February 24, however, John Watson succeeded in altering section 21 of the bill of rights. This amendment, requiring the legislature to establish an apprenticeship system for minors was, however, later dropped from the final version of the constitution, perhaps because it reminded delegates of some of the inflammatory provisions of the infamous Mississippi Black Code of 1865.²⁹ On the following day, two additional votes were taken on sections 25 and 28 of the bill of rights. The first resulted in denial of state funds to institutions and charities practicing racial discrimination. The second, although maintaining a ban on segregation of public transportation, rejected an effort by Benjamin Orr (a southern white of Harrison County) to extend desegregation to facilities providing public entertainment as well. Finally, on May 12, Thomas Stringer (a mixed-race delegate from Warren County) successfully attached a proviso "to the mode of amending the constitution" that prohibited alteration of section 18 of the bill of rights (which forbade property requirements for voters) until at least 1885.³⁰

Despite their success in passing all but two of these measures, Republicans were troubled by Governor Benjamin Humphreys's proclamation of December 9, 1867, in which he alleged that the state's freedmen were planning an insurrection that he warned blacks would "signalize the destruction of your cherished hopes and the ruin of your race."³¹ As a result, on January 13 the convention endorsed a resolution by Albert Morgan (outside white of Yazoo County) authorizing a committee to investigate the validity of the governor's accusation. The investigation resulted in a brief report on January 24, which found Humphreys's allegations utterly groundless. Delegates then endorsed a call from future congressman George McKee (outside white from Warren County) for a more detailed summation of the entire matter.³²

Education embroiled delegates in their final debates over racial issues. On March 7, surprised Republicans failed initially to table an amendment from George Stovall (a southern white of Carroll County) requiring segregated schools.³³ On March 9, however, they regrouped, shelving a similar motion by William Compton and securing an education article that said nothing one way or the other regarding segregation in educational facilities. On the fol-

lowing day, delegates instructed legislators to levy a poll tax in support of schools. They also accepted an amendment from Edward Castello (an outside white of Adams County) to the fifth section of the education article, permitting more than one school per district and thus making way for segregated schools.³⁴ About a week later, on March 16, the convention established a state agricultural college open to both races. Finally, in early April, Republicans carried the sixth of the seven scaled votes on education, tabling a last-ditch attempt by John Phillips (southern white from Tunica County) to mandate racially separate schools constitutionally.³⁵

Miscellaneous Issues

While focused on Governor Humphreys's concerns regarding possibility of insurrection among the former slaves, delegates took the first of five votes on miscellaneous matters. Each of these involved action against specific individuals—ranging broadly from fellow delegates to President Andrew Johnson. The first vote was taken on January 14 with acceptance of a resolution from Henry Musgrove (outside white of Clarke County) stating that William Comp-ton had violated his registration oath by asserting that the Reconstruction Acts were unconstitutional.³⁶ On February 25 and 26, two votes resulted in passage of a resolution from George Holland (a southern white of Oktibbeha County) approving the impeachment on February 24 of President Andrew Johnson.³⁷ Finally, delegates expelled two conservative colleagues for “ungentleman like” behavior. They first removed R. C. Merryman (a southern white from Lauderdale County) on March 6, as a consequence of his drunken assault on the convention doorkeeper during the evening of February 19. A similar fate then befell Charles Townsend, who was booted from the convention on April 18 after engaging in a fistfight with President Beroth B. Eggleston.³⁸

Economic Issues

Unlike Alabama's, Mississippi's economic divisions scaled. Out of eight votes, Republicans carried seven. Their one defeat occurred on January 20 in what was perhaps the most interesting vote in this scale: the passage of George Stovall's motion to stop sheriffs' sales of land for debt. Although Stovall's measure provided much-needed debt relief, a number of Republican leaders favored, instead, a proposition from Abel Alderson (southern white of Jefferson County) that authorized state-funded public works projects as a more socially responsible means of dealing with economic suffering. In contrast to that setback, Republicans were able on January 18 to thwart Albert Morgan's effort to table discussion of a property tax as a means of funding the convention. They followed up on that vote a month later (February 19) by endorsing a special tax for that purpose. They also accepted a proposition on February 22 from William Gibbs (an outside white from Wilkinson County) for a special committee to travel to Washington to request a \$100,000 loan from Congress for convention expenses. A few days later, on February 26, delegates rejected a call to strike a cotton tax from a measure designed to finance the convention. The following day they endorsed an addendum to the Finance Committee report

that revised and replaced the special tax passed on February 19 to meet the expenses of the convention.³⁹

Suffrage Issues

As in Alabama, the franchise attracted great attention from Mississippi delegates, who also spent considerable time defining office-holding requirements. On February 12, discussion of the issues in this thirteen-vote scale began with the tabling of a resolution from James Elliott (a southern white from Monroe county) requesting that Congress remove political disabilities from most former Confederates.⁴⁰ On March 19, after approving Albert Morgan's reduction of state residency requirements for voting from a year to six months, delegates then returned to the question of restricting the political rights of former Confederates. On April 8, they amended section 5 of the franchise report to prevent those who had voted for or signed a secession ordinance from holding public office. On April 10 and 16, they modified this section further (prior to its passage on April 22) with three votes on amendments from Albert Morgan and Henry Barry that specified which categories of native whites would see their rights restricted.⁴¹

In addition to establishing residency requirements for the entire electorate and loyalty standards for southern white voters, delegates were determined to protect the political interests of the freedmen. On February 27, the convention passed what was to become section 18 of the bill of rights, prohibiting the establishment of property and educational qualifications for voters. Then on March 13 they outlawed property-holding requirements for public officials. Next, they moved immediately and successfully to foil William Compton's amendment to an ordinance from the Committee on General Provisions, which would have disenfranchised both unscrupulous whites who tricked blacks into unfair labor contracts and blacks who were foolish enough to accept them.⁴² On March 19, delegates also frustrated George Stovall's effort to make a section of the voter registration oath less restrictive, even in the event that Congress at some point in the future should liberalize its suffrage requirements. By April 22, delegates had framed the constitution's new franchise article, which required a prospective voter to swear to "admit the civil and political equality of all men. . . ." The delegates capped these victories on May 11 by endorsing an oath of office required of all state officials.⁴³

ANALYSIS OF ROLL-CALL VOTING

Table 4.8 summarizes the voting patterns within the two conventions on four voting scales in Alabama and on five in Mississippi. Although radicals lost 4 of the 51 votes examined in the five issue scales in Mississippi (3 on race and 1 on economics) and carried all 30 included in the four issue scales in Alabama, the average support for Republican positions among Mississippi delegates (66.2%) was nearly the same as that of Alabama delegates (66.9%). In three of the four issue scales common to both conventions (suffrage, race, and government structure)

Alabama delegates supported Republican positions slightly more than did Mississippi delegates. The latter, then, owe their nearly equal overall RSSs to their much higher scores on miscellaneous votes. In Mississippi, hot-button issues—the impeachment of President Johnson and the expulsion of two intransigent delegates, R. C. Merryman and Charles Townsend—led to the highest level of Republican support (75.1%) on any issue scale in either convention. Conversely, the lowest (61.2%) occurred in miscellaneous voting in Alabama, which included the contentious matter of whether to scrap the original report from the Committee on the Judicial Department, which had mandated appointment of judges, and to provide instead for their selection by popular elections.

Table 4.9 offers a second measure of Republican support in each of the conventions. In this case, the average score was determined not by vote but by delegate. The table shows the median and mean of the total proportion of Republican votes cast by each delegate within each of the issues areas (four in Alabama and five in Mississippi). In contrast to the calculations used in table 4.8, table 4.9 excludes the scores within any issue area of delegates who voted less than half the time. The numbers at the right of the chart consequently represent the total number of delegates who voted often enough (i.e., at least half the time) to be scaled in each issue area. The bottom row of the table, then, gives the averages, medians, and standard deviations of the overall RSSs of the delegates who scaled on at least half of the issue areas and the total number of delegates who voted at least half of the time in at least half of the issue areas for each convention.

The patterns seen in the general voting figures in table 4.8 are reflected again in those in table 4.9. With respective average overall RSSs of 3.27 and 3.23, the Republican support is shown again to be nearly the same in Mississippi and Alabama. Again, though, this tendency was owing largely to the sizable difference between Mississippi and Alabama delegates in their support of Republican positions on miscellaneous votes (.79 and .60, respectively). It should be noted that the convention in Jackson (with standard deviations in overall RSSs of 1.72) was significantly more divided than the one in Montgomery (with standard deviations in overall RSSs of 1.31). This difference is revealed again in the fact that Mississippi had only 12 swing voters, whereas Alabama had 20.

Table 4.10 presents statistics on issue scales for both conventions. In Alabama the most reliable (internally consistent) were race and suffrage votes (.91 and .87). Miscellaneous and government structure matters, by contrast, produced only minimally reliable scales (alphas of .75 and .72, respectively). Racial votes produced the most reliable scale in Alabama (alpha = .91), as did race and government structure votes in Mississippi (both scales with alphas of .93). The suffrage scale in Mississippi also produced a highly reliable alpha (.92), as did those on economics and miscellaneous issues (alphas of .86 and .89). In summary, then, the internal consistencies of the Alabama and Mississippi voting scales were almost never as high as in the Virginia and Arkansas conventions, where alphas never dropped below .90.

Table 4.11 presents voting on the issue areas in each convention for southern whites, out-

side whites, and blacks. Mississippi southern white delegates, with scores ranging from a low of .41 on government structure to a high of .53 on miscellaneous issues, marginally opposed Republican positions in four of the five scaled issue areas. Mississippi's black delegates, however, were overwhelming in their support of Republican policies (.95 or above on each issue scale), and outside white delegates, despite a slight slump with respect to economic issues, evinced solid Republican support as well. In contrast to Mississippi, southern white delegates in Alabama, with an overall average RSS of 2.69, demonstrated moderate support for Republican positions except in the area of race, where, with an average RSS of just .48, they showed a slightly anti-Republican leaning. Although a bit less consistent in their promotion of Republican positions than were their counterparts in Mississippi, blacks and outside whites in Alabama's convention were still quite supportive of Republican positions on racial issues. Their lower support scores in comparison with Mississippi (4.19 as opposed to 4.79 in the case of blacks and 3.75 as opposed to 4.01 for outside whites) are owing in large measure to votes on miscellaneous issues. On this scale, Alabama's black delegates supported fellow Republicans only about two-thirds of the time, and outside whites actually showed a slightly conservative (.48) leaning—considerably lower, in fact, than southern whites (.60).

Table 4.12 shows some surprising and significant regional voting patterns in Alabama. As a group, delegates from the Mountain region (which returned no black or outside white delegates but where wartime Unionism had been strongest) were the most radical, with an average overall RSS of 3.94.⁴⁴ Those from Mobile and the Tennessee River Valley (with average overall RSSs of 3.76 and 3.72, respectively) also strongly supported Republican initiatives. Although the Black Belt returned 10 of the convention's 17 blacks and 15 of its 24 outside whites, its delegates produced a surprisingly modest average overall RSS of 3.15, just marginally higher than the Piedmont and Piney Woods/Wiregrass averages of 2.99 and 2.87, respectively. Still, in a convention in which Republicans carried all 30 scaled votes, delegates from each of Alabama's five regions voted as Republicans on most divisions.

In contrast with Alabama, where an all-southern white contingent from the Mountain region comprised the most radical regional voting bloc, Mississippi's most radical region, the Delta, returned significant numbers of blacks and outside whites. They comprised a majority (19 of 27) of its delegates with RSSs and posted an average overall RSS of 3.92. Blacks and outside whites also made up nearly three-quarters (12 of 19) of Central region delegates, who had average overall RSSs of 3.68. Although southern whites comprised over half of the South region's delegate group (5 of 8 delegates), delegates there returned a marginally radical average overall score of 3.43. No blacks were seated from Mississippi's North region, and the delegates who were (21 southern whites and 4 outside whites with RSSs) were markedly less Republican as a group (with an average overall RSS of 2.15) than were their colleagues from the state's other three regions.

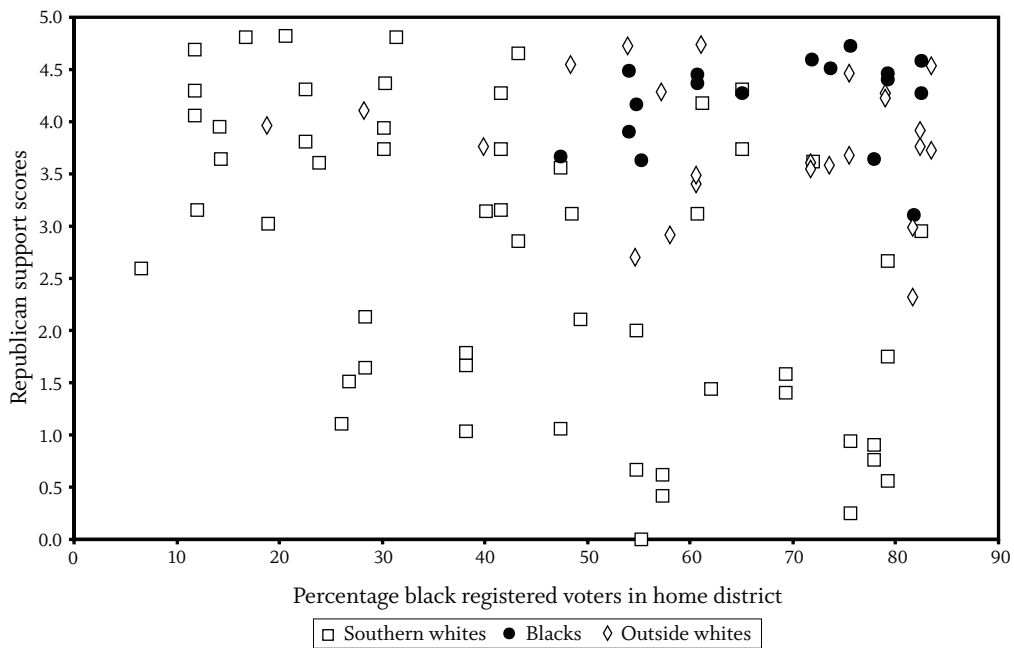
Table 4.13 shows the regional voting patterns of southern whites exclusively. In the case

of Alabama, as noted previously, the most radical of these came from the Mountain region, which returned only native whites. Southern whites from both Mobile and the Tennessee Valley were also strongly supportive of Republican issues, whereas those from the Piedmont and Piney Woods/Wiregrass were considerably less so, especially on racial votes. Most interesting, however, is the extraordinarily conservative voting behavior of the ten southern whites returned from the overwhelmingly African American constituencies of the Black Belt. Significantly, seven of them, including future congressman Charles Hayes, were Confederate veterans. Seven of the ten (including five of these veterans) voted as conservatives, and the remaining three (including two Confederate veterans) voted as swing delegates. All ten had an average overall RSS of only 1.38. What is perplexing is not that so many whites from the Black Belt were conservative; historically this is what one would expect. What is difficult to explain is how they were elected from districts with black voters averaging 75% of the electorate.

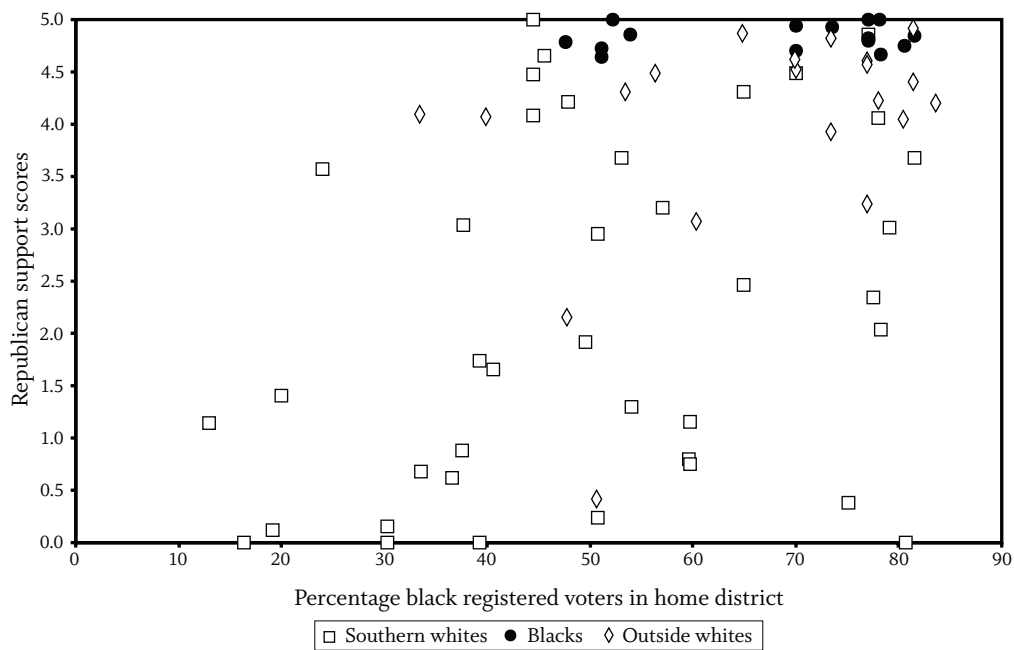
Mississippi's southern whites showed much less variation regionally in their voting behavior. Those from the South region had the highest average overall RSS (2.42) but were only marginally more supportive of Republicans than were those from the North region (whose 2.10 average overall RSS was the lowest among the state's regions). In all four regions of Mississippi, southern whites had an average overall RSS of only 2.18, and while no regional grouping of southern whites had average overall scores of more than 2.42 (as did four of six such regional groupings in Alabama), no native white delegation from any region in Mississippi voted against Republican initiatives as often as did southern white delegates from Alabama's Black Belt (whose average overall RSS was, as noted, only 1.38).

The scatterplots that follow demonstrate the relation between RSSs and the black voter percentages in delegates' home districts. The Alabama scatterplot shows that 12 of the convention's conservative southern whites came from districts in which blacks comprised over half the electorate, and 8 of them represented districts in which freedmen comprised two-thirds to three-quarters (62.0% to 79.2%) of the electorate. On the other hand, there appears to be no discernable pattern in the districts represented by southern white swing voters. By contrast, two-thirds (14 of 22) of the southern white radical delegates came from districts in which the freedmen comprised less than a third of registered voters. With only one exception, future congressman James Rapier, blacks represented districts in which the freedmen made up the majority of voters, and except for R. M. Johnson, the same was true of outside whites.

In the Mississippi convention, swing southern whites also hailed from districts of widely varying racial composition. As opposed to those in Alabama, conservative southern whites at the Mississippi convention clearly tended to represent white-majority constituencies. Ten came from districts in which blacks comprised 40% or less of the electorate, and another six came from constituencies in which registered voters were divided more or less evenly between blacks and whites. Mississippi's relatively few radical southern whites (12, compared with 22 in Alabama) generally came from districts that had larger percentages (45%–55%) of regis-



Scatterplot of Alabama delegates' RSSs and home district black voter constituencies



Scatterplot of Mississippi delegates' RSSs and home district black voter constituencies

tered freedmen than did their Alabama counterparts. A clear majority of Mississippi's black and outside white delegates represented constituencies in which the freedmen comprised 60% or more of voters.

Table 4.14 divides the delegates into three roughly equal groups based on their affluence. In both conventions, the least affluent were the most Republican; this correlation, however, was markedly stronger in Mississippi than in Alabama (cumulative RSSs of 4.21 and 3.74, respectively). The middle groups in both conventions were relatively Republican in their voting patterns, although Mississippi delegates in this category were somewhat more strongly so. In Alabama, delegates with the most property had an average RSS in the middle range (at 2.77), but this disguises the fact that 42% were radical and 25% were conservative, the rest being, of course, swing voters. In Mississippi, on the other hand, the wealthiest group was clearly in the conservative camp, with over half of its number having RSSs below 1.6.

An analysis of only the southern white delegates by their affluence levels (table 4.15) reveals that none of the three groupings, in either the Alabama or the Mississippi convention, produced a voting bloc with a radical voting pattern. In Alabama each of the three groups had an average RSS in the middle range. Within that overall classification, however, they demonstrated significant variation in their voting on individual scales. Alabama's low-affluence southern whites supported Republican positions less strongly than those with medium property holdings, largely because of their relatively low level of Republican support on government structure and especially on racial issues, where on average they opposed the Republican majority. While falling into the swing category as a group, individually Alabama's most prosperous southern whites, with an average RSS almost in the middle, consisted of almost equal proportions of radical, swing, and conservative delegates (see table 4.17). The least prosperous third of Mississippi's southern white delegates, consisting of five radicals, one swing voter, and three conservatives, had a somewhat higher RSS than did the comparable group in Alabama. This was due in large part to its members' greater willingness to endorse Republican positions on racial issues. In contrast, though, Mississippi's mid- and high-affluence southern white delegates were markedly less supportive of Republicans positions than were those in Alabama.

Republicans had a delegate majority in each convention. About 60% (58 of 96) of Alabama delegates and about 60% (47 of 78) of Mississippi delegates assigned support scores voted as radicals.⁴⁵ Table 4.16 shows significant regional variation in Alabama. Some 80% of Mobile and 77% of Tennessee Valley delegates voted as radicals, as did 71% of those from the Mountain region. In contrast, over half (8 of 15) of delegates from the Piney Woods/Wiregrass region were swing voters or conservatives, as was close to half (10 of 23) of the delegate contingent from the Piedmont. Because of the previously mentioned conservative voting behavior of the southern whites from the Black Belt, only about 60% of delegates from that region (19 of 33, all of whom were either black or outside white) voted as radicals.⁴⁶

Delegates from the Mississippi Delta, by contrast, were solidly in the Republican camp,

with slightly over 80% (22 of 27) voting as radicals. The state's South and Central sectors also returned radical delegate majorities; in each case, however, these majorities were less commanding (at 67% and 62%, respectively) than in the Delta. The North region, in contrast to each of the state's other three regions, returned a plurality of conservative delegates (11 of 24).

Table 4.17 shows that 40% of Alabama's southern whites voted as radicals and that the state's northern districts were clearly the stronghold of these scalawags. Only 1 of the 15 southern whites from the Tennessee Valley and Mountain regions was in the conservative camp, whereas two-thirds (10 of 15) supported the radicals. Scalawags made up the largest single component of the Piedmont's contingent of southern whites (9 of 19 delegates); they were a distinct minority in districts from the Piney Woods/Wiregrass (3 of 10), and the only southern white from Mobile was a swing voter. Finally, it is abundantly clear that the surprisingly modest average overall RSS achieved by all Black Belt delegates (3.15 in table 4.12) was attributable to that region's ten southern whites. Not a single one of them voted with the radicals—three were swing voters and seven were conservatives.⁴⁷

Overall, southern whites in Mississippi, with an average overall RSS of 2.18, were more conservative than their Alabama counterparts, whose average overall RSS was 2.69 (see table 4.11). Regional distinctions in their voting patterns were also not as clearly evident, and where they might seem so, as in the case of the 57% of southern white delegates from the central region who voted as conservatives, the numbers there are really too small to be meaningful.⁴⁸

Table 4.18 shows the percentages of radical, conservative, and swing southern whites engaged in each of the listed professions. Almost half of Alabama's southern white radicals farmed, and nearly a quarter of them practiced medicine. Almost half the swing delegates in Alabama also farmed, as did a third of Alabama's conservative southern whites. Nearly as many conservatives in Alabama practiced law. In Mississippi, the percentages of radical and conservative southern whites who farmed were about the same as they were in Alabama. On the other hand, the percentage of swing voters in Mississippi who were farmers was only about half the comparable figure for Alabama. Physicians in Mississippi accounted for nearly one-third of the conservatives and none of the radicals. Swing southern white voters in Mississippi were about equally divided among their three most common employments—farming, medicine, and business.

Table 4.19 shows the percentages of southern white delegates by profession who voted as radicals, swings, and conservatives. In many cases, the number of delegates in a profession is too small to be of significance, but not in the case of farmers, lawyers, and physicians (who numbered, respectively, 23, 9, and 9 in Alabama and 12, 5, and 7 in Mississippi). Almost half (10 of 23) of Alabama's farmer delegates were radicals; the rest divided almost evenly between swing voters (7) and conservatives (6). By contrast, Mississippi's 12 farmer delegates were evenly split (5 and 5) between radicals and conservatives, with two swing voters. Five of the

Alabama convention's nine lawyers voted as conservatives, while the five southern white lawyers in Mississippi split evenly between radical and conservative with one swing voter. None of the southern white physicians in the Mississippi convention voted as a radical, and the majority (5 of 7) were conservatives. In Alabama, by contrast, the majority (5 of 9) of physicians were radicals, while the remainder divided evenly between swing voters and conservatives.

Table 4.20 looks at the ages of southern white radical, swing, and conservative delegates. Except for the fact that half of Alabama's conservative southern whites were young, little stands out in these data. Table 4.21, which shows the property holdings of these groups, is of much more interest. In both conventions, almost half the conservative delegates were among the southern whites with the highest measure of affluence. By contrast, more than half (56%) of the native white radicals in Mississippi were among the delegates having low property holdings. A somewhat similar pattern is found in Alabama, where nearly three-quarters (73%) of the most radical southern whites were of low or medium economic standing.

THE SCRAMBLE TO RATIFY THE CONSTITUTIONS

With differences over suffrage mediated from Washington, the Alabama convention's radical coalition had held together despite the fact that 18 southern white delegates formally protested the constitution's adoption.⁴⁹ Then, having framed the first of the Black and Tan constitutions, the radical coalition experienced a shocking setback. In elections that began on February 4, 1868, the document they had framed so expeditiously failed in the plebiscite required for its ratification. Although a massive majority of the ballots endorsed the new constitution (nearly 99% of the approximately 72,000 votes cast), the total number of voters was still more than 13,000 short of the registered majority required by the Reconstruction Act of March 23, 1867. This surprising outcome was apparently a result of two factors: the intimidation of black voters and a concerted boycott of the election by whites. While more than 90,000 voters had endorsed the calling of the convention, fewer than 71,000 supported the ratification of the resulting constitution. Between the two elections, the number of black voters fell by just over 10%, but more tellingly, white voting fell by nearly two-thirds.⁵⁰

Shocked by this outcome, some in Congress wanted simply to declare the new constitution valid, arguing that unlawful intimidation of the freedmen had been largely responsible for the paucity of the vote. Instead, however, the fourth Reconstruction Act was enacted—effective March 11, 1868, and applied retroactively to Alabama. It proclaimed that a majority only of votes actually cast in referenda was sufficient to validate the new constitutions mandated under the previous Reconstruction Acts. It followed also that the elections for state officers were validated, and William Smith (who had been nominated at a caucus of Republican convention delegates) assumed the office of governor.⁵¹ After Alabama's new legislature—also legitimized by Congress—assembled on July 14, Smith took his oath of office, assuming, somewhat belatedly, his gubernatorial duties under the first of the Black and Tan constitutions.

As Republicans labored in Montgomery and Washington to recover from their Alabama setback, they were to receive yet a second blow. This one came from Mississippi. Beroth Eggleston had been selected as the party's gubernatorial candidate at a convention in Jackson on February 5, and General Gillem had authorized elections, starting on June 22, on the ratification of the new constitution and for the selection of new state officials. Democrats, who selected Benjamin Humphreys as their gubernatorial standard-bearer at their own convention in Jackson on May 12, had then mounted a formidable campaign against the new constitution, asserting that its suffrage and office-holding provisions were inordinately proscriptive. Galvanized by the issue of white disenfranchisement and willing to suppress the Republican vote by any means necessary, Democrats put up a determined fight and won. On July 10, Gillem announced that the constitution had lost by almost 8,000 votes. If that were not catastrophic enough, Humphreys vanquished Eggleston in the gubernatorial contest by a margin of nearly 3.5%, and the Democrats secured majorities in both houses of the legislature.⁵²

This was the sole instance in which a majority of votes went against the ratification of a Black and Tan constitution, and Republican congressional leaders reacted by continuing military rule in Mississippi and barring Humphreys from occupying the governor's mansion. Although General Gillem insisted that the constitution had been fairly defeated, the convention's Committee on the Ratification of the Constitution (comprised of five delegates appointed previously by Eggleston) contended that voter intimidation had been responsible for the shocking Republican defeat.⁵³

This sentiment was echoed at yet another Republican convention, this time in Jackson on November 25, at which a "Committee of Sixteen" was authorized to travel to Washington to present to Congress the contention that the constitution had actually been ratified by a margin of some 3,380 votes (after throwing out allegedly fraudulent returns from seven counties). Arriving in Washington, they lobbied diligently, even meeting with President Grant on March 24, 1869. By early April, however, it was clear that Republican leaders in the national capital were unwilling simply to reverse the outcome of the previous June. Instead, they opted for a second ratification plebiscite, and on July 10, President Grant authorized elections, to start on November 30, with separate votes on four of the constitution's most controversial sections.⁵⁴

Republicans consequently met yet once again in Jackson on September 30 and selected a scalawag, James Alcorn, a wealthy Coahoma County planter, as their new gubernatorial nominee. Democrats, meanwhile, opted not to name their own candidate. Hoping to secure a "moderate" Reconstruction—such as the one in Virginia, where Gilbert Walker's gubernatorial victory seemed to confirm that "reasonable" whites could actually take control of a former Confederate state without interference from Washington—Democrats chose, instead, to support the state's new "conservative" National Union Republicans, a party that had been founded in a convention that had met in Jackson the previous June. It was highly unlikely, however, that

the Union Republicans would ever attract more than token support from the freedmen, even after they selected Lewis Dent—President Grant’s brother-in-law—to head their ticket.

Following a two-month campaign, Republicans finally achieved the victory that had eluded them in June of 1868. In a contest in which both parties endorsed jettisoning its proscriptive features, the constitution was ratified overwhelmingly—113,735 to 955. Since, however, Democrats did run a number of their own candidates for legislative and local offices (while at the same time supporting Dent for governor), Alcorn’s victory (76,143 to 38,133) was, although substantial, much closer than the vote on the constitution. Republicans, however, also returned overwhelming majorities to both houses of the legislature.⁵⁵

The new legislature assembled in Jackson on January 11, 1870, and on February 23, President Grant signed the bill restoring Mississippi’s representation in Congress. Some two weeks later, Governor Alcorn had offered his inaugural address to a sympathetic audience, which included James Longstreet, former lieutenant general for the Confederacy.⁵⁶ At last, after a struggle stretching over some 28 months from November 1867 into March 1870, civilian rule had finally been restored in both Alabama and Mississippi.

SUMMARY

The Alabama and Mississippi delegates scrutinized in this chapter had much in common. Among all ten Black and Tan constitutions, only the two they drafted were fated for rejection in the congressionally mandated referenda required for their ratification and implementation. Besides this dubious distinction, the two conventions were also strikingly similar in their delegate mix—a bit over half of the delegates in both were southern whites, about a quarter were outside whites, and slightly under a fifth were black. Although the Republicans carried all 30 roll-call votes comprising the four issue scales in Alabama but lost 4 of 51 on the five scales for the Mississippi convention, the average overall Republican strength in the two conventions was almost identical, with Republicans, on average, carrying the scaled votes in both conventions by almost identical margins (66.9% in Alabama and 66.2% in Mississippi). In addition, the average overall RSSs of their delegates were nearly identical (3.23 in Alabama and 3.27 in Mississippi).

There were, however, a few significant differences between the two conventions, the most important being the political propensities of their southern white delegates. Scalawags (native white radicals, as opposed to swing or conservative southern whites) were much more numerous in Alabama. In Montgomery, a native southern white, Elisha W. Peck, was chosen to preside over the convention. Radical southern whites there also enjoyed a solid base of support in Alabama’s Mountain region (the region boasting the state’s highest overall RSS [3.94] even while returning not a single black or outside white delegate), and they comprised a plurality (22 of 55, or 40%) of southern whites with designated support scores. In Mississippi,

by contrast, carpetbagger Beroth B. Eggleston officiated, and the highest regional RSS among southern whites was a modest 2.42 (actually lower than those recorded for native whites from four of Alabama's six regions). In addition, a plurality of Mississippi's southern whites (18 of 39, or 46%) voted as conservatives.⁵⁷

In retrospect, however, no matter what the leanings of the southern whites in these two conventions, Republicans still faced a precarious future in both Alabama and Mississippi, even though freedmen comprised a majority of registered voters in both states. As noted previously, in each state significant numbers of southern white delegates had publicly criticized the new constitutions, even going so far as to withdraw from their respective conventions in protest. In both states, too, conservatives had then demonstrated both organizational skill and surprising strength in mounting determined efforts to frustrate, albeit only temporarily, both the ratification of these two new constitutions and the installation of the prospective Republican state governments that were to implement them.

Thus, even with support from the newly enfranchised freedmen, survival of Republican regimes in Alabama and Mississippi was clearly problematic and dependent upon continued political and military support from Washington. In March of 1868, such succor had been forthcoming: Congress had passed a fourth Reconstruction Act, thus installing a Republican regime in Montgomery while also declaring the Alabama constitution in force as a consequence of its having been endorsed by a large majority of those voting on its ratification. The resolve demonstrated by that action, however, was to ebb considerably by July of 1869, as seen by the ratification of Virginia's constitution only after several of its provisions were voted on separately and defeated during a contest that also resulted in the Democrats' gaining control of the Old Dominion. Some five months later, Washington then acceded to a similar plebiscite, resulting in the overwhelming ratification of the new Mississippi constitution, also without several sections to which conservative southern whites objected.

Thus by March 10, 1870, even as James Longstreet hearkened to Governor Alcorn's stately inaugural remarks, Democrats found their situation far from hopeless. They had exploited concessions from Washington in establishing the ground rules for the 1869 ratification referendum in Mississippi, and they would regain control in Alabama by 1874. Several building blocks of the infamous "Mississippi Plan," through which they hoped to regain mastery in the Magnolia State a year later, had been put into place. Governor Adelbert Ames was to fall victim to the Democratic onslaught of 1875 in yet a second imposed victory—a victory in that instance, however, that was not to be dictated by the federal government.

Data Tables for the Alabama and Mississippi Conventions

TABLE 4.1. PERCENTAGE OF ELECTORATE BLACK AND NUMBER OF
BLACK DELEGATES BY REGION

<i>Region</i>	<i>Blacks in region (%)</i>	<i>No. of black delegates expected^a</i>	<i>Actual no. of black delegates</i>
<i>Alabama</i>			
Tennessee Valley	40	5	3
Mountain	12	1	0
Piedmont	44	10	1
Black Belt	76	26	10
Piney Woods/Wiregrass	49	8	1
Mobile	61	3	2
Total	—	53	17
<i>Mississippi</i>			
Delta	78	16	6
North	48	16	0
Central	57	20	10
South	48	3	1
Total	—	55	17

^aBased on percentage of blacks in electorate.

TABLE 4.2. PERCENTAGE OF DELEGATES GROUPS FROM EACH REGION

<i>Region</i>	<i>Southern whites</i>	<i>Blacks</i>	<i>Outside whites</i>	<i>Unclassified whites</i>	<i>Overall</i>
<i>Alabama</i>					
Tennessee Valley (%)	14.3	17.6	4.2	50.0	13.1
Mountain (%)	12.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	7.1
Piedmont (%)	33.9	5.9	8.3	50.0	23.2
Black Belt (%)	17.9	58.8	62.5	0.0	35.4
Piney Woods/Wiregrass (%)	19.6	5.9	16.7	0.0	16.2

BLACKS, CARPETBAGGERS, AND SCALAWAGS

TABLE 4.2. (continued)

Region	Southern whites	Blacks	Outside whites	Unclassified whites	Overall
Mobile (%)	1.8	11.8	8.3	0.0	5.1
Total no.	56	17	24	2	99
<i>Mississippi</i>					
Delta (%)	20.4	47.1	52.4	25.0	32.3
North (%)	48.1	0.0	19.0	25.0	32.3
Central (%)	20.4	47.1	19.0	50.0	26.0
South (%)	11.1	5.9	9.5	0.0	9.4
Total no.	54	17	21	4	96

TABLE 4.3. AVERAGE AND MEDIAN AGE BY DELEGATE GROUP

	Average		Median		Number	
	Ala.	Miss.	Ala.	Miss.	Ala.	Miss.
Southern whites	47	49	45	49	54	48
Blacks	40	42	42	42	12	12
Outside whites	36	36	34	32	21	17
Overall	43	45	43	45	87	77

TABLE 4.4. KNOWN DELEGATE OCCUPATIONS BY GROUP (%)

Occupation	Southern whites		Blacks		Outside whites		All delegates	
	Ala.	Miss.	Ala.	Miss.	Ala.	Miss.	Ala.	Miss.
Farmer/planter	41.8	30.6	37.5	21.4	34.8	25.0	39.4	27.7
Merchant/businessman	12.7	6.1	6.3	0.0	8.7	10.0	10.6	6.0
Physician	16.4	18.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	9.6	10.8
Lawyer	16.4	20.4	0.0	0.0	21.7	15.0	14.9	15.7
Engineer	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	5.0	0.0	1.2
Educator	1.8	4.1	0.0	0.0	4.3	5.0	2.1	3.6
Minister	1.8	6.1	12.5	57.1	4.3	5.0	4.3	14.5
Newspaper editor	1.8	0.0	6.3	7.1	4.3	0.0	3.2	1.2
Local government official	0.0	2.0	6.3	0.0	4.3	10.0	2.1	3.6
Judicial officer	3.6	2.0	0.0	0.0	4.3	20.0	3.2	6.0
Fed. government official	0.0	2.0	0.0	0.0	8.7	5.0	2.1	2.4
Skilled laborer	3.6	8.2	12.5	14.3	4.3	0.0	5.3	7.2
Unskilled laborer	0.0	0.0	18.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.2	0.0

Alabama and Mississippi

TABLE 4.5. AVERAGE AND MEDIAN 1870 REAL AND PERSONAL PROPERTY BY DELEGATE GROUP

	Average (\$)		Median (\$)		No. in sample	
	Ala.	Miss.	Ala.	Miss.	Ala.	Miss.
<i>1870 real property</i>						
Southern whites	5,520	4,259	1,550	2,750	42	40
Blacks	577	684	0	400	13	12
Outside whites	1,605	3,462	1,050	0	20	13
Overall	3,619	3,439	1,000	1,500	75	65
<i>1870 personal property</i>						
Southern whites	3,803	2,031	1,000	1,068	42	40
Blacks	396	463	0	175	13	12
Outside whites	2,120	2,415	1,370	600	20	13
Overall	2,763	1,818	1,000	842	75	65
<i>1870 total property</i>						
Southern whites	9,323	6,289	3,713	4,220	42	40
Blacks	973	1,147	0	675	13	12
Outside whites	3,725	5,877	3,500	1,000	20	13
Overall	6,383	5,257	2,600	2,372	75	65

TABLE 4.6. KNOWN 1860 SLAVEHOLDINGS OF
SOUTHERN WHITE DELEGATES

	Alabama	Mississippi
Owned no slaves	16	20
Owned 1–10 slaves	13	12
Owned 11–20 slaves	9	0
Owned >20 slaves	3	9
Known slaveholdings	41	41

TABLE 4.7. REPRESENTATION OF DELEGATE GROUPS
ON STANDING COMMITTEES

	Alabama	Mississippi
<i>Standing committee chairs</i>		
Southern whites	7	5
Blacks	0	0
Outside whites	8	7
Unknown whites	0	1

TABLE 4.7. (continued)

	Alabama	Mississippi
Total	15	13
Standing committee members		
Southern whites	51	53
Blacks	15	17
Outside whites	21	22
Unknown whites	2	4
Total	89	96

TABLE 4.8. SUMMARY OF VOTING PATTERNS BY ISSUE AREA

Issue area	Avg. support for Republican positions (%)		Stand. dev. (%)		Republican victories (%)	
	Ala.	Miss.	Ala.	Miss.	Ala.	Miss.
Suffrage	68.4	67.3	11.6	9.0	100	100
Race	67.5	64.7	5.1	16.6	100	82
Gov. structure	67.0	66.0	10.3	8.9	100	100
Economics	—	62.5	—	15.6	—	88
Miscellaneous	61.2	75.1	6.2	10.6	100	100
Overall	66.9	66.2	9.8	13.1	100	92

TABLE 4.9. AVERAGE RSS BY ISSUE AREA

Issue area	Mean		Median		Standard dev.		No. of delegates scaled	
	Ala.	Miss.	Ala.	Miss.	Ala.	Miss.	Ala.	Miss.
Suffrage	.67	.67	.77	.88	.29	.36	96	69
Race	.67	.66	.82	.74	.39	.32	92	74
Gov. structure	.66	.64	.71	.75	.29	.40	92	87
Economics	—	.61	—	.71	—	.35	—	87
Miscellaneous	.60	.79	.67	1.00	.38	.35	92	57
Overall ^a	3.23	3.27	3.65	4.09	1.31	1.72	96	78

^aValues for delegates who voted at least half the time in at least half of the issue areas.

Alabama and Mississippi

TABLE 4.10. RESULTS OF RELIABILITY ANALYSIS FOR FIVE VOTING SCALES—
INTER-ITEM CORRELATIONS

Issue area	Mean		Minimum		Maximum		Alpha	
	Ala.	Miss.	Ala.	Miss.	Ala.	Miss.	Ala.	Miss.
Suffrage	.35	.48	.02	−.09	.80	.80	.87	.92
Race	.63	.45	.41	−.04	.81	1.00	.91	.93
Gov. structure	.27	.61	.09	.33	.86	.86	.72	.93
Economics	—	.44	—	.20	—	.73	—	.86
Miscellaneous	.43	.62	.14	.38	1.00	1.00	.75	.89

TABLE 4.11. AVERAGE RSS BY DELEGATE GROUP AND ISSUE AREA

Issue area	Southern whites		Blacks		Outside whites	
	Ala.	Miss.	Ala.	Miss.	Ala.	Miss.
Suffrage	.56 (54)	.44 (30)	.92 (17)	.95 (17)	.75 (23)	.77 (19)
Race	.48 (52)	.47 (36)	.87 (17)	.95 (17)	.97 (21)	.76 (19)
Gov. structure	.56 (53)	.41 (47)	.88 (17)	.97 (17)	.77 (20)	.85 (20)
Economics	—	.43 (47)	—	.95 (17)	—	.74 (20)
Miscellaneous	.60 (54)	.53 (21)	.68 (16)	.98 (16)	.48 (20)	.92 (19)
Overall	2.69 (55)	2.18 (39)	4.19 (17)	4.79 (17)	3.75 (22)	4.01 (20)

Note: Numbers in parentheses are the numbers of delegates in each group who had sufficient votes to scale.

TABLE 4.12. AVERAGE RSS BY REGION AND ISSUE AREA

Region	Suffrage	Race	Gov. structure	Econ.	Misc.	Avg. overall RSS
<i>Alabama</i>						
Tennessee Valley	.71	.67	.79	—	.81	3.72
Mountain	.72	.67	.80	—	.96	3.94
Piedmont	.67	.58	.55	—	.66	2.99
Black Belt	.66	.75	.70	—	.42	3.15
Piney Woods/Wiregrass	.58	.55	.54	—	.58	2.87
Mobile	.95	.90	.81	—	.35	3.76
<i>Mississippi</i>						
Delta	.77	.78	.79	.71	.84	3.92
North	.43	.42	.40	.42	.63	2.15
Central	.73	.75	.74	.71	.81	3.68
South	.63	.68	.59	.63	1.00	3.43

TABLE 4.13. AVERAGE SOUTHERN WHITE RSS BY REGION AND ISSUE AREA

<i>Region</i>	<i>Suffrage</i>	<i>Race</i>	<i>Gov. structure</i>	<i>Econ.</i>	<i>Misc.</i>	<i>Avg. overall RSS</i>
<i>Alabama</i>						
Tennessee Valley	.65	.64	.72	—	.75	3.46
Mountain	.72	.67	.80	—	.96	3.94
Piedmont	.63	.48	.53	—	.64	2.77
Black Belt	.29	.27	.44	—	.11	1.38
Piney Woods/Wiregrass	.46	.36	.42	—	.65	2.33
Mobile	1.00	1.00	.50	—	.00	3.13
<i>Mississippi</i>						
Delta	.40	.59	.41	.42	.44	2.33
North	.42	.40	.38	.41	.60	2.10
Central	.54	.48	.42	.47	.23	2.15
South	.40	.47	.48	.46	1.00	2.42

TABLE 4.14. AVERAGE RSS BY LEVEL OF AFFLUENCE AND ISSUE AREA

<i>Affluence level</i>	<i>Suffrage</i>		<i>Race</i>		<i>Gov. structure</i>		<i>Econ.</i>		<i>Misc.</i>		<i>Overall</i>	
	<i>Ala.</i>	<i>Miss.</i>	<i>Ala.</i>	<i>Miss.</i>	<i>Ala.</i>	<i>Miss.</i>	<i>Ala.</i>	<i>Miss.</i>	<i>Ala.</i>	<i>Miss.</i>	<i>Ala.</i>	<i>Miss.</i>
Low	.79	.83	.76	.80	.78	.83	—	.79	.63	1.00	3.74	4.21
Medium	.65	.71	.67	.70	.62	.72	—	.69	.62	.73	3.18	3.47
High	.54	.30	.56	.40	.58	.29	—	.34	.54	.50	2.77	1.77

Note: In Alabama, low is ≤\$1,400 and high is >\$4,700. In Mississippi, low is ≤\$900 and high is >\$4,500.

TABLE 4.15. AVERAGE SOUTHERN WHITE RSS BY LEVEL OF AFFLUENCE AND ISSUE AREA

<i>Affluence level</i>	<i>Suffrage</i>		<i>Race</i>		<i>Gov. structure</i>		<i>Econ.</i>		<i>Misc.</i>		<i>Overall</i>	
	<i>Ala.</i>	<i>Miss.</i>	<i>Ala.</i>	<i>Miss.</i>	<i>Ala.</i>	<i>Miss.</i>	<i>Ala.</i>	<i>Miss.</i>	<i>Ala.</i>	<i>Miss.</i>	<i>Ala.</i>	<i>Miss.</i>
Low	.56	.62	.42	.62	.56	.62	—	.58	.68	.59	2.76	2.99
Medium	.60	.22	.56	.41	.64	.43	—	.38	.70	.46	3.10	2.04
High	.47	.30	.41	.32	.42	.16	—	.27	.42	.00	2.14	1.29

Note: In Alabama, low is ≤\$1,800 and high is >\$6,000. In Mississippi, low is ≤\$2,000 and high is >\$7,000.

TABLE 4.16. REGIONAL ORIGIN OF RADICALS, SWING VOTERS, AND CONSERVATIVES

Region	Radicals			Swing voters			Conservatives		
	No.	% T	% R	No.	% T	% R	No.	% T	% R
Alabama									
Tenn. Valley	10	17	77	2	10	15	1	6	8
Mountain	5	9	71	2	10	29	0	0	0
Piedmont	13	22	57	4	20	17	6	33	26
Black Belt	19	33	58	7	35	21	7	39	21
Piney Woods/ Wiregrass	7	12	47	4	20	27	4	22	27
Mobile	4	7	80	1	5	20	0	0	0
Total	58	—	—	20	—	—	18	—	—
Mississippi									
Delta	22	47	82	2	17	7	3	16	11
North	8	17	33	5	42	21	11	58	46
Central	13	28	62	4	33	19	4	21	19
South	4	9	67	1	8	17	1	5	17
Total	47	—	—	12	—	—	19	—	—

% T = percentage of voting group (radical, swing, conservative) in state from region

% R = percentage of region's delegates in voting group

TABLE 4.17. REGIONAL ORIGIN OF SOUTHERN WHITE RADICALS, SWING VOTERS, AND CONSERVATIVES

Region	Radicals			Swing voters			Conservatives		
	No.	% T	% R	No.	% T	% R	No.	% T	% R
Alabama									
Tenn. Valley	5	23	63	2	13	25	1	6	13
Mountain	5	23	71	2	13	29	0	0	0
Piedmont	9	41	47	4	27	21	6	33	32
Black Belt	0	0	0	3	20	30	7	39	70
Piney Woods/ Wiregrass	3	14	30	3	20	30	4	22	40
Mobile	0	0	0	1	7	100	0	0	0
Total	22	—	—	15	—	—	18	—	—
Mississippi									
Delta	3	25	38	2	22	25	3	17	38
North	7	58	33	4	44	19	10	56	48

TABLE 4.17. (continued)

Region	Radicals			Swing voters			Conservatives		
	No.	% T	% R	No.	% T	% R	No.	% T	% R
Central	1	8	14	2	22	29	4	22	57
South	1	8	33	1	11	33	1	6	33
Total	12	—	—	9	—	—	18	—	—

% T = percentage of voting group (radical, swing, conservative) in state from region

% R = percentage of region's delegates in voting group

TABLE 4.18. PERCENTAGE OF SOUTHERN WHITES BY VOTING GROUP
BELONGING TO VARIOUS OCCUPATIONS

Occupation	Radicals (%)		Swing voters (%)		Conservatives (%)	
	Ala.	Miss.	Ala.	Miss.	Ala.	Miss.
Farmer	45	42	47	25	33	31
Merchant/businessman	5	0	20	25	17	0
Physician	23	0	13	25	11	31
Lawyer	9	17	13	13	28	13
Educator	0	8	0	13	6	0
Minister	5	8	0	0	0	13
Newspaper editor	5	0	0	0	0	0
Judicial officer	5	8	0	0	6	0
Fed. government official	0	8	0	0	0	0
Skilled laborer	5	8	7	0	0	13

TABLE 4.19. PERCENTAGE OF SOUTHERN WHITES BY OCCUPATION
BELONGING TO EACH VOTING GROUP

Occupation	Radicals (%)		Swing voters (%)		Conservatives (%)	
	Ala.	Miss.	Ala.	Miss.	Ala.	Miss.
Farmer	43	42	30	17	26	42
Merchant/businessman	14	0	43	100	43	0
Physician	56	0	22	29	22	71
Lawyer	22	40	22	20	56	40
Educator	0	50	0	50	100	0
Minister	100	33	0	0	0	67

Alabama and Mississippi

TABLE 4.19. (continued)

Occupation	Radicals (%)		Swing voters (%)		Conservatives (%)	
	Ala.	Miss.	Ala.	Miss.	Ala.	Miss.
Newspaper editor	100	0	0	0	0	0
Judicial officer	50	100	0	0	50	0
Fed. government official	0	100	0	0	0	0
Skilled laborer	50	33	50	0	0	67

TABLE 4.20. PERCENTAGE OF SOUTHERN WHITES BY AGE GROUP IN EACH VOTING GROUP

Age group	Radicals (%)		Swing voters (%)		Conservatives (%)	
	Ala.	Miss.	Ala.	Miss.	Ala.	Miss.
Young	24	42	27	29	50	31
Middle	38	25	40	29	22	44
Old	38	33	33	43	28	25

Note: In Alabama, the young group includes delegates through age 41 and the middle group through 52. In Mississippi, the young group includes delegates through age 42 and the middle group through 58.

TABLE 4.21. PERCENTAGE OF SOUTHERN WHITES BY PROPERTY GROUP
IN EACH VOTING GROUP

Property group	Radicals (%)		Swing voters (%)		Conservatives (%)	
	Ala.	Miss.	Ala.	Miss.	Ala.	Miss.
Low	33	56	40	20	33	20
Medium	40	33	33	40	25	33
High	27	11	27	40	42	47

Note: In Alabama, low is ≤\$1,800 and high is >\$6,000. In Mississippi, low is ≤\$2,000 and high is >\$7,000.

Selected Roll-Call Votes of the Alabama and Mississippi Conventions

ALABAMA

Government Structure Votes

1. An attempt on November 8 to table Thomas Haughey's motion calling for staffing the state's new provisional government exclusively with officials who could take the loyalty oath of July 2, 1862. The motion to table was defeated, 54–26 (recorded as 57–26). Yea 32%, Nay 68%. Republican position: Nay. Votes counted: 80. SD: .47. (*Official Journal of the Convention of Alabama*, 16–17.)
2. A motion to table discussion on whether to move the state capitol from Montgomery. On November 15, that effort failed, 52–33. Yea 39%, Nay 61%. Republican position: Nay. Votes counted: 85. SD: .49. (*Official Journal*, 65–66.)
3. A motion on November 16 to table discussion of whether to change the name of Cleburne County to Lincoln County. The effort to table failed, 55–30. Yea 35%, Nay 65%. Republican position: Nay. Votes counted: 85. SD: .48. (*Official Journal*, 69–70.)
4. A motion on November 16 to consider name changes for all Alabama counties possibly named in glorification of the rebellion. It passed, 57–33. Yea 63%, Nay 37%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 90. SD: .48. (*Official Journal*, 70–71.)
5. A motion to table an amendment offered by Early Greathouse on November 21 to strike the office of Lieutenant Governor from the report of the Committee on the Executive. It was tabled, 56–30 (recorded as 37–39). Yea 65%, Nay 35%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 86. SD: .48. (*Official Journal*, 105–6.)
6. An attempt by Greathouse on November 23 to table a proposal reducing residence requirements of state representatives from six to three months. This effort failed, 52–37. Yea 42%, Nay 58%. Republican position: Nay. Votes counted: 89. SD: .50. (*Official Journal*, 131–32.)
7. A vote on December 5 on the final endorsement of the new Alabama constitution. It was endorsed, 66–8 (recorded as 67–9). Yea 89%, Nay 11%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 74. SD: .31. (*Official Journal*, 239–40.)

Suffrage Votes

1. A motion by Albert Griffin on November 9 to postpone discussion of a proposal (offered by Henry Semple) restricting the convention's authority to disenfranchise southern whites. It passed, 62–20 (re-

corded as 63–22, in a vote in which it is unclear which of two Buckleys supported it). Yea 76%, Nay 24%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 82. SD: .43. (*Official Journal*, 21–22.)

2. A motion on November 14 by Griffin to postpone consideration of the majority report of the Committee on the Elective Franchise. The postponement passed, 54–25 (recorded as 54–26). Yea 68%, Nay 32%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 79. SD: .47. (*Official Journal*, 60–61; *Mobile Daily Advertiser and Register*, Nov. 16, 1867, 1.)

3. A motion to substitute the minority report for the majority report of the Committee on the Elective Franchise. On November 19 this effort was defeated, 76–10. Yea 12%, Nay 88%. Republican position: Nay. Votes counted: 86. SD: .32. (*Official Journal*, 87; *Mobile Daily Advertiser and Register*, Nov. 21, 1867, 2.)

4. A motion to table Daniel Bingham's proposal to reject the majority report on the elective franchise. On November 19 Bingham's motion was tabled, 48–35 (recorded as 50–37, with Skinner and Stewart voting both yea and nay). Yea 58%, Nay 42%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 83. SD: .50. (*Official Journal*, 89.)

5. A motion to table Charles Dustan's proposal to return the franchise report to the Committee on the Elective Franchise and to restructure that body. This proposal was tabled on November 20, 51–36 (recorded as 51–38, but it is unclear which Russell voted nay). Yea 59%, Nay 41%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 87. SD: .50. (*Official Journal*, 90.)

6. A vote of 64–26 (recorded as 65–26) on November 20 to table Early Greathouse's effort to increase residence requirements for voting. Yea 71%, Nay 29%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 90. SD: .46. (*Official Journal*, 91.)

7. The adoption of the first section of the franchise article on November 20 by a vote of 84–8. Yea 91%, Nay 9%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 92. SD: .28. (*Official Journal*, 92; *Mobile Daily Advertiser and Register*, Nov. 22, 1867, 1.)

8. A vote to table Pierce Burton's proposal that the General Assembly be allowed (rather than required) to provide for periodic registration of all voters. Burton's measure was tabled on November 20 by a vote of 59–35. Yea 63%, Nay 37%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 94. SD: .49. (*Official Journal*, 93.)

9. An amendment to the second section of the franchise article, offered by Daniel Bingham, disenfranchising those barred from voting by the proposed Fourteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution. It passed, 59–26, on November 20. Yea 69%, Nay 31%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 85. SD: .46. (*Official Journal*, 94, 97.)

10. A vote on requiring those registering as voters to accept the civil and political equality of all men. This requirement was authorized on November 20 by a vote of 60–24. Yea 71%, Nay 29%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 84. SD: .45. (*Official Journal*, 100–101.)

11. A motion to postpone Albert Griffin's proposal to give the legislature the authority to amend the franchise article. It failed on November 29, 38–42 (recorded as 48–42). Yea 48%, Nay 52%. Republican position: Nay. Votes counted: 80. SD: .50. (*Official Journal*, 186–88.)

12. A motion by Albert Griffin to table a proposal authorizing the legislature to amend the franchise article. This action was accepted on November 29 by a vote of 53–29 (recorded as 54–28). Yea 65%, Nay

35%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 82. SD: .48. (*Official Journal*, 188; *Mobile Daily Advertiser and Register*, Dec. 1, 1867, 3.)

13. A vote on December 5 to reconsider Albert Griffin's amendment to the ordinance governing the referendum on the constitution, which stated that a person not disenfranchised by the new constitution could not be prevented from voting on its ratification. The proposal to reconsider failed in a vote of 33–44 (recorded as 33–43). Yea 43%, Nay 57%. Republican position: Nay. Votes counted: 77. SD: .50. (*Official Journal*, 232–33.)

Racial Votes

1. A vote on November 25 to table a substitute for the fifth section of the report of the Committee on Education. The original said nothing regarding racially separate schools; the substitute requiring them was tabled, 52–29 (recorded as 57–28). Yea 64%, Nay 36%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 81. SD: .48. (*Official Journal*, 152–53.)

2. A vote on November 25 on the adoption of the original fifth section of the report of the Committee on Education. It was endorsed, 52–29 (recorded as 51–35, with James Jackson voting both yea and nay). Yea 64%, Nay 36%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 81. SD: .48. (*Official Journal*, 153–54.)

3. An effort by Henry Semple to require segregation on steamboats, etc. It was tabled on November 26 in a vote of 65–23. Yea 74%, Nay 26%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 88. SD: .44. (*Official Journal*, 159.)

4. A motion to table a measure by Semple preventing interracial marriages. The move to table was successful on November 29 in a vote of 47–30 (recorded as 48–30). Yea 61%, Nay 39%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 77. SD: .49. (*Official Journal*, 188–89.)

5. A motion by John Carraway to table Wilhite's effort to renew discussion of prohibition of interracial marriage on December 3 carried in a vote of 56–24. Yea 70%, Nay 30%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 80. SD: .46. (*Official Journal*, 217–18.)

6. A vote on December 4 to table Henry Semple's proviso to section 2 of article 2 of the constitution mandating segregation on steamboats and railroads and in hotels and places of public amusement, etc. It was tabled in a vote of 54–21 (recorded as 54–23). Yea 72%, Nay 28%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 75. SD: .45. (*Official Journal*, 223–24.)

Miscellaneous Votes

1. A vote of 51–39 (recorded as 56–29) on November 26 to table section 11 of the report of the Committee on the Judiciary, which provided for appointment of judges. Yea 57%, Nay 43%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 90. SD: .50. (*Official Journal*, 162.)

2. Thomas Peters's motion to strike section 11 of the Judiciary Committee report (requiring appointment of judges) was accepted on November 26 in a vote of 52–24 (recorded as 53–25, with T. Russell voting both yea and nay). Yea 68%, Nay 32%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 76. SD: .47. (*Official Journal*, 163.)

3. Adoption of an article providing for election of judicial officials of inferior courts. It passed on No-

vember 26 by a vote of 45–36. Yea 56%, Nay 44%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 81. SD: .50. (*Official Journal*, 164.)

4. A vote on November 27 on the adoption of Thomas Peters’s replacement for section 11 of the judicial article. The revised section 11 provided for the election of all judges. It passed by a vote of 52–29. Yea 64%, Nay 36%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 81. SD: .48. (*Official Journal*, 169; *Mobile Daily Advertiser and Register*, Nov. 30, 1867, 1.)

MISSISSIPPI

Government Structure Votes

1. A vote on January 10 on John Watson’s resolution to prohibit members of the convention from holding office in a state government reorganized by the convention. It failed, 40–47. Yea 46%, Nay 54%. Republican position: Nay. Votes counted: 87. SD: .50. (*Journal of the Convention of Mississippi*, 14–15.)

2. A vote on January 10 on Henry Barry’s memorial, which Watson had just tried to amend. Barry’s proposal, calling for a committee to petition Congress to grant the convention the power to vacate all civil offices in Mississippi and to fill them with loyal Unionists, passed, 59–29. Yea 67%, Nay 33%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 88. SD: .47. (*Journal*, 15.)

3. A vote on January 15 on a motion by Joseph Field declaring it to be the “sense of the convention” that all legislative acts delegates passed were binding. Field’s motion was endorsed, 61–14. Yea 81%, Nay 19%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 75. SD: .39. (*Journal*, 41.)

4. A vote on January 22 to table Charles Townsend’s effort to thwart passage of Barry’s resolution asking Congress to grant the convention power to vacate state offices. Townsend lost, 53–20 (recorded incorrectly as 54–20; impossible to tell which Johnson voted yea). Yea 73%, Nay 27%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 73. SD: .45. (*Journal*, 93.)

5. A vote on January 23 to forward Barry’s aforementioned memorial to Congress. It passed, 53–28 (recorded incorrectly as 54–28; impossible to tell which Johnson voted yea). Yea 65%, Nay 35%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 81. SD: .48. (*Journal*, 100.)

6. A vote on February 20 on section 13 of the bill of rights, which stipulated that there be no property holding requirements for jurors. It passed, 48–21. Yea 70%, Nay 30%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 69. SD: .46. (*Journal*, 231.)

7. A vote on March 4 to table William Compton’s motion to require that representatives be apportioned only from counties and not from both counties and districts. It was tabled, 35–27. Yea 56%, Nay 44%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 62. SD: .50. (*Journal*, 162–63, 292.)

8. A vote on March 4 on adoption of section 40 of the report of the Legislative Committee, which apportioned the house of representatives. It passed, 38–24 (recorded incorrectly as 38–25). Yea 61%, Nay 39%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 62. SD: .49. (*Journal*, 162–63, 293–94).

Racial Votes

1. A vote on January 11 to table Charles Townsend’s resolution calling for a constitution granting suffrage exclusively to whites. It was tabled, 65–15 (recorded incorrectly as 67–15; impossible to tell which Peyton

and which Johnson voted to table). Yea 81%, Nay 19%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 80. SD: .39. (*Journal*, 28–29.)

2. A vote on January 13 on a resolution by Albert Morgan authorizing a committee to investigate Governor Humphreys's allegation regarding the danger of an insurrection by the freedmen. It passed, 69–15. Yea 82%, Nay 18%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 84. SD: .39. (*Journal*, 32.)

3. A vote on January 24 on a motion by George McKee requesting that the committee investigating the governor's allegation report more fully. It passed, 40–37. Yea 52%, Nay 48%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 77. SD: .50. (*Journal*, 105.)

4. A vote on February 15 on Walter Stricklin's amendment to section 1 of the bill of rights restricting citizenship to whites. The amendment failed, 9–68 (recorded incorrectly as 9–69). Yea 12%, Nay 88%. Republican position: Nay. Votes counted: 77. SD: .32. (*Journal*, 155, 203.)

5. A vote on February 18 on a motion by Nicholas Bridges to table discussion of miscegenation. It passed, 36–34 (recorded incorrectly as 36–33). Yea 51%, Nay 49%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 70. SD: .50. (*Journal*, 211–12.)

6. A vote on February 18 on a motion to table Walter Stricklin's amendment to section 12 of the bill of rights. It allowed only whites to serve on juries. The motion to table passed, 55–12 (recorded incorrectly as 56–12). Yea 82%, Nay 18%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 67. SD: .39. (*Journal*, 213–14.)

7. A vote on February 24 on John Watson's amendment to section 21 of the bill of rights requiring the legislature to establish an apprenticeship system for minors. It passed, 49–27. Yea 64%, Nay 36%. Republican position: Nay. Votes counted: 76. SD: .48. (*Journal*, 242–43.) **REPUBLICAN LOSS.**

8. A vote on February 25 on the adoption of section 25 of the bill of rights, which prohibited appropriation of state funds to institutions that discriminated. It was adopted, 41–36 (recorded incorrectly as 41–35). Yea 53%, Nay 47%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 77. SD: .50. (*Journal*, 156, 255.)

9. A vote on February 25 on Benjamin Orr's amendment to section 28 of the bill of rights. The amendment would add places of public entertainment to a provision preventing discrimination in travel on public conveyances. It failed, 34–38 (recorded as 35–38; impossible to tell which Johnson voted). Yea 47%, Nay 53%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 72. SD: .50. (*Journal*, 156, 256.) **REPUBLICAN LOSS.**

10. A vote on March 7 on a motion to table George Stovall's amendment requiring segregated schools. The motion failed, 22–33. Yea 40%, Nay 60%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 55. SD: .49. (*Journal*, 316.) **REPUBLICAN LOSS.**

11. A vote on March 9 to table William Compton's amendment requiring segregated public schools. It was tabled, 39–15 (recorded as 40–16, with Edward Stites recorded as voting twice). Yea 72%, Nay 28%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 54. SD: .45. (*Journal*, 318.)

12. A vote on March 9 on the adoption of section 5 of the education article, which did not specifically require segregated schools. It passed, 39–22 (recorded incorrectly as 39–23). Yea 64%, Nay 36%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 61. SD: .48. (*Journal*, 318.)

13. A vote on March 10 on section 7 of the education article, requiring the legislature to levy a poll tax in

Alabama and Mississippi

support of schools. It passed, 47–16. Yea 75%, Nay 25%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 63. SD: .44. (*Journal*, 324.)

14. A vote on March 10 on Edward Castello's amendment to section 5 of the education article, which permitted establishing more than one school per district. It passed, 52–11 (recorded incorrectly as 53–11). Yea 83%, Nay 17%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 63. SD: .38. (*Journal*, 324–25.)

15. A vote on March 16 on section 8 of the education article, which provided for establishing a state agricultural college open to both races. It passed, 43–14. Yea 75%, Nay 25%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 57. SD: .43. (*Journal*, 364.)

16. A vote on April 6 to table John Phillips's ordinance mandating segregated schools. It was tabled, 29–26. Yea 53%, Nay 47%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 55. SD: .50. (*Journal*, 479–80.)

17. A vote on May 12 on a proviso by Thomas Stringer prohibiting any amendment of section 18 of the bill of rights (which prohibited property qualifications for voters) prior to 1885. It passed, 28–15 (recorded incorrectly as 29–16, with Wesley Lawson counted as voting twice). Yea 65%, Nay 35%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 43. SD: .48. (*Journal*, 659–60, 721.)

Miscellaneous Votes

1. A vote on January 14 on a resolution declaring delegate William Compton had violated his registration oath by calling the Reconstruction Acts illegal. It passed, 49–33. Yea 60%, Nay 40%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 82. SD: .49. (*Journal*, 34–35, 40.)

2. A vote on February 25 on a motion to table a resolution noting the convention's approval of the impeachment of Andrew Johnson. The attempt to table failed, 19–49. Yea 28%, Nay 72%. Republican position: Nay. Votes counted: 68. SD: .45. (*Journal*, 254.)

3. A vote on February 26 endorsing George Holland's resolution approving the impeachment of Johnson. It passed, 44–10. Yea 81%, Nay 19%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 54. SD: .39. (*Journal*, 264–65.)

4. A vote on March 6 to expel delegate R. C. Merryman, who had assaulted a convention doorkeeper. It passed, 38–13. Yea 75%, Nay 25%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 51. SD: .44. (*Journal*, 309–12.)

5. A vote on April 18 to expel delegate Charles Townsend, who had provoked a fistfight with convention president Eggleston. He was expelled, 43–6. Yea 88%, Nay 12%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 49. SD: .33. (*Journal*, 527.)

Economic Votes

1. A vote on January 18 on a motion by Albert Morgan to table discussion of a property tax measure. The motion to table failed, 9–62. Yea 13%, Nay 87%. Republican position: Nay. Votes counted: 71. SD: .34. (*Journal*, 61–62.)

2. A vote on January 20 on a resolution by George Stovall to establish a committee to confer with General Gillem about halting further sheriffs' sales of land for debt. It passed, 49–28. Yea 64%, Nay 36%. Republican position: Nay. Votes counted: 77. SD: .48. (*Journal*, 68, 69–70.) **REPUBLICAN LOSS.**

3. A vote on February 19 to suspend convention rules in order to vote on an ordinance providing a special tax to support the convention. This action was endorsed, 58–25. Yea 70%, Nay 30%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 83. SD: .46. (*Journal*, 221.)
4. A vote on February 19 on the third reading of an ordinance calling for a special tax to support the convention. It passed, 47–30 (recorded as 49–31, with Stites counted as voting twice). Yea 61%, Nay 39%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 77. SD: .49. (*Journal*, 221.)
5. A vote on February 22 to suspend the rules to allow William Gibbs to offer a resolution authorizing a committee to request a congressional loan of \$100,000 for the convention. The rules were suspended, 60–19. Yea 76%, Nay 24%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 79. SD: .43. (*Journal*, 237–38.)
6. Gibbs's resolution authorizing a committee to request a congressional loan was adopted on February 22 by a vote of 43–39. Yea 52%, Nay 48%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 82. SD: .50. (*Journal*, 239.)
7. A vote on February 26 to strike a cotton tax from a proposal designed to raise funds to support the convention. The vote to strike failed, 35–43. Yea 45%, Nay 55%. Republican position: Nay. Votes counted: 78. SD: .50. (*Journal*, 246, 259–60.)
8. A vote on February 27 authorizing warrants to pay the expenses of the convention. The warrants were authorized, 45–28. Yea 62%, Nay 38%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 73. SD: .49. (*Journal*, 267, 269.)

Suffrage Votes

1. A vote on February 12 to table a resolution by James Elliott authorizing a committee to memorialize Congress to remove political disabilities from former Confederates from brigadier general down. It was tabled, 47–24 (recorded as 49–25, with Stephen Johnson listed as voting twice). Yea 66%, Nay 34%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 71. SD: .48. (*Journal*, 188–90.)
2. A vote on February 27 on the adoption of section 19 (later 18) of the bill of rights, which forbade property and educational qualifications for voting. It passed, 52–19. Yea 73%, Nay 27%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 71. SD: .45. (*Journal*, 156, 266.)
3. A vote on March 13 on the adoption of section 17 of the bill of rights, which forbade property qualifications for eligibility for office. It passed, 47–15. Yea 76%, Nay 24%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 62. SD: .43. (*Journal*, 347.)
4. A vote on March 13 to table William Compton's amendment to an ordinance from the Committee on General Provisions. It would have disenfranchised anyone who either demanded or accepted labor contracts that "affected" the right of suffrage. It was tabled, 40–13. Yea 75%, Nay 25%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 53. SD: .43. (*Journal*, 353.)
5. A vote on March 19 on Albert Morgan's motion to lower the state residence requirement for voting from one year to six months. It passed, 43–26. Yea 62%, Nay 38%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 69. SD: .49. (*Journal*, 381–82.)
6. A vote on March 19 to table George Stovall's effort to remove part of the registration oath. It was tabled,

49–17 (recorded incorrectly as 48–17). Yea 74%, Nay 26%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 66. SD: .44. (*Journal*, 323, 382–83.)

7. A vote on April 8 to consider an amendment to section 5 of the franchise report., The amendment would prevent those who had signed or voted for a secession ordinance from holding various state offices. It passed, 35–30. Yea 54%, Nay 46%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 65. SD: .50. (*Journal*, 491.)

8. A vote on April 10 to table Albert Morgan's amendment to section 5 of the franchise report. The amendment disqualified former Confederate officials from holding office. The attempt to table failed, 30–36. Yea 45%, Nay 55%. Republican position: Nay. Votes counted: 66. SD: .50. (*Journal*, 499.)

9. A vote on April 16 to suspend the rules to consider Henry Barry's amendment to section 5 of the franchise report. It disqualified certain legislators who had supported a call for a secession convention from holding public office. The rules were suspended, 35–31. Yea 53%, Nay 47%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 66. SD: .50. (*Journal*, 518–19.)

10. A vote on April 16 in which Barry's amendment to section 5 of the franchise report passed, 44–25. Yea 64%, Nay 36%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 69. SD: .48. (*Journal*, 519.)

11. A final vote on April 22 on the passage of section 5 of the franchise report, which prevented ex-Confederates from holding public office. It passed, 39–12 (recorded as 40–13, with Edward Stiles listed as voting twice). Yea 76%, Nay 24%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 51. SD: .43. (*Journal*, 543.)

12. A vote on April 22 on the adoption of the entire franchise article, which was endorsed, 37–13. Yea 74%, Nay 26%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 50. SD: .44. (*Journal*, 544.)

13. A vote on May 11 on the oath of office required of state officials. The oath was authorized, 34–13. Yea 72%, Nay 28%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 47. SD: .45. (*Journal*, 657–58.)

5

GEORGIA AND NORTH CAROLINA

Governors Brown and Holden, Eminences Grises Right and Left

You bring both Congress and the Republican party into odium in the State when you go further than Congress has gone and confer upon the negroes the right to hold office . . . in their present condition; and you misrepresent nine-tenths of the white men who belong to the reconstruction party of the state. When the problem is solved, if the negro race is found competent to fill these positions, it will then be time enough for the State to provide how it shall be done by them.

—Georgia governor (1857–65) Joseph E. Brown

Working-men! Your dearest interests are at stake. Remember the oppressions of the past—not in vengeance, but with a spirit to right your wrongs: for the hour approaches when you can fling the shackles from your limbs forever! Remember, the Republican party is your friend and champion [sic]. May you be wise for yourselves and your children in your day and generation.

—*Daily North-Carolina Standard*, March 12, 1868

OVERVIEW

Throughout most of the antebellum era, Unionist sentiment had remained strong in Georgia, the wealthiest and most populous state of the lower South. Georgians had been steadfast for Union and compromise in 1850, helping to thwart secessionists during the early years of that decade. Southern Democrat John Breckinridge carried the state in the 1860 presidential election, but his total popular vote (52,172) had been slightly less than the combined total for John Bell and Stephen Douglas (54,696). Even after Abraham Lincoln won the presidency, the growing numbers of Georgians who subsequently favored immediate secession faced opposition from cautious “cooperationists,” who urged that such drastic action be taken only in concert with other southern states. Due in no small part to tireless efforts of Governor Joseph E. Brown, however, the proponents of immediate secession finally prevailed. In January of 1861, they first out-pollied their opponents by a margin of 58% to 42% in overall votes for delegates to the state’s secession convention. Once assembled in Milledgeville, those delegates then defeated, by the slim margin of 164–133, a last-ditch effort to forestall immediate secession. Only then, as more and more Georgians rallied to “the Cause” following the Fort Sumter crisis, did

reluctant Georgia secessionist Alexander Stephens journey to Montgomery to assume his duties as provisional vice president of the newly created Confederate States of America. By the fall of 1861, some 25,000 Georgians had joined the Confederate military. That number would eventually swell to about 120,000 toward war's end, as Yankee soldiers under William T. Sherman ravaged much of the Georgia countryside.¹

Unionism had also persisted in North Carolina, the tenth of the eleven states to secede. There, Whig politicians had consolidated a base in the state's western counties after pushing successfully for a progressive new state constitution in 1835. They had then dominated the state until 1850, appealing to voters with popular programs of transportation improvement and educational reform. Democrats, however, finally wrested control from the disciples of Henry Clay during the early 1850s, owing largely to their promise to end property-holding qualifications on voting for state senators. Through all of this, growing division between North and South received only sporadic attention in North Carolina.

Cognizance of divisive national issues did, however, increase significantly following the appearance of native son Hinton Rowan Helper's *The Impending Crisis* (1857), in which he blamed slavery for southern backwardness. Even so, the combined vote for Stephen Douglas and John Bell (47,582) almost equaled that for southern Democrat John Breckinridge (48,530), who carried the state in the 1860 presidential election. Despite Breckinridge's success, Unionist sentiment remained a force in the Tar Heel State. In elections in late February 1861, voters opted (by a close margin of 47,323 to 46,672) against authorizing a secession convention, while at the same time electing a Unionist delegate majority should that body have been convened. Not until after President Lincoln's call to arms following Fort Sumter's surrender was a convention finally authorized, in this case by a special legislative session. On May 20, 1861, delegates chosen in a second election then endorsed a secession ordinance unanimously. Despite initial hesitancy in joining "the Cause," North Carolina supplied more troops to the Confederacy (some 125,000) than did any other state.²

In both Georgia and North Carolina, the euphoric "consensus" on the secession issue proved more fragile than Confederate leaders in Richmond had anticipated as the war dragged on and casualties and suffering increased. In Georgia, both Governor Brown and Vice President Stephens evolved quickly into relentless states'-rights critics of the centralizing policies that Jefferson Davis deemed essential to the establishment of Confederate independence. Zebulon Vance, North Carolina's two-term wartime governor, was also an outspoken localist in opposition to Davis's wartime centralism but nonetheless found himself dogged by supporters of William Holden, the reluctant secessionist turned peace candidate and Vance's unsuccessful rival in the state's 1864 gubernatorial election. By late in the war, a small loyalist community was active in Atlanta, while in North Carolina, Unionist candidates did spectacularly well in elections for seats in the Confederate Congress in 1863. In addition, secret Unionist societies also appeared in North Carolina's mountainous west, in Caswell and Forsyth counties in the Piedmont, and in and around coastal communities such as New Bern.³

Although there are several sound reasons for coupling the Georgia and North Carolina conventions in this chapter, two are of primary importance. First, southern whites—over two-thirds of Georgia’s delegates and almost three-quarters of North Carolina’s—accounted for overwhelming majorities in both conventions.⁴ Even more important, although nondelegates—such as Harrison Reed in Florida and Henry Clay Warmoth in Louisiana—influenced convention proceedings elsewhere, no other outsiders were nearly as significant in so doing as Joseph Brown and William Holden. A Democrat, a secessionist, and a four-term governor (1857–65), Brown was a pragmatist (one might even say opportunist); although a postwar Republican, he never wholeheartedly supported Radical Reconstruction and was destined to revert to his Democratic roots by the mid-1870s. Holden, the provisional governor of North Carolina (1865) and owner-editor of the *Raleigh Standard*, on the other hand, had been a much more reluctant secessionist. Although twice frustrated in previous attempts to become governor (in 1857 and 1864), he remained convinced that ideology was essential to any political movement and was by 1867 committed unequivocally to the Reconstruction program of his state’s new Republican party (which he founded and led). Not surprisingly, then, the epigraph to this chapter from Governor Brown espouses a basic conservatism, whereas the one from Holden’s *Raleigh Standard*, by contrast, is a jarring call for radical reform. Though both conventions were made up largely of southern white delegates, the tone of the two, as set in each case by its respective éminence grise, was to be markedly different.⁵

INTRODUCTION

As Union general Daniel Sickles assumed command of the Second Military District (the Carolinas) and his colleague General John Pope accepted control of the Third (Alabama, Florida, and Georgia) in late March and early April of 1867, Republican prospects appeared promising. While Georgia’s population was almost evenly divided between whites and blacks, a number of its most incorrigible ex-Confederates would undoubtedly be disenfranchised, allowing Reconstructionists to gain both approval of a constitutional convention and a majority of its delegates. Although freedmen constituted only slightly over a third of the population of North Carolina, wartime Unionist sentiment had probably been stronger there than in any other Confederate state except, probably, Tennessee. It appeared, then, that an effective biracial coalition might be achievable in the constitutional convention that was to assemble in Raleigh.⁶

After setting up his two-state command headquarters in Charleston and dividing North Carolina into 170 registration districts, Sickles, a one-legged Gettysburg veteran, finished registering voters in the Tar Heel State on October 18, at which time it was determined that the electorate there consisted of some 103,060 whites and 71,657 freedmen. About a month earlier, on September 19 at his headquarters in Atlanta, Pope had finished apportioning the convention delegates from Georgia’s 132 counties among the state’s 44 senatorial districts. By Oc-

tober 29, the former Union commander at Second Bull Run had overseen the registration of some 188,671 voters (95,214 whites and 93,457 blacks).⁷

In both states, Republicans were well aware that they would receive overwhelming support from the newly enfranchised freedmen. In building their respective party platforms, the key question was how best to appeal to the white constituents who were most likely to support their agenda. In North Carolina, internal party differences on this question resulted initially in a challenge to the leadership of William Holden, the publisher of Raleigh's *Daily North-Carolina Standard* and the driving force behind a March 27, 1867, meeting in the Hall of Commons in the state capitol at which some 148 delegates founded the state's Republican party. Holden's position in that fledgling organization was, nonetheless, solidified at a second convention at Tucker's Hall in Raleigh on September 4, at which time he withstood a determined challenge from partisans who thought it best to secure native white support through a platform opposing both extensive disenfranchisement of former Confederates and confiscation of their property. Holden, however, successfully disarmed the most vocal of his critics, moderate scalawags, by declaring that concerns about Congress's supporting confiscation were groundless and by advocating removal of political disabilities from all who supported Reconstruction in good faith.⁸

The work of organizing Georgia's Republicans was initiated by a group of freedmen who held a convention in May of 1867 at which they announced their willingness to "unite with their white brethren" in carrying out a reform-oriented Reconstruction agenda. Buoyed by the fact that the state's most powerful politician—former governor Joseph E. Brown—was soon to join their ranks, Republicans white and black then assembled on July 4 in Atlanta, where they completed the organization of their party. Well aware that white voter registration was slightly greater than that of blacks, Republicans counted heavily on Brown's considerable political clout, supplemented by promises of free schools and homestead exemptions, to attract yeoman whites, particularly those from northern counties and the Wiregrass region to the south. The expression "Convention and Relief" was heard again and again—during the party convention in Atlanta, during the referendum to authorize the constitutional convention, and in the contests in which the delegates to the convention were selected. Although effective in attracting some debt-ridden white farmers to the cause, however, the slogan hardly moderated contentious divisions among Georgia's Republicans, especially those between Brown and his supporters, who appealed for the participation of whites, and those who instead sought to base the party solidly around a nucleus of recently enfranchised freedmen.⁹

In contrast to the fervor of Republicans, Democrats in both Georgia and North Carolina appeared stunned by the passage of the Reconstruction Acts and very much uncertain as to their best course of action. Some in Georgia, including Governor Charles Jones Jenkins, advised against either registering or participating in the pending elections. Others advocated registering as a means of voting for "safe" white delegates, but they remained divided on whether

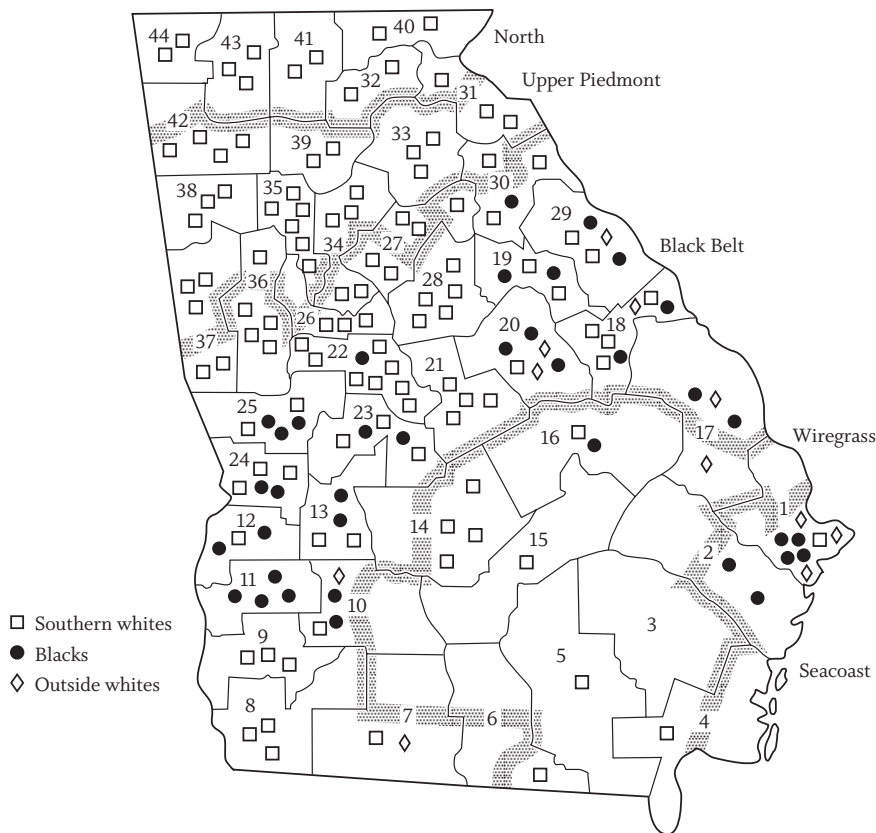
to vote for or against the calling of a convention. Many, however, eventually accepted the strategy advanced by former Confederate senator Benjamin H. Hill, who pointed out that the Reconstruction Act of March 23, 1867, required that a majority of all eligible voters approve the convention. Whites could, therefore, best thwart the radicals by first registering and then failing to vote at all. Whatever the case, except for a few white-majority districts around Atlanta, most Democrats were clearly fatalistic and continued to show only lukewarm interest in political developments. Failing either to organize or to frame a party platform, most sat out the elections while continuing to bluster that Republican actions could well lead to a race war.¹⁰

Similar mutterings were widespread among North Carolina Democrats. Former governor William Graham advised that whites there vote against the convention, while the current governor, Jonathan Worth, urged a “register and boycott” strategy identical to the one advanced by Hill in Georgia. Delegates at a very poorly attended Raleigh convention in late September were consequently unable to establish a party organization, and like Democrats in Georgia, conservatives in North Carolina did little but rue their situation, bemoaning the unfitness and inexperience of Republican politicians while cringing at the specter of “Negro rule.”¹¹

The outcomes of the congressionally mandated referenda were as expected. In elections beginning on October 29 and continuing for three days, 53.4% of Georgia voters endorsed their state’s convention by an overwhelming majority of 96%. In North Carolina the outcome was similar; in a two-day election starting on November 19, some 51.8% of registered voters ratified a convention by a ratio of almost three to one (93,006 to 32,961).¹²

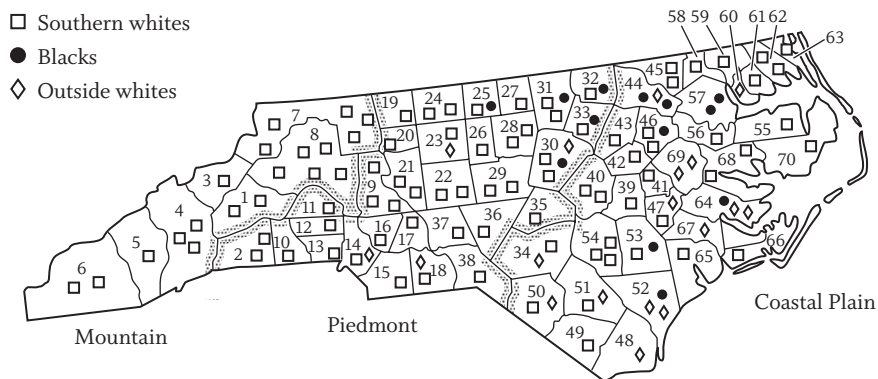
With blacks conspicuously underrepresented (as seen in table 5.1), southern whites were by far the largest delegate contingent in both the North Carolina and Georgia conventions, which ranked second and third (after only Texas) in the relative size of their southern white contingents. Almost three-quarters (90 of 122) of North Carolina delegates and over two-thirds (114 of 164) of those in Georgia were native whites. The Georgia convention ranked sixth among all the conventions in percentage of blacks (22.6%), even though the actual number of blacks (37) at the Georgia convention was larger than that at any other convention except those in South Carolina and Louisiana. North Carolina had far fewer black delegates (14, or 11.5% of its delegates) and ranked eighth among the conventions in both number and percentage of blacks. With regard to carpetbaggers, however, this picture was reversed. Georgia was last among all conventions in percentage of outside whites (7.3%) and ahead only of Texas in total number of outside whites. With 18 outside whites, North Carolina ranked sixth (14.8%) among the conventions in percentage of carpetbaggers and fourth in total number of outside whites.¹³

As shown both in table 5.2 and on the Georgia and North Carolina maps, southern whites, blacks, and outside whites were not distributed evenly among geographic regions within either of the two states. Over four-fifths of Georgia’s black delegates came from the Black Belt, nearly all the rest were from the Seacoast, and the North region and the Upper Piedmont were represented exclusively by southern whites. North Carolina showed similar but somewhat less



Georgia regions, districts, and delegate distribution

Sixteen electoral districts in Georgia span more than one geographical region. In those districts, the delegate symbols above are shown in the region from which the delegates came. Delegates who did not attend the convention are not represented by symbols.



North Carolina regions, districts, and delegate distribution

dramatic variation. The Mountain region returned only southern whites (19 of the 90 southern white delegates at the convention); southern whites also accounted for some four-fifths of Piedmont delegates (40 of 49) and nearly three-fifths of delegates from the Coastal Plain (31 of 54). Blacks and outside whites, in contrast, were generally clustered among constituencies to the east, with nearly two-thirds of blacks and more than three-quarters of outside whites returned from Coastal Plain constituencies.

While table 5.3 shows only slight age variations among delegate factions in each convention, table 5.4 reveals a large difference in occupational patterns between the states. North Carolina delegates were older overall than those in Georgia, largely because the southern whites who met in Raleigh, and who averaged 47 years of age, comprised the second-oldest delegate grouping in any of the conventions. As for the more substantial occupational variation between the two conventions, nearly two-thirds of North Carolina southern whites were farmers, a larger proportion than in any other convention, whereas in Georgia less than half of southern whites were so engaged. About 40% of Georgia's southern whites, and about 23% of North Carolina's, were employed in business, law, or medicine. Among black delegates nearly three-fifths of Georgia's were ministers, and nearly half of North Carolina's were skilled laborers. In Georgia, a large percentage of outside whites were government employees.

Distribution of wealth in the two conventions (table 5.5) is illuminating. With overall median assets of \$2,400, Georgia delegates ranked fourth in wealth among all the conventions (behind Texas, Virginia, and Alabama). In contrast, with total median holdings of only \$1,820, the North Carolina delegates were eighth, ahead of only South Carolina and Florida. This significant difference was not owing to any great disparity between the black components of the two conventions; in fact, the small number of blacks in North Carolina were on average much more affluent than the much larger group of black delegates in Georgia. The enormous gulf between the wealth of Georgia's small component of affluent outside whites and the larger, poorer contingent of carpetbaggers in North Carolina contributed somewhat to this difference, but the biggest source of disparity in assets between the delegates from the two states was attributable almost entirely to southern whites. The greater average prosperity of southern whites in Georgia is, in turn, explained in large part by the relatively high affluence of the more numerous businessmen and professionals within their delegate ranks.¹⁴

A majority (59%) of Georgia's southern whites whose slaveholdings are known had owned bondsmen (table 5.6). By contrast, the proportion of slaveholders among southern whites in North Carolina whose holdings are known was only 39%. However, those holding slaves in North Carolina had on average about the same number (approximately 14) as known slaveholders in Georgia. The North Carolina slaveholders with the largest average number of slaves (22) were found in the cotton and tobacco growing regions of that state's Coastal Plain; this was followed by the cotton-growing areas of Georgia's Black Belt, where the average holding was 16.4 slaves. Only five former slaveholders in North Carolina and eight in Georgia had possessed over 20 slaves, and the total holdings of the largest former slaveholder in each

convention—William Rodman in North Carolina (112) and John Harris in Georgia (110)—were almost identical.¹⁵

Southern whites from the Mountain regions, which were home to relatively few freedmen, were selected to preside over each convention. In Georgia that distinction went to Josiah Parrott, a prosperous Bartow County attorney originally from Cooke County in eastern Tennessee. The 40-year-old Parrott had moved to Georgia in 1848 and settled in Cartersville in 1852. He held no slaves in 1860 when he served as an elector on the Bell-Everett ticket. During the war he reached the rank of major in the Confederate army, and he later won election as a delegate to the Georgia Constitutional Convention of 1865. At a March 1867 meeting in Cartersville, he, along with some seven other prominent local whites, declared a readiness to comply with the requirements of Military Reconstruction, including the framing of a new state constitution and securing the adoption of the Fourteenth Amendment. After presiding over the Black and Tan convention, Parrott subsequently served as a superior court judge on Georgia's Cherokee circuit until his death in June of 1872.¹⁶

Calvin Cowles, a former Whig from Wilkes County, presided over the North Carolina convention. From a long-established family, 47-year-old Cowles had made his fortune as a merchant and mining speculator. Like Parrott, he owned no slaves in 1860. As a Unionist during the secession crisis and the war, Cowles refused to take a loyalty oath to the Confederacy and lost his position as postmaster of Wilkesboro. In July of 1868, two years after the death of his first wife, he married Ida Holden, a daughter of the governor. Following adjournment of the North Carolina convention, Cowles was employed for 16 years as superintendent of the United States mint in Charlotte, a position from which he fought unceasingly (and unsuccessfully) to restore the South's sole remaining branch mint as a permanent center of coinage.¹⁷

On December 16, 1867, President Parrott began staffing his convention's 16 standing committees. His selections, both for committee chairs and for committee members, went overwhelmingly to southern whites. As table 5.7 illustrates, there were no black committee chairs and a scant 6 black committee members out of a total of 101 rank-and-file Georgia appointments—about a quarter of what might be considered a fair proportional representation (see table 5.7). About a month later, on January 20, 1868, President Cowles displayed much more generosity toward blacks in assigning committee memberships roughly in proportion to their numbers among North Carolina delegates. Once again, however, no black received a committee chairmanship, whereas outside whites (even though only about 15% of the delegates) got nearly 60% of such posts. In rank-and-file committee placements, carpetbaggers, like blacks, received appointments in proportion to their numbers.¹⁸

THE GEORGIA CONVENTION

Meeting at the city hall at Atlanta over a 77-day period from December 9, 1867, through March 11, 1868 (breaking on Sundays and for Christmas from December 24 through Janu-

ary 7), Georgia delegates gathered in 76 sessions, holding 102 roll-call votes in which the names of those voting were recorded individually in the convention's journal.¹⁹ We have divided 40 of these votes into five scales—economic issues, miscellaneous matters, suffrage, government structure, and racial issues—for systematic analysis in classifying the delegates politically as radical, swing, or conservative voters on the basis of their overall Republican Support Scores (RSSs).

Economic Issues

The ten votes in the economic scale centered on relief from past debts and on how best to protect homesteads from attachment for such obligations, matters that had been especially prominent in the Republican platform drafted in July. On December 12, Rufus Bullock, a Richmond County southern white destined soon to become the state's first Republican governor, offered an ordinance addressing debtor relief for all Georgians, noting that because the state's 1865 convention had nullified the Confederate debt, it only made sense to cancel the wartime debts of individuals as well. On the following day, Bullock's ordinance (which passed in a vote for which individual votes were not recorded) survived reconsideration. Then, on January 9, 1868 (after delegates had returned from their Christmas break), the Committee on Relief issued its majority report, which recommended voiding court actions to collect debts incurred prior to June 1, 1865. On January 13, a minority of that committee, led by Amos Akerman (a southern white from Elbert County) submitted a lengthy dissent, urging instead that Congress amend the federal bankruptcy statute of 1867 and asserting that the majority proposal distorted the proper definition of "relief" by taking assets from one group (creditors) and transferring them to another (debtors).²⁰

This exchange revealed a fundamental division on relief among those Republicans who supported future governor Bullock and those who coalesced around Akerman, a New Hampshire native and longtime Georgia resident destined soon to become the attorney general of the United States.²¹ On January 28, Bullock's partisans prevailed, tabling the minority report (the Akerman document). Following a February 1 effort by Albert Foster (southern white of Morgan County) to delay any further discussion of relief indefinitely, Bullock's proposal, slightly modified but still voiding debts contracted prior to June 1, 1865, passed in two votes on February 5. Withstanding a call for reconsideration the following day, it later became section 17 of the new constitution's judiciary article. As such, it secured debtor relief, a major Republican promise made during the campaign to hold the convention and to select its delegates.²²

Debate over a second major economic matter—that of exemptions of homesteads from future attachment for debts—began on February 24, and again revealed division among Republicans. Led by Foster Blodgett (a southern white of Richmond County), some delegates pushed for constitutional provisions exempting \$2,500 in real estate and \$2,000 in personal property from court action. Others argued instead that exemptions of such magnitude might

inadvertently protect the wealthy and urged, instead, a smaller exclusion so that benefits of such action would accrue exclusively to yeomen. Dollar amounts were consequently lowered, temporarily at least, to \$1,000 and \$500 respectively, even as William Crane (southern white of Towns County) attempted unsuccessfully to discontinue the entire discussion. On February 26, Blodgett's supporters brought the matter to a close, securing "compromise" homestead exemptions of \$2,000 and \$1,000, respectively, on real and personal property.²³

Having agreed on the sums to be exempted from debt collection in what was to become article 7 of Georgia's new constitution, delegates then returned to the matter of relief, endorsing on March 2 a section of the judicial article, as proposed by Henry McCay (southern white of Sumter County), further defining court procedures in disputes arising over attempts to collect debts incurred prior to June 1, 1865. McCay's action then survived a reconsideration call on the following day, and Republican leaders appeared to have overcome serious divisions within their own ranks over economic policy, making good on their campaign promises of economic relief aimed at yeoman farmers.²⁴

Miscellaneous Issues

December 17 witnessed two votes on whether to scuttle the report of the Special Committee on the Powers of the Convention, a document that urged that delegates concentrate on framing the constitution and avoid all extraneous matters except debtor relief. Although these two motions (the first by outside white C. C. Richardson and the second by black delegate Aaron Bradley) both failed, delegates continued to interpret their powers broadly by focusing on the urgency of securing a governor sympathetic to Reconstruction.²⁵ Three subsequent votes on December 18–19 resulted in calling for military authorities to appoint Rufus Bullock as provisional governor. On January 9, George Ashburn (a southern white from Columbus) then moved successfully to reverse President Parrott's ruling out of order the call for vacating civil offices and filling them with loyal citizens. Five days later, though, Ashburn failed to secure a follow-up motion that would have empowered the convention to establish a loyal civilian government in Georgia.²⁶

Even with this setback, by mid-February Republicans had easily passed a resolution condemning a suit brought by the sitting governor, Charles Jones Jenkins, against military authorities who had summarily replaced him. After congratulating Congress on February 28 for its impeachment of President Johnson, delegates returned by March 9 to the passage the final report of the Committee on Miscellaneous Provisions, a document that established procedures for the April referendum on the new constitution and for staffing the new state government. Shortly after this return to matters directly relevant to securing the adoption of the new constitution, the delegate most dedicated to a broad interpretation of the powers of the convention, George Ashburn, was shot and killed by the Ku Klux Klan. This stunning atrocity became one of the most infamous instances of violence during the entire Reconstruction era.²⁷

Suffrage Issues

In the first two votes in the eight-vote suffrage scale, on January 21, delegates asked that Congress modify the stringent loyalty oath it required of officeholders. In accepting a measure offered by Richard Whiteley (Decatur County resident and former Confederate major), delegates instead voiced their desire to allow public office to those who heartily regretted their past disloyalty and were determined to work for Reconstruction. Despite this moderate position toward southern whites, however, delegates remained steadfast in defense of the newly won voting rights of the freedmen. In two votes, the first on February 8 and the second two days later, they quashed Amos Akerman's effort to mandate that ability to read be required of all voters coming of age after January 1, 1873.²⁸

After thwarting the requirement that freedmen be literate before they could register to vote and requesting that "newly loyal" native whites be allowed to hold public office, Republicans then lost each of the final four votes on the suffrage scale. On February 12, in the first of three votes easing proposed voting restrictions on southern whites, Homer Virgil Milton Miller (southern white from Fulton County) managed to get approved his substitute for section 3 of the report of the Committee on the Franchise. As so modified, the report no longer called for the disenfranchisement of those disqualified from holding public office under the Fourteenth Amendment. On February 13, at the initiative of Richard Whiteley, the fourth section of the committee report, which had contained a registration oath to be required of voters, was stricken. That was followed by acceptance of a rather routine change (again initiated by Whiteley) in the wording of section 5 of the report. Finally, on March 11, in a much more important action, delegates recommended enfranchisement of both specific individuals and of all adult male citizens of the state.²⁹

Government Structure Issues

Voting on the seven-vote government structure scale began on February 7, with the passage of the report of the Committee on the Executive, which included a ten-year state citizenship requirement for the office of governor. At the request of Benjamin Conley (an Augusta southern white who later became Georgia's second Republican governor in 1870), delegates decided on February 8 to lower the state citizenship requirement for governor from ten to six years. On February 24, delegates defeated, at least initially, an attempt to require that legislators be citizens (rather than simply residents) of Georgia for at least six months. Meanwhile, on February 15, they revised a section of the legislative committee report, making it easier (by requiring a simple rather than a two-thirds majority) to create new legislative staff positions. Finally, on March 9, in a matter of much greater consequence, John Bryant (outside white from Savannah) secured a stipulation preventing any future disenfranchisement of voters enfranchised under the new constitution.³⁰

On February 21, James Dunning, the future postmaster of Atlanta who would later wage

an unsuccessful campaign to erect a statue of Abraham Lincoln in the center of that city, presented a resolution that authorized moving the state capital from Milledgeville to Atlanta. Amos Akerman, however, recommended delay, arguing that state pride demanded construction in Atlanta of a handsome statehouse and executive mansion. Dunning's resolution, although gaining majority support in a vote of 63–49, then failed, owing to a two-thirds majority requirement for the suspension of rules. On February 27, Henry McCay (southern white of Sumter County) also failed in an effort to delay consideration of the capital's location until a gubernatorial proclamation certifying that all contractual obligations between Atlanta and the state had been met. A resolution from Joseph Blount (southern white from Stewart County) designating Atlanta the new capital then passed in a voice vote. Finally, on March 6, dealing with yet another "geographical matter," delegates apportioned the state's counties among its seven congressional districts. Then on March 9, while considering procedures for amending the constitution, the delegates again mandated that no future revisions were to disenfranchise any current voters.³¹

Racial Issues

Discussion involving the five votes in the convention's racial issues scale erupted dramatically on February 8, 1868, with presentation of majority and minority reports from a special committee investigating Aaron Bradley, an outspoken mixed-race delegate (and future state senator) from Savannah. Both documents agreed that the volatile Bradley had been convicted and jailed for "the crime of seduction" in New York in 1851 and that "tolerably satisfactory testimony" showed that he had been barred from practicing law in Massachusetts. A minority of the special committee then recommended his expulsion from the convention. The majority concluded, however, that these charges involved only Bradley's "past history," that he should not be expelled, and that the investigation should be terminated. To avoid debates that would almost certainly divide their biracial coalition, Republicans then succeeded in tabling the discussion until February 11, at which time the entire matter was referred back to committee. While defending himself, however, Bradley asserted that others, including President Parrott, had also seduced black and white women. Following that ill-advised harangue, incensed delegates quickly expelled him by a vote of 130 to 0. On February 19, in the aftermath of the uproar over his expulsion, delegates slammed the departed Bradley once again by tabling discussion of his resolution that public carriers be compelled to provide equal accommodations for blacks and whites.³²

While dispensing with the nagging Bradley matter and tabling discussion of prohibition of discrimination on public carriers, delegates also addressed an issue of vital consequence to the future of the Republican party in Georgia. Presented on January 14, 1868, section 10 of the Franchise Committee report guaranteed that newly enfranchised freedmen were eligible to hold public office. Subsequent efforts to modify that stipulation were twice easily defeated. First, on February 13, William Crane failed in his attempt to restrict office holding to voters

who had been United States citizens for a minimum of seven years. Then, two days later, James Waddell (a southern white from Polk County) also floundered in his bid to alter the disputed report so that only white men could hold public office.

Despite the ease with which Crane and Waddell were vanquished, many delegates, especially among the convention's southern white Republican contingent, clearly worried that the franchise report, as worded, might cost future support, especially in the state's northwestern "Cherokee" section. Such concerns helped secure the success of a resolution by John Harris on February 14 removing language from the franchise report that explicitly guaranteed freedmen the right to hold to public office. This action, advocated by former governor (and *émigré*) Brown, would allow Republicans to inform black audiences that freedmen were eligible for office, while at the same time reassuring potential white backers that no such explicit constitutional stipulation actually existed. Over the longer run, however, Brown's sophistry was to have disastrous consequences for Georgia's Republicans as a result of its arousing suspicions among blacks regarding the motives of white Republicans.³³

THE NORTH CAROLINA CONVENTION

The North Carolina convention was in session for 54 days from January 14 through March 16, 1868. Although only 120 delegates were seated initially, some 122 delegates eventually participated in 1 or more of the 163 roll-call votes recorded in the convention journal. We have chosen to examine 45 of these votes, apportioning them among five issue areas: suffrage and office-holding issues (14 votes), miscellaneous issues (6 votes), government structure issues (8 votes), racial issues (8 votes), and economic issues (9 votes). Data on voting patterns revealed in these scales have then been correlated statistically with geographical, financial, occupational, and demographic variables in order to provide insight into the social and political characteristics of the men who framed the Black and Tan constitution in the Tar Heel State.

Suffrage Issues

Discussion of suffrage and office-holding issues in the North Carolina convention began on January 31. Plato Durham (a southern white from Cleveland County) proposed amending a resolution by Albion Tourgée (an outside white from Guilford County) asking Congress to limit reenfranchisement of southern whites to a specific list of names provided by the convention. Durham's amendment, which failed to pass, would have petitioned Congress to reenfranchise all southern whites.³⁴ On February 7, in a second attempt at achieving unlimited enfranchisement, Durham proposed tabling the report of the Committee on Relief from Disability. Once again, he failed. Delegates then dealt with the report of the Committee on Suffrage and Eligibility to Office by crafting the first section of the report on February 25, passing the entire text through its second reading on March 9, and endorsing voter registration procedures on the following day. On March 12 they tabled yet another effort, this time a motion from William

Rodman (a southern white from Beaufort County), to reenfranchise all North Carolina citizens. Delegates then repealed an 1866 act of the legislature that had granted amnesty (and thereby the right to seek political office) to all the state's Confederate veterans.³⁵

Also on March 9, the article defining eligibility to office, as stipulated in the report of the Committee on Suffrage and Eligibility to Office, passed its second reading. A voter registration oath offered by David Heaton (outside white from Craven County) then survived a call for reconsideration, and the entire document then advanced through its final reading on March 11. This action was followed, on March 13, by an ordinance stipulating jail time or fines for intimidating voters. Finally, on March 16, the article on Suffrage and Eligibility to Office passed in its final form.³⁶

Miscellaneous Issues

As it was in Georgia, debtor relief was a high priority in North Carolina, where farmers had been hard hit by both wartime devastation and postwar crop failure.³⁷ On February 5, William Rodman presented the report of the Select Committee on Relief, a document that proposed forgiving debts contracted prior to May of 1865. Critics responded in mixed fashion: some asserted the unconstitutionality of stay laws in general, while others contended that debts accumulated after the war should be voided as well. In the face of such differences, Edmund Jones (a southern white representing Washington and Tyrrell counties) submitted a substitute measure referring the entire matter to General Canby. This proposal, however, met defeat, as did Albion Tourgée's effort to table the initial report. Consequently, in the third of these three votes on February 5, Rodman's original ordinance gained approval. About a month later, on March 3, it was endorsed once again after having been fleshed out with additional details.³⁸

While dealing with debtor relief, delegates also considered a homestead exemption, hoping thereby to protect a specified sum of personal and real property against attachment for debt. With this in mind, on February 29 Calvin Jones (a southern white of Caldwell County) presented the majority report of the Committee on Homesteads, a document that if passed would authorize exemptions of up to \$300 in personal property and up to 100 acres of land (with a maximum value of \$1,000). Tourgée, frustrated by his recent failure to broaden the constitutional provisions for debtor relief, then moved successfully to alter this document, protecting homesteads retroactively from debts contracted since the beginning of the war. Although not supported initially by a single member of the homestead committee, he convinced a majority of his fellow delegates that such action best protected small farms, thus retarding an ongoing and "dangerous" consolidation of land into larger and larger holdings.³⁹

Government Structure Issues

Voting on issues comprising the government structure scale began on February 6 with passage of an ordinance authorizing a tax on property to meet convention expenses. On the following day, delegates proceeded to defeat an initiative from John Graham (a southern white

of Orange County) to eliminate the office of lieutenant governor.⁴⁰ On February 11, they endorsed a “sense of the convention” directive that the judiciary committee provide for popular election of judges of the state’s supreme and superior courts. Two days later Graham faced yet another setback when he failed to tie state senate apportionment to taxes paid by residents in each senate district.⁴¹ On February 20 delegates apportioned North Carolina’s seven congressional districts; by March 7, they granted final approval to the report from the Committee on Counties, Cities, and Towns (chaired by Albion Tourgée). Similarly, three days later delegates also accepted the article framed by the Committee on the Judicial Department that followed the “sense of the convention” by stipulating the popular election of both superior court judges and supreme court justices. Finally, at their closing meeting on March 16, members of the convention endorsed by a vote of 89–10 the constitution they had labored over for some two months.⁴²

Racial Issues

Debate on racial issues began on February 7 and resulted in the defeat of two of Plato Durham’s amendments to the report of the Committee on the Executive Department. The first would have required prewar citizenship of those eligible to become governor or lieutenant governor; the second would have prohibited blacks from holding any statewide executive office. Durham met defeat again a month later, on March 6, with the rejection of his mandate requiring racial segregation in public schools. A similar fate had previously befallen John Graham’s effort, undertaken on February 10, to require racially segregated units in the state militia.⁴³ On February 18, after thwarting Durham and Graham, delegates passed the constitution’s bill of rights on to its third reading. During early March they also passed a second reading of an education article that required that the legislature provide one or more schools per district. Unexpressed in this article was the fact that the phrase “more schools” meant racially segregated schools. Finally, on March 16, delegates refused a call for reconsideration of a resolution from James Hood (a black delegate from Cumberland County) that had legalized all marriages performed by military officials since April 1, 1862. While Hood’s ordinance technically applied to all such marriage ceremonies, this matter was of particular relevance to the freedmen, who often wished to have their unions formalized for “practical reasons—to legitimize their children, to qualify for soldiers’ pensions, to share in the rumored forthcoming division of the lands, and to exercise their newly won civil rights.”⁴⁴

Economic Issues

Attention to issues on this scale began with three votes on March 7. Thomas Candler (a southern white residing in Madison County) first failed to secure a stipulation requiring popular referenda for state-aided internal improvements such as railroads. As modified slightly by Finance Committee chairman Joseph Abbott (an outside white from New Hanover County), the disputed fifth section of the revenue and taxation article then passed, and delegates immedi-

ately accepted the entire article in its third and final reading.⁴⁵ In a second series of three votes four days later, they advanced measures aiding three separate railroads: the Chatham Rail Road Company, the Williamston and Tarboro Rail Road Company, and the Western Rail Road Company. On March 14, Abbott secured a second resolution authorizing further loans (should they be needed) to complete construction of the Western road. Then on the same day, the convention considered an ordinance approving payment of interest on the state debt. After rejecting an amendment that would have allowed the legislature to alter or repeal their action, delegates approved interest payments on state bonds issued prior to May 20, 1861, and after January 1, 1866.⁴⁶

ANALYSIS OF ROLL-CALL VOTING

Table 5.8 presents a summary of voting patterns within the five scaled issue areas in the two conventions. Republicans clearly dominated the North Carolina convention, where they carried all 45 scaled divisions, while enjoying winning margins of over 80% in votes on race and government structure and of just below 80% in votes on suffrage. They exhibited an overall winning margin of 77.9%, and their average strength dropped below 70% only in the area of miscellaneous issues. The Republicans' overall winning average of 57.5% in Georgia was much lower. The majority coalition delegates there managed to carry all the scaled votes only in economics, while actually losing 20% of all scaled votes (8 of 40), including half of those (4 of 8) comprising the suffrage and oath scale. Thus it is hardly surprising that Georgia Republicans secured an overall winning margin of over 60% on only two scales, economics and race, while struggling to secure unimpressive winning margins of just over 50% on both suffrage and government structure. Significantly, then, the massive standard deviation of 25.1% on the Georgia suffrage scale is more than two times greater than the largest such figure for the North Carolina convention. This dramatic difference reflects the widely fluctuating totals among the eight votes in the Georgia suffrage and oath scale, in which the Republicans enjoyed four victories but suffered an equal number of defeats.

Table 5.9 offers a second means of measuring levels of Republican support in the two conventions. In this table, the averages were determined not by vote but by delegate. The table shows the mean and median of the total proportion of Republican votes cast by each delegate within each of the five issue areas. In contrast to the calculations of table 5.8, the data in this table exclude the scores within any issue area of delegates who voted less than half the time. The numbers at the right of the table represent the total number of delegates who voted sufficiently often (i.e., at least half the time) to be scaled in each issue area. The totals at the bottom of the table are simply the averages, medians, and standard deviations of the RSSs of the delegates who scaled on at least three issue areas. The total numbers of these scaled delegates appear at the bottom of the two right-hand columns.

The basic patterns established by the general voting figures in table 5.8 are evident once

again in the delegate voting data in table 5.9. With average RSSs of 2.79 in Georgia and of 3.82 in North Carolina, Republicans were clearly in much greater control in the Tar Heel State than in Georgia. In addition, Georgia's convention appears to have been a good deal more polarized than North Carolina's, as is indicated by their respective standard deviations in RSSs of 1.67 and 1.22. By this measure, in fact, North Carolina was the least polarized of the eight "Black and Tan" conventions for which we have determined useful RSSs.⁴⁷

Table 5.10 displays statistics on five issue scales and an overall scale for both conventions. The alphas (see appendix A) reveal the highest degree of internal consistency in North Carolina, where the votes were strongly correlated with one another and alphas ranged from .85 on miscellaneous issues to .96 on racial issues. In Georgia, which was more polarized, the measures of internal consistency were on average about the same. Alphas there measured from .85 on suffrage to .96 on miscellaneous issues.

Table 5.11 shows voting patterns in the five issue areas at each convention for southern whites, blacks, and outside whites. Georgia's southern white delegates, with scores ranging from a low of .32 on government structure to a high of only .52 on economics, showed a clear tendency to vote against Republican initiatives in most issue areas. In contrast, even though black support slumped noticeably (to .76) on suffrage in Georgia, that convention's black and outside white delegates (with overall RSSs of 4.52 and 4.45, respectively) voted consistently for Republican measures by substantial margins. In striking contrast to their counterparts in Georgia, southern whites at the North Carolina convention endorsed the Republican position on all five issue scales, reaching a high of .78 on race and a low of .58 on miscellaneous issues, the only scale for which their Republican support fell below two-thirds. With nearly identical overall support scores of 4.55 and 4.53, North Carolina's black and outside white delegates were also solidly Republican. Both of these groups scored a perfect 1.00 on racial votes, while returning their lowest marks on miscellaneous issues, .72 and .68 for outside whites and blacks, respectively.

As shown in table 5.12, voting patterns reflected clearly the geographical origins of Georgia's delegates. Those from two of the state's five regions, the Seacoast and Black Belt, voted on average as radicals, with overall RSSs of 4.58 and 3.42, respectively. The eight delegates from the sparsely populated Wiregrass constituencies included three radicals, three conservatives, and two swing delegates. The Upper Piedmont and North regions returned conservatives, with average RSSs of only 1.36 and 1.09, respectively.

Examination of the voting patterns and geographical origins of North Carolina's delegates offers two dramatic contrasts to the patterns found in Georgia. First, the regional origins of delegates were of much less consequence politically; a majority from each of the state's three regions voted on average as radicals. Second, in contrast to the markedly conservative leanings of the delegates who hailed from Georgia's two most mountainous regions (the North region and the Upper Piedmont), those from North Carolina's Mountain region were strongly Republican. Their collective RSS of 4.00 was exceeded only marginally by that of Georgia's Seacoast

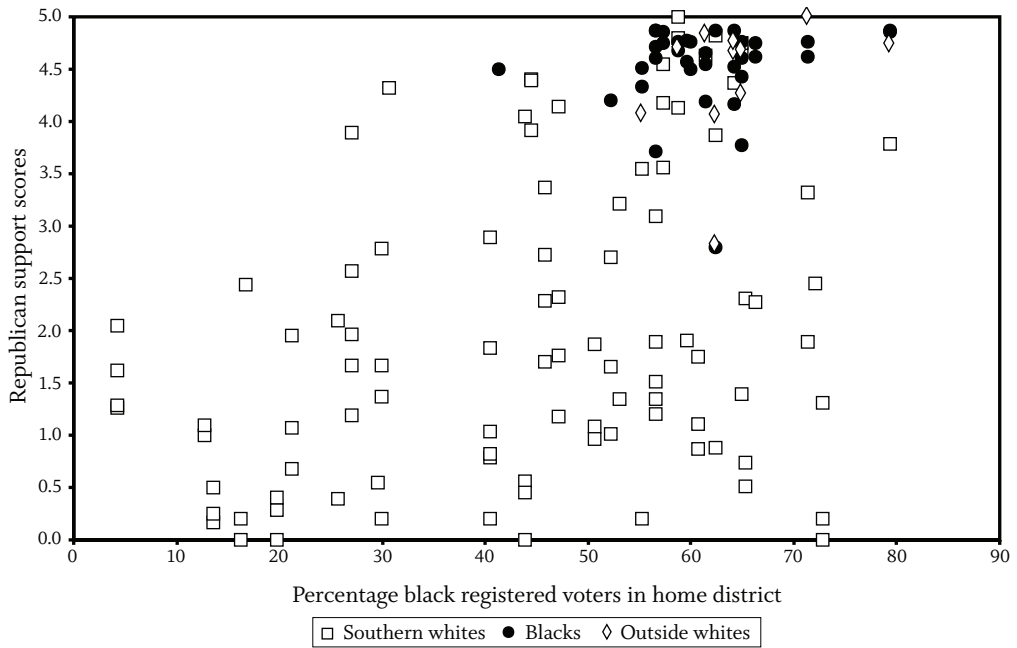
delegates, a group that except for one delegate was composed entirely of outside whites and blacks.

Table 5.13 shows the regional voting patterns of southern white delegates exclusively. Because the Upper Piedmont and North Georgia delegations were composed entirely of southern whites, the RSSs for these two regions are exactly the same as those in table 5.12. Southern whites representing Black Belt and Wiregrass constituencies were divided almost evenly among radicals, swing voters, and conservatives, while the lone southern white from the Sea-coast region voted as a radical. North Carolina's Mountain region, like the two northernmost regions of Georgia, was represented exclusively by southern whites. Thus it also posted an RSS identical to the one in table 5.12, a decidedly radical 4.00, which was nearly 3 points higher than the markedly conservative scores obtained by either of the exclusively southern white regional delegate groupings in Georgia. In contrast to the Georgia convention, at which half of southern whites had conservative RSSs, southern whites in North Carolina's remaining two regions voted as radicals, the Piedmont native whites obtaining an overall mark of 3.47 and those of the Coastal Plain, a marginally radical score of 3.39.

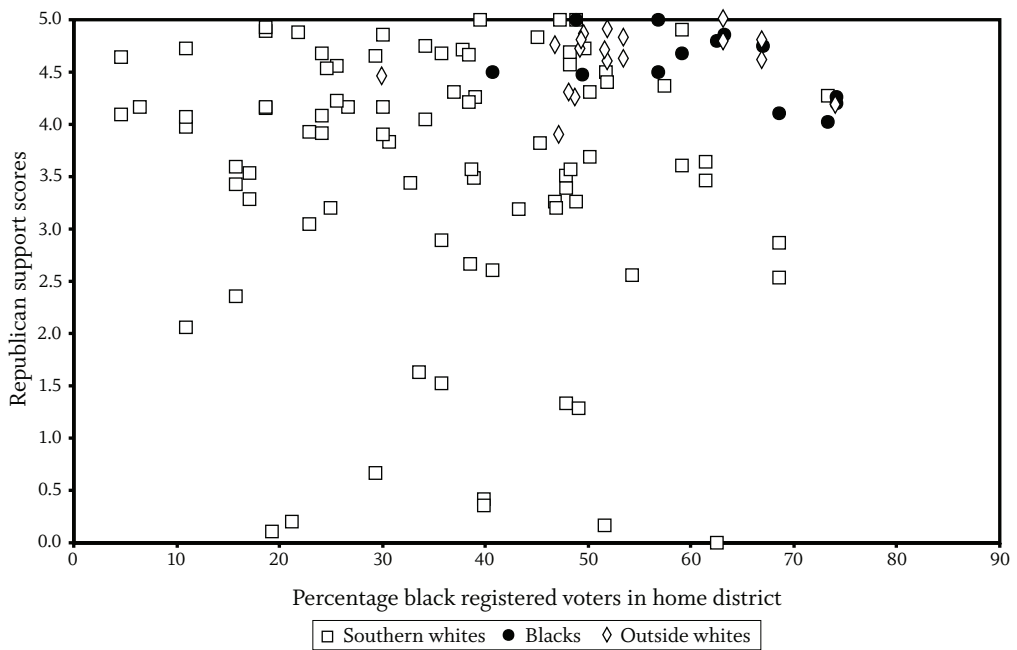
The scatterplots for Georgia and North Carolina show the relationship between RSSs and the percentage of blacks registered among the electorates in member home districts. All 66 Georgia delegates with support scores below 2.5 were southern whites. Of the 26 with the lowest marks (under 1.00) only 8 came from districts in which blacks accounted for over half of voters, while 21 of the remaining 40 (with scores from 1.00 to 2.5) represented constituencies in which blacks comprised under half of all voters. A majority of radical native white delegates (14 of 22 with support scores of 3.34 or above), by contrast, represented constituencies in which blacks comprised the majority of the electorate. With only one exception, all of Georgia's black delegates represented black-majority districts, while carpetbagger delegates, also with only one exception, were returned from districts in which blacks comprised at least 60% of voters. With only two exceptions (one in each category), all of Georgia's blacks and outside whites also voted as radicals.

The North Carolina scatterplot reveals a much different relationship between voting behavior and the racial makeup of delegate constituencies, especially southern white constituencies. In Georgia fewer than a quarter of southern whites (22 of 98) obtained radical support scores, whereas more than two-thirds (59 of 85) of those in North Carolina did so. In Georgia conservative southern whites came disproportionately from districts with few black voters, but in North Carolina a substantial majority of native white radicals (49 of 57) represented white-majority constituencies. In part, of course, this simply reflected the fact that most of North Carolina's black and outside white delegates, all of whom voted as radicals, represented districts in which freedmen made up more sizable portions of total electorates. Only a single outside white (Albion Tourg  e) and only one black came from districts in which blacks made up less than 45% of voters.

A clear relationship also existed between wealth and Republican support. Table 5.14 di-



Scatterplot of Georgia delegates' RSSs and home district black voter constituencies



Scatterplot of North Carolina delegates' RSSs and home district black voter constituencies

vides the delegates into three roughly equal groups on the basis of affluence. In both conventions the least affluent third were the most markedly Republican. In Georgia, however, there was a dramatic drop in Republican support among the convention's most affluent members, a group that included 7 radicals, 8 swing voters, and 17 conservatives. More than half (19 of 33) those in the middle affluence group in Georgia voted as conservatives. In North Carolina, by contrast, medium-affluence delegates also voted as radicals, although less consistently than their less-affluent colleagues. The most prosperous delegates in Raleigh were somewhat less radical—comprising 16 radicals, 9 swing voters, and 5 conservatives. Still, they were more supportive of Republican positions on average than two of the three delegate affluence groupings in Georgia.

When southern whites exclusively are compared (table 5.15), this contrast between the two conventions was even more striking. The least radical (i.e., the most wealthy third) of North Carolina's delegates, with an average overall RSS of 3.08, were markedly more radical than the most radical delegate group in Georgia (the least affluent, with an average overall RSS of 1.96), of whom almost half (12 of 25) were conservatives. Most of Georgia's medium-affluence southern whites (16 of 23) voted as conservatives, registering an average overall RSS of only 1.50. By contrast, Republican support was dramatically higher among North Carolina's southern whites, whatever their asset levels. In Raleigh, nearly all low- and medium-affluence native whites voted as radicals (with overall scores of 3.86 and 3.53, respectively), and even the wealthiest third obtained a average overall support score of 3.08.

Whereas Republicans enjoyed a substantial majority in North Carolina, they struggled with only a delegate plurality in Georgia. Fewer than half (66 of 142, or 46.5%) of Georgia's delegates with RSSs voted as radicals. In contrast, over three-quarters (90 of 116, or 77.6%) of North Carolina delegates with RSSs did so. By region, as shown in table 5.16, over three-quarters (53 of 66) of Georgia's radical delegates represented Black Belt constituencies. By contrast, almost half of North Carolina's radicals (40 of 90, or 44.4%) came from the Coastal Plain. The Mountain region, represented entirely by southern whites, returned a much higher proportion of radicals (14 radicals, 2 swing voters, and no conservatives) than did either of that state's other two regions. While not a single radical represented the North region of Georgia, most of that convention's 48 conservative delegates hailed from the Upper Piedmont or Black Belt. In North Carolina, where conservatives were much less numerous, almost two-thirds (7 of 11) were Piedmont residents. Over half of Georgia's swing voters (16 of 28) came from the Black Belt, whereas 13 of the 15 swing delegates in North Carolina came from Coastal Plain or Piedmont districts.

Table 5.17 shows southern white radical, swing, and conservative voters by region.⁴⁸ Black Belt constituencies accounted for over three-quarters (18 of 22, or 81.8%) of all radical native whites in Georgia. That region also returned more than half (14 of 26, or 53.8%) of the state's swing-voting southern whites. Over half (29) of the Georgia convention's 48 southern white conservatives came from North Georgia and Upper Piedmont constituencies. Con-

servatives comprised roughly two-thirds (68%) of southern whites in the Upper Piedmont and more than three-quarters (77%) of southern whites in North Georgia. Surprisingly, some 16 conservative southern white delegates resided in the Black Belt, a densely populated region that returned half (48 of 96) the southern whites at that state's convention who voted often enough to be given RSSs. Within the Black Belt, however, delegates were much more divided (18 radicals, 16 conservatives, and 14 swing voters) than were southern whites from the state's two northernmost regions, where 29 of 41 delegates voted as conservatives.

While fewer than a quarter of southern whites (22 of 96, or 22.9%) at the Georgia convention voted as radicals, more than two-thirds of the native whites (59 of 85, or 69.4%) at the North Carolina convention did so. A plurality (28) of these scalawags were from the Piedmont, where radicals comprised 70% of southern white delegates. Proportionately, however, native white radicals were most evident in the Mountain region, which returned 16 southern whites, of whom 14 were radicals. Although Piedmont districts had returned a plurality of southern white radicals, they were also home to a majority (7 of 11) of the convention's native white conservatives. Finally, over half (8 of 15) of the North Carolina convention's southern white swing delegates came from the Coastal Plain.

Table 5.18 shows the percentage of radical, conservative, and swing southern whites engaged in each of the professions listed. Over half (58%) of Georgia's conservatives were farmers, as were smaller proportions of Georgia swing and radical southern whites (39% and 33%, respectively). Lawyers, merchants, and physicians were of roughly equal proportions among southern whites in Georgia, and a somewhat disproportionate number of swing voters there were skilled laborers. Over two-thirds of North Carolina's radical and swing southern whites (69% and 67%, respectively) were farmers, but only about a third of southern white conservative delegates were. Almost half of North Carolina conservatives (45%) were lawyers or physicians, professions that only a handful of native white radical delegates practiced.

Table 5.19 depicts the percentages of delegates in each profession who fell into the three political groupings that we have identified. In many cases, the numbers listed under any single profession are too small to be statistically significant, but there are some exceptions. Well over half (62%) of Georgia's 42 farmers with support scores voted as conservatives, a marked contrast to the political behavior of North Carolina's 54 farmer-delegates with RSSs, 74% of whom voted as radicals. A similar trend was apparent among physicians, 60% of whom voted as conservatives in Georgia and only a third of whom voted as such in North Carolina. It is revealing that there were only three lawyers (one radical and two conservatives) among North Carolina's southern whites; in Georgia there were ten, of whom seven were either swing or conservative voters. The same trend was apparent among merchants, half of whom in Georgia were conservatives and two-thirds of whom in North Carolina were radicals.

Tables 5.20 and 5.21 present percentages of southern white delegates—radical, conservative, and swing—divided into thirds by age and by wealth, respectively. While radicals and conservatives were dispersed relatively evenly among age groups in the Georgia convention, al-

most half of its swing-voting southern whites were younger. In North Carolina, about half of conservative southern whites were older; radical and swing-voting native whites were more evenly distributed. In both conventions, a plurality of lower-affluence southern whites were radicals. In North Carolina, a majority of swing voters, as well as a plurality of conservatives, were well off. In Georgia, a plurality of swing southern whites appeared in the low-affluence group, while a plurality of conservatives were in the middle-income range.

THE CONSTITUTIONS RATIFIED

After the Georgia convention adjourned on March 11, 1868, matters initially went smoothly for Republicans. On March 7, Republicans among the convention delegates convened in a separate nominating convention and selected Rufus Bullock as the party's gubernatorial candidate. Éminence grise Brown was chosen to direct Bullock's campaign, at least partly in hopes of attracting crucial support from yeoman whites in the northern part of the state. Meanwhile, Democrats, who earlier failed to thwart the calling of the constitutional convention, worked out their strategy, both for the gubernatorial election and for the contest on the ratification of the new constitution. After military authorities declared both their first two choices ineligible, they selected John B. Gordon, a Confederate war hero and leader of the state's Ku Klux Klan, as their gubernatorial standard-bearer and urged that Georgians reject the new constitution so that their state would remain under military control and thus be spared the anticipated outrages of Republican rule.⁴⁹

In the four-day referendum spanning April 20–23, however, the constitution was ratified, 88,172 to 70,200, and the Republican Bullock secured the governorship by a margin of 83,527 to 76,356. On July 21, legislators assembled in the new capitol in Atlanta, ratified the Fourteenth Amendment, and voided (as required by Congress) the first and third clauses of the relief article of the new state constitution. On September 3, however, house members also expelled all 29 black legislators on grounds that under the new constitution blacks, while enfranchised, remained ineligible for elective office. On September 12, the senate followed suit, ousting its two blacks, Tunis Campbell and George Wallace, both of whom, ironically, had helped to frame the very document subsequently cited to justify their expulsion.⁵⁰

This action created a firestorm that resulted in Georgia's being placed once again under military rule. It was then required to reconvene its legislature, to make certain that native white legislators met requirements of the test oath, and to ratify the Fifteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution. When the legislature reassembled on January 10, 1870, military authorities quickly purged it of 24 Democrats (19 representatives and 5 senators) and seated 21 black legislators, an action that technically gave Governor Bullock a working majority in both houses of the legislature.

Bullock's majority, however, found it impossible to govern. In their effort to appeal to North Georgia whites, Republicans had framed a flawed constitution that had failed to guar-

antee that blacks were entitled to hold public office. Although the reimposition of military occupation had forced the reseating of ousted black legislators, the acrimonious struggle left a deep and lasting division between the state's black and white radicals. In 1870 Democrats took control of the legislature; by 1872 they gained the governorship as well.⁵¹

Matters also proceeded smoothly initially for North Carolina Republicans. Before the March 17 adjournment of the constitutional convention, they assembled in Raleigh, on February 6, and selected éminence grise Holden as their gubernatorial candidate. At about that time conservatives, who had by then emerged from their lethargy of the previous November, also organized, selecting Thomas S. Ashe as Holden's opponent. Republicans, in elections spanning April 21 through 23, carried around 30% of the white vote. Holden won the governorship by a vote of 92,235 to 73,594; at the same time, the new constitution was ratified by a very similar margin of 93,084 to 74,015. Republicans gained comfortable majorities in both houses of the General Assembly, and on July 4 a confident Holden delivered his inaugural address to a crowd of some 5,000 enthusiastic partisans.⁵²

Their enthusiasm proved premature. Holden's administration soon found itself sullied by charges of corruption, including alleged bribes of some \$200,000 by the "railroad ring" of one George W. Swepson and his two northern lobbyists, Milton S. Littlefield and Byron Laflin (the latter a member of the constitutional convention and a founder of the state's Republican party). Even more troublesome, though, was the outbreak of Klan violence, especially in the Piedmont counties of Alamance and Caswell. To deal with such outrages, the General Assembly passed legislation late in 1869 authorizing the governor to suspend writs of habeas corpus and to send militia units into counties where lawlessness was rampant. On June 8, 1870, the beleaguered Holden finally declared martial law in Alamance and Caswell counties and dispatched some 670 militia there under Colonel George W. Kirk, an eastern Tennessee native and Union army veteran. Carrying out his orders in what became known as the "Kirk-Holden War," Kirk, who had already helped Governor William Brownlow suppress the Klan in his native Tennessee, made some 200 arrests. One of the detainees was Josiah Turner, the editor of the *Raleigh Sentinel* and a vociferous foe of the governor. Unfortunately for Holden, however, the volatile editor had been captured in Orange County, a jurisdiction in which martial law had not been authorized.⁵³

In the midst of this brouhaha, North Carolina Republicans suffered a stunning electoral defeat, losing their majorities in both houses of the General Assembly. Solidly in control of the legislature and well aware that the new state constitution denied the governor the veto power (evidently owing to a belief that such executive authority had been abused by pro-Confederate governors during the war), Democrats quickly proceeded to repeal the legislation that had authorized Holden's use of the militia. They also moved to impeach the governor, in part on the grounds that he had violated section 18 of the new constitution's declaration of rights, which provided that a person "deprived of his liberty is entitled . . . to inquire into the lawfulness thereof, and to remove the same if unlawful; and such remedy ought not to be denied or de-

laid.”⁵⁴ As Kirk’s prisoners were thus released, owing in part to successful arguments that their continued incarceration denied them due process under the recently ratified Fourteenth Amendment, Holden faced impeachment. Convicted by the state senate on March 22, 1871, by a vote of 36–13, he became the first American governor to be removed by such legislative action. Although Republican successors still managed to hold on to the governorship until 1877, Reconstruction can be said to have ended in North Carolina much earlier, either with the Democrats’ legislative triumph of 1870 or with Holden’s impeachment in 1871.⁵⁵

To an extraordinary extent, then, the agendas of both of these conventions had been shaped by two nondelegates—former governor Joseph E. Brown in Georgia and provisional governor William W. Holden in North Carolina. Each saw himself as the champion of yeoman whites who had suffered disproportionately during the recent conflict due to the autocratic policies of Confederate elites. Both consequently appeared committed to creating a new political order, and each played a crucial role in shaping the constitutional convention through which a new commonwealth was to be established within his state.

During the crisis of 1860–61, however, Brown had championed secession lest a loosening of restrictions on slaves would allow “thousands of them . . . [to] leave the cotton and rice fields in the lower part of our State, and make their way to the healthier climate in the mountain region. We should have them plundering and stealing, robbing, and killing; in all the lovely vallies [sic] of the mountains.”⁵⁶ Although a highly visible Republican convert who attracted yeoman whites to his party in a state where voters were divided almost equally along racial lines, Brown’s sustained negrophobia would doom whatever chance the Republicans had to establish hegemony in Georgia. The state’s schizophrenic new constitution, for which he was so largely responsible—a document interpreted as allowing blacks to vote while excluding them from holding any major offices—had disastrous consequences. Even though federal authorities acted resolutely in December of 1869 to restore expelled blacks to their seats in the reconstituted legislature, that expulsion—supported by a number of Republican legislators—created a gulf between the party’s blacks and whites that would never be overcome. Consequently, the Republicans could not long withstand the onslaught of their resolute Democratic foes, who in contrast were united in their determination to return “home rule” to Georgia.⁵⁷

At the height of the secession crisis, Holden’s position, which has often been misunderstood, was that North Carolina had best remain in the Union so that its interests and those of the South generally would continue to be protected by the national Democratic party. Although he finally supported secession following the Fort Sumter crisis, he soon became critical of Confederate policies (both in Richmond and in Raleigh) and by 1863 had organized a peace movement and called for a state convention to initiate action to protect North Carolina from Confederate oppression. Defeated overwhelmingly in the 1864 gubernatorial election, Holden was appointed North Carolina’s provisional governor by President Andrew Johnson at war’s end. Defeated in his quest for election to the governorship, he then condemned Presi-

dential Reconstruction as many of his former enemies returned to power. The driving force behind the organization of his state's new Republican party, Holden ran successfully as that party's gubernatorial candidate in 1868.⁵⁸

Although the most important scalawag leader of the Reconstruction era, Holden's quixotic conduct over the decade had exacted a price. Hated by conservatives, he was at times distrusted even by elements of his own core constituency, those who had opposed Confederate wartime policies and who had subsequently supported both sectional reconciliation and significant political and economic reform within postwar North Carolina. A dynamic leader, Holden was able to forge a Republican coalition that dominated the constitutional convention. Given their wartime difficulties, however, the dominant element of that coalition, its scalawags, then framed a constitution that, although clearly reform oriented, also reflected a distrust of centralized authority in its limitations of the governor's veto power and of his authority to repeal habeas corpus.⁵⁹

As a consequence, after his elevation to the governorship in 1868, Holden's struggle to stem Klan violence delivered him right into the hands of determined and vengeful conservative opponents. Defamed as an arbitrary tyrant by growing legions of critics, he was quickly impeached, convicted, and removed from office. Meanwhile, as the anti-Klan legislation under which he had acted was repealed, the Klansmen he had had arrested were freed.⁶⁰ Restricted by constitutional limitations on his own executive authority because of Unionist memories of the recent Confederate excesses, William Woods Holden thus became the most prominent victim of the Klan. Republicans, whose base consisted primarily of freedmen and scalawags, managed to continue as a vital political force in North Carolina into the 1890s, a time span much greater than that enjoyed by the party in any other Black and Tan state.⁶¹ For all intents and purposes, though, Holden's victimization—the dramatic struggle that resulted in his removal from office—signaled the death knell of Reconstruction in the state.

SUMMARY

In the North Carolina and Georgia conventions, the proportions of southern white delegates were especially noteworthy, ranking second and third respectively, behind only Texas. Despite this common element, though, these two conventions were in fact strikingly different. In North Carolina, a solid majority (59 of 85) of southern whites assigned RSSs supported William Holden—their radical leader who believed ideology indispensable in establishing a political movement. With their base secure in the state's western upland counties, and in league with relatively small contingents of blacks and outside whites, these scalawags served as the vanguard of a radical coalition that carried all 45 of the votes scaled in their convention. In Georgia—with only a smattering of outside whites, a sizable but overcompliant contingent of black delegates, and half (48 of 96) of its southern whites returning conservative support scores—the story was much different. Led by the pragmatic and opportunistic Joseph E.

Brown, Republicans there lost fully a fifth (8 of 40) of selected roll calls while managing to carry all such votes in only one of the five issue scales—economics.⁶²

These two conventions, then, foretold the future of the Republican party in each state. In Georgia, where Republicans discarded the principle of black political equality in an effort to appeal to whites, Democrats seized power in 1870–71—making it the first of the Deep South states to be “redeemed.” By contrast, in North Carolina, where the Republicans and their substantial scalawag base represented more than simply a passing interlude imposed by Congress, the party was to remain (despite Governor Holden’s impeachment) a credible political force even into the 1890s. More important, however, these two conventions foretold the future of Reconstruction as it was destined to run its course throughout the former Confederacy. Each of the six conventions examined to this point had been witness to a class-based insurgency among its southern white delegates. In Virginia and Arkansas, a plurality of native white radicals (47% and 50%, respectively) were from among the least affluent third of native whites. Nearly two-thirds (73%) of Alabama’s most radical native whites were of low to medium economic standing, while more than half (56%) of the most radical Mississippi native whites were of low economic status. A plurality of the most radical Georgia and North Carolina southern whites (45% and 42%, respectively) were also among the least affluent third of native white delegates.

Here near the midpoint of our study, we already see clear evidence of this emerging class-oriented movement’s dissipation. Alabama’s constitution had been defeated (at least initially), and key elements of the constitutions in Virginia, Mississippi, and Georgia were destined to be expunged. The actions of Governor Brown and the difficulties of Governor Holden were, therefore, prophetic and should not be forgotten even as we next examine the Louisiana and South Carolina conventions, both dominated by African American delegate majorities. The success of this first *éminence grise* and the demise of the second signaled what the bedlam in Florida and Texas would later confirm—that the Black and Tan conventions were a microcosm of Reconstruction generally. Despite the *Raleigh Standard*’s appeal for working-class solidarity that set the stage for our overview of the North Carolina convention, race, in the final analysis, would almost always trump class.

Data Tables for the Georgia and North Carolina Conventions

TABLE 5.1. PERCENTAGE OF ELECTORATE BLACK AND NUMBER OF
BLACK DELEGATES BY REGION

<i>Region</i>	<i>Blacks in region (%)</i>	<i>No. of black delegates expected^a</i>	<i>Actual no. of black delegates</i>
<i>Georgia</i>			
North	13	2	0
Upper Piedmont	29	10	0
Black Belt	61	59	30
Wiregrass	37	4	1
Seacoast	68	7	6
Total	—	82	37
<i>North Carolina</i>			
Coastal Plain	52	28	9
Piedmont	40	20	5
Mountain	14	3	0
Total	—	51	14

^aBased on percentage of blacks in electorate.

TABLE 5.2. PERCENTAGE OF DELEGATE GROUPS FROM EACH REGION

<i>Region</i>	<i>Southern whites</i>	<i>Blacks</i>	<i>Outside whites</i>	<i>Overall^a</i>
<i>Georgia</i>				
North (%)	13	0	0	9
Upper Piedmont (%)	26	0	0	18
Black Belt (%)	52	81	67	60
Wiregrass (%)	8	3	8	7
Seacoast (%)	1	16	25	6
Total no.	114	37	12	164

Georgia and North Carolina

TABLE 5.2. (continued)

Region	Southern whites	Blacks	Outside whites	Overall ^a
<i>North Carolina</i>				
Coastal Plain (%)	34	64	78	44
Piedmont (%)	44	36	22	40
Mountain (%)	21	0	0	16
Total no.	90	14	18	122

^aGeorgia figures include one unclassified white from the Black Belt.

TABLE 5.3. AVERAGE AND MEDIAN AGE BY DELEGATE GROUP

	<i>Average</i>		<i>Median</i>		<i>Number</i>	
	<i>Ga.</i>	<i>N.C.</i>	<i>Ga.</i>	<i>N.C.</i>	<i>Ga.</i>	<i>N.C.</i>
Southern whites	45	47	45	48	111	88
Blacks	40	38	39	35	29	11
Outside whites	35	37	33	39	8	12
Overall	44	45	43	45	148	111

TABLE 5.4. KNOWN DELEGATE OCCUPATIONS BY GROUP (%)

<i>Occupation</i>	<i>Southern whites</i>		<i>Blacks</i>		<i>Outside whites</i>		<i>All delegates</i>	
	<i>Ga.</i>	<i>N.C.</i>	<i>Ga.</i>	<i>N.C.</i>	<i>Ga.</i>	<i>N.C.</i>	<i>Ga.</i>	<i>N.C.</i>
Farmer/planter	45.3	64.0	14.8	15.4	33.3	15.4	38.7	53.0
Merchant/businessman	16.0	9.0	0.0	7.7	0.0	15.4	12.0	9.6
Physician	11.3	10.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	8.5	7.8
Lawyer	13.2	3.4	3.7	0.0	22.2	7.7	12.0	3.5
Engineer	0.9	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.7	0.0
Educator	0.9	1.1	7.4	7.7	0.0	0.0	2.1	1.7
Minister	2.8	4.5	59.3	23.1	0.0	7.7	13.4	7.0
Druggist/dentist	0.9	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.7	0.0
Local government official	0.9	0.0	0.0	0.0	33.3	15.4	2.8	1.7
State gov. official	0.0	1.1	0.0	0.0	11.1	0.0	0.7	0.9
Judicial officer	1.9	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.4	0.0
Fed. off./employee	0.9	1.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	23.1	0.7	3.5
Skilled laborer	4.7	3.4	11.1	46.2	0.0	15.4	5.6	9.6

TABLE 5.4. (continued)

Occupation	Southern whites		Blacks		Outside whites		All delegates	
	Ga.	N.C.	Ga.	N.C.	Ga.	N.C.	Ga.	N.C.
Unskilled laborer	0.0	2.2	3.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.7	1.7
Barber	0.0	0.0	0.0	7.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.9

TABLE 5.5. AVERAGE AND MEDIAN 1870 REAL AND PERSONAL PROPERTY BY DELEGATE GROUP

	Average (\$)		Median (\$)		No. in sample	
	Ga.	N.C.	Ga.	N.C.	Ga.	N.C.
1870 real property						
Southern whites	4,536	4,030	2,000	1,200	86	82
Blacks	432	890	200	550	22	10
Outside whites	2,714	3,769	0	575	7	8
Overall	3,640	3,695	1,330	1,015	115	100
1870 personal property						
Southern whites	2,900	1,854	950	800	86	82
Blacks	299	500	200	275	22	10
Outside whites	1,221	1050	800	200	7	8
Overall	2,300	1,654	700	530	115	100
1870 total property						
Southern whites	7,436	5,884	3,300	2,150	86	82
Blacks	731	1,390	750	900	22	10
Outside whites	3,936	4819	5,000	800	7	8
Overall	5,940	5,349	2,400	1,820	115	100

TABLE 5.6. KNOWN 1860 SLAVE HOLDINGS OF
SOUTHERN WHITE DELEGATES

	Georgia	North Carolina
Owned no slaves	40	49
Owned 1–10 slaves	32	21
Owned 11–20 slaves	17	5
Owned >20 slaves	8	5
Known slaveholdings	97	80

Georgia and North Carolina

TABLE 5.7. REPRESENTATION OF DELEGATE GROUPS
ON STANDING COMMITTEES

	Georgia	North Carolina
<i>Standing committee chairs</i>		
Southern whites	14	8
Blacks	0	0
Outside whites	2	6
Unknown whites	0	0
Total		
<i>Standing committee members</i>		
Southern whites	88	119
Blacks	6	17
Outside whites	6	24
Unknown whites	1	1
Total	101	161

TABLE 5.8. SUMMARY OF VOTING PATTERNS BY ISSUE AREA

<i>Issue area</i>	<i>Avg. support for Republican positions (%)</i>		<i>Standard dev. (%)</i>		<i>Republican victories (%)</i>	
	<i>Ga.</i>	<i>N.C.</i>	<i>Ga.</i>	<i>N.C.</i>	<i>Ga.</i>	<i>N.C.</i>
Suffrage	51.0	79.9	25.1	9.0	50	100
Race	62.4	83.7	15.7	10.1	80	100
Gov. structure	53.7	81.0	5.1	9.5	71	100
Economics	63.5	76.4	3.7	9.1	100	100
Miscellaneous	56.7	63.1	10.0	10.8	90	100
Overall	57.5	77.9	13.9	11.1	80	100

TABLE 5.9. AVERAGE RSS BY ISSUE AREA

<i>Issue area</i>	<i>Mean</i>		<i>Median</i>		<i>Standard dev.</i>		<i>No. of delegates scaled</i>	
	<i>Ga.</i>	<i>N.C.</i>	<i>Ga.</i>	<i>N.C.</i>	<i>Ga.</i>	<i>N.C.</i>	<i>Ga.</i>	<i>N.C.</i>
Suffrage	.49	.80	.50	.89	.32	.28	139	114
Race	.62	.84	.80	1.00	.40	.32	126	111
Gov. structure	.55	.80	.50	.88	.41	.30	124	117
Economics	.63	.74	.80	.89	.40	.32	147	104
Miscellaneous	.56	.62	.60	.75	.42	.37	154	109
Overall ^a	2.79	3.82	2.79	4.19	1.67	1.22	142	116

^aValues for delegates who voted at least half the time in at least three issue areas.

TABLE 5.10. RESULTS OF RELIABILITY ANALYSIS FOR FIVE VOTING SCALES—
INTER-ITEM CORRELATIONS

Issue area	Mean		Minimum		Maximum		Alpha	
	Ga.	N.C.	Ga.	N.C.	Ga.	N.C.	Ga.	N.C.
Suffrage	.42	.50	.12	−.06	.69	1.00	.85	.93
Race	.60	.76	.40	.48	.83	1.00	.88	.96
Gov. structure	.63	.55	.27	.17	.81	1.00	.92	.91
Economics	.64	.46	.19	−.02	.89	.95	.95	.89
Miscellaneous	.68	.48	.46	.28	.93	.75	.96	.85

TABLE 5.11. AVERAGE RSS BY DELEGATE GROUP AND ISSUE AREA

Issue area	Southern whites		Blacks		Outside whites	
	Ga.	N.C.	Ga.	N.C.	Ga.	N.C.
Suffrage	.34 (93)	.74 (83)	.76 (36)	.97 (13)	.84 (10)	.91 (18)
Race	.42 (81)	.78 (80)	.98 (35)	1.00 (13)	.98 (10)	1.00 (18)
Gov. structure	.32 (79)	.75 (85)	.94 (36)	.94 (14)	.92 (9)	.95 (18)
Economics	.52 (100)	.66 (77)	.86 (36)	.99 (11)	.83 (11)	.96 (16)
Miscellaneous	.36 (105)	.58 (78)	.99 (37)	.68 (13)	.92 (11)	.72 (18)
Overall	2.00 (96)	3.54 (85)	4.52 (36)	4.55 (13)	4.45 (10)	4.53 (18)

Note: Numbers in parentheses are the numbers of delegates in each group who had sufficient votes to scale.

TABLE 5.12. AVERAGE RSS BY REGION AND ISSUE AREA

Region	Suffrage	Race	Gov. structure	Econ.	Misc.	Avg. overall RSS
Georgia						
North	.41	.18	.06	.10	.35	1.09
Upper Piedmont	.24	.35	.18	.36	.20	1.36
Black Belt	.57	.74	.68	.75	.67	3.42
Wiregrass	.38	.55	.58	.73	.46	2.50
Seacoast	.75	1.00	.98	.91	1.00	4.58
North Carolina						
Coastal Plain	.82	.87	.80	.79	.64	3.93
Piedmont	.77	.81	.79	.71	.60	3.64
Mountain	.79	.85	.86	.70	.64	4.00

Georgia and North Carolina

TABLE 5.13. AVERAGE SOUTHERN WHITE RSS BY REGION AND ISSUE AREA

<i>Region</i>	<i>Suffrage</i>	<i>Race</i>	<i>Gov. structure</i>	<i>Econ.</i>	<i>Misc.</i>	<i>Avg. overall RSS</i>
<i>Georgia</i>						
North	.41	.18	.06	.10	.35	1.09
Upper Piedmont	.24	.35	.18	.36	.20	1.36
Black Belt	.38	.52	.47	.68	.45	2.59
Wiregrass	.31	.40	.35	.69	.32	1.87
Seacoast	.57	1.00	.80	1.00	1.00	4.37
<i>North Carolina</i>						
Coastal Plain	.74	.75	.69	.64	.55	3.39
Piedmont	.73	.77	.75	.66	.57	3.47
Mountain	.79	.85	.86	.70	.64	4.00

TABLE 5.14. AVERAGE RSS BY LEVEL OF AFFLUENCE AND ISSUE AREA

<i>Affluence level</i>	<i>Suffrage</i>		<i>Race</i>		<i>Gov. structure</i>		<i>Econ.</i>		<i>Misc.</i>		<i>Overall</i>	
	<i>Ga.</i>	<i>N.C.</i>	<i>Ga.</i>	<i>N.C.</i>	<i>Ga.</i>	<i>N.C.</i>	<i>Ga.</i>	<i>N.C.</i>	<i>Ga.</i>	<i>N.C.</i>	<i>Ga.</i>	<i>N.C.</i>
Low	.59	.84	.85	.87	.81	.85	.84	.81	.73	.62	3.67	4.03
Medium	.38	.80	.34	.81	.30	.77	.42	.70	.41	.61	1.90	3.70
High	.34	.68	.44	.73	.32	.68	.52	.61	.31	.57	2.02	3.29

Note: In Georgia, low is ≤\$1,200 and high is >\$4,500. In North Carolina low is ≤\$1,000 and high is >\$3,800.

TABLE 5.15. AVERAGE SOUTHERN WHITE RSS BY LEVEL OF AFFLUENCE AND ISSUE AREA

<i>Affluence level</i>	<i>Suffrage</i>		<i>Race</i>		<i>Gov. structure</i>		<i>Econ.</i>		<i>Misc.</i>		<i>Overall</i>	
	<i>Ga.</i>	<i>N.C.</i>	<i>Ga.</i>	<i>N.C.</i>	<i>Ga.</i>	<i>N.C.</i>	<i>Ga.</i>	<i>N.C.</i>	<i>Ga.</i>	<i>N.C.</i>	<i>Ga.</i>	<i>N.C.</i>
Low	.29	.81	.36	.85	.31	.83	.61	.75	.34	.57	1.96	3.86
Medium	.34	.75	.31	.76	.19	.73	.30	.67	.33	.62	1.50	3.53
High	.28	.63	.36	.67	.29	.64	.52	.57	.28	.53	1.87	3.08

Note: In Georgia, low is ≤\$2,000 and high is >\$5,800. In North Carolina, low is ≤\$1,150 and high is >\$3,800.

TABLE 5.16. REGIONAL ORIGIN OF RADICALS, SWING VOTERS, AND CONSERVATIVES

Region	Radicals			Swing voters			Conservatives		
	No.	% T	% R	No.	% T	% R	No.	% T	% R
Georgia									
North	0	0	0	3	11	23	10	21	77
Upper Piedmont	2	3	7	7	25	25	19	40	68
Black Belt	53	80	62	16	57	19	16	33	19
Wiregrass	3	5	38	2	7	25	3	6	38
Seacoast	8	12	100	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	66	—	—	28	—	—	48	—	—
North Carolina									
Coastal Plain	40	44	77	8	53	15	4	36	8
Piedmont	36	40	75	5	33	10	7	64	15
Mountain	14	16	88	2	13	13	0	0	0
Total	90	—	—	15	—	—	11	—	—

% T = percentage of voting group (radical, swing, conservative) in state from region

% R = percentage of region's delegates in voting group

TABLE 5.17. REGIONAL ORIGIN OF SOUTHERN WHITE RADICALS,
SWING VOTERS, AND CONSERVATIVES

Region	Radicals			Swing voters			Conservatives		
	No.	% T	% R	No.	% T	% R	No.	% T	% R
Georgia									
North	0	0	0	3	12	23	10	21	77
Upper Piedmont	2	9	7	7	27	25	19	40	68
Black Belt	18	82	38	14	54	29	16	33	33
Wiregrass	1	5	17	2	8	33	3	6	50
Seacoast	1	5	100	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	22	—	—	26	—	—	48	—	—
North Carolina									
Coastal Plain	17	29	59	8	53	28	4	36	14
Piedmont	28	47	70	5	33	13	7	64	18
Mountain	14	24	88	2	13	13	0	0	0
Total	59	—	—	15	—	—	11	—	—

% T = percentage of voting group (radical, swing, conservative) in state from region

% R = percentage of region's delegates in voting group

TABLE 5.18. PERCENTAGE OF SOUTHERN WHITES BY VOTING GROUP
BELONGING TO VARIOUS OCCUPATIONS

<i>Occupation</i>	<i>Radicals (%)</i>		<i>Swing voters (%)</i>		<i>Conservatives (%)</i>	
	<i>Ga.</i>	<i>N.C.</i>	<i>Ga.</i>	<i>N.C.</i>	<i>Ga.</i>	<i>N.C.</i>
Farmer	33	69	39	67	58	36
Merchant/businessman	19	7	13	7	16	9
Physician	10	7	9	13	13	27
Lawyer	14	2	13	0	9	18
Engineer	0	0	0	0	2	0
Educator	5	2	0	0	0	0
Druggist	5	0	0	0	0	0
Minister	0	5	9	0	2	9
Judicial officer	0	0	4	0	0	0
Federal gov. official	5	2	0	0	0	0
State gov. official	0	2	0	0	0	0
Local gov. official	5	0	0	0	0	0
Skilled laborer	5	5	13	0	0	0
Unskilled laborer	0	0	0	13	0	0

TABLE 5.19. PERCENTAGE OF SOUTHERN WHITES BY OCCUPATION
BELONGING TO EACH VOTING GROUP

<i>Occupation</i>	<i>Radicals (%)</i>		<i>Swing voters (%)</i>		<i>Conservatives (%)</i>	
	<i>Ga.</i>	<i>N.C.</i>	<i>Ga.</i>	<i>N.C.</i>	<i>Ga.</i>	<i>N.C.</i>
Farmer	17	74	21	19	62	7
Merchant/businessman	29	67	21	17	50	17
Physician	20	44	20	22	60	33
Lawyer	30	33	30	0	40	67
Engineer	0	0	0	0	100	0
Educator	100	100	0	0	0	0
Druggist	100	0	0	0	0	0
Minister	0	75	67	0	33	25
Judicial officer	0	0	100	0	0	0

BLACKS, CARPETBAGGERS, AND SCALAWAGS

TABLE 5.19. (*continued*)

<i>Occupation</i>	<i>Radicals (%)</i>		<i>Swing voters (%)</i>		<i>Conservatives (%)</i>	
	<i>Ga.</i>	<i>N.C.</i>	<i>Ga.</i>	<i>N.C.</i>	<i>Ga.</i>	<i>N.C.</i>
Federal gov. official	100	100	0	0	0	0
State gov. official	0	100	0	0	0	0
Local gov. official	100	0	0	0	0	0
Skilled laborer	25	100	75	0	0	0
Unskilled laborer	0	0	0	100	0	0

TABLE 5.20. PERCENTAGE OF SOUTHERN WHITES BY AGE GROUP IN EACH VOTING GROUP

<i>Age group</i>	<i>Radicals (%)</i>		<i>Swing voters (%)</i>		<i>Conservatives (%)</i>	
	<i>Ga.</i>	<i>N.C.</i>	<i>Ga.</i>	<i>N.C.</i>	<i>Ga.</i>	<i>N.C.</i>
Young	38	26	47	31	32	45
Middle	29	37	20	38	32	36
Old	33	37	33	31	36	18

Note: In Georgia, the young group includes delegates through age 41 and the middle group through 49. In North Carolina, the young group includes delegates through age 39 and the middle group through 52.

TABLE 5.21. PERCENTAGE OF SOUTHERN WHITES BY PROPERTY GROUP
IN EACH VOTING GROUP

<i>Property group</i>	<i>Radicals (%)</i>		<i>Swing voters (%)</i>		<i>Conservatives (%)</i>	
	<i>Ga.</i>	<i>N.C.</i>	<i>Ga.</i>	<i>N.C.</i>	<i>Ga.</i>	<i>N.C.</i>
Low	45	42	42	13	29	18
Medium	18	35	26	27	39	36
High	36	23	32	60	32	45

Note: In Georgia, low is ≤\$2,000 and high is >\$5,800. In North Carolina, low is ≤\$1,150 and high is >\$3,800.

Selected Roll-Call Votes of the Georgia and North Carolina Conventions

GEORGIA

Economic Votes

1. A motion by Amos Akerman on December 13 to reconsider passage of an ordinance on temporary relief. It failed, 64–86. Yea 43%, Nay 57%. Republican position: Nay. Votes counted: 150. SD: .50. (*Journal of the Convention of Georgia*, 23–24, 32–34; *Augusta Daily Constitutionalist*, Dec. 14, 1867, 2.)
2. A motion by John Harris on January 28 to table Akerman's minority report on relief. It passed, 88–42. Yea 68%, Nay 32%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 130. SD: .47. (*Journal*, 198–99; *Daily Constitutionalist*, Jan. 30, 1868, 2.)
3. A motion by Albert Foster on February 1 to postpone indefinitely discussion of debtor relief. It failed, 37–78. Yea 32%, Nay 68%. Republican position: Nay. Votes counted: 115. SD: .47. (*Journal*, 218–23.)
4. A vote on February 5 to adopt an amended relief proposal offered by Rufus Bullock. It passed, 81–46. Yea 64%, Nay 36%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 127. SD: .48. (*Journal*, 248–49; *Daily Constitutionalist*, Feb. 7, 1868, 2.)
5. A vote on February 5 to replace a version of the majority relief report with Bullock's amended measure. It passed, 82–45. Yea 65%, Nay 35%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 127. SD: .48. (*Journal*, 249–54; *Daily Constitutionalist*, Feb. 7, 1868, 2.)
6. A vote on February 6 on Henry McCay's motion to table a proposal to reconsider the question of relief. It passed, 81–45. Yea 64%, Nay 36%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 126. SD: .48. (*Journal*, 256–58; *Daily Constitutionalist*, Feb. 8, 1868, 2.)
7. A vote on February 25 on a motion by William Crane to table discussion on the homestead exemption. It failed, 39–73. Yea 35%, Nay 65%. Republican position: Nay. Votes counted: 112. SD: .48. (*Journal*, 388–90; *Daily Constitutionalist*, Feb. 27, 1868, 3.)
8. A vote on February 26 to adopt Foster Blodgett's homestead proposal. It passed, 78–53. Yea 60%, Nay 40%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 131. SD: .49. (*Journal*, 404–6; *Daily Constitutionalist*, Feb. 28, 1868, 3.)
9. A vote on March 2 on McCay's addition of the essence of the report of the Committee on Relief to that of the Committee on the Judiciary. This measure, restricting authority of courts over debts incurred prior

to June 1, 1865, passed, 73–37. Yea 66%, Nay 34%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 110. SD: .47. (*Journal*, 454–59; *Daily Constitutionalist*, March 4, 1868, 2.)

10. A vote on March 3 to reconsider McCay's just-passed relief measure. It failed, 50–71. Yea 41%, Nay 59%. Republican position: Nay. Votes counted: 121. SD: .49. (*Journal*, 463–64.)

Miscellaneous Votes

1. A motion by C. C. Richardson on December 17 to postpone consideration of the report of the Committee on the Powers of the Convention. It carried, 73–70, but was not implemented due to an insufficient margin to suspend convention rules. Yea 51%, Nay 49%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 143. SD: .50. (*Journal*, 42–45; *Daily Constitutionalist*, Dec. 19, 1867, 2.)

2. A motion by Aaron Bradley on December 17 to table the report of the Committee on the Powers of the Convention. It failed, 76–78. Yea 49%, Nay 51%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 154. SD: .50. (*Journal*, 45–47; *Daily Constitutionalist*, Dec. 19, 1867, 2.) **REPUBLICAN LOSS.**

3. A motion by Josiah Parrott on December 18 to postpone, until January 8, discussion of a petition calling for Rufus Bullock's appointment as provisional governor. It failed, 75–78. Yea 49%, Nay 51%. Republican position: Nay. Votes counted: 153. SD: .50. (*Journal*, 54–56; *Daily Constitutionalist*, Dec. 20, 1867, 2.)

4. A motion by John Caldwell on December 18 to endorse the clause in a petition that instructed military authorities to appoint a provisional governor sympathetic to Reconstruction. It passed, 95–59. Yea 62%, Nay 38%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 154. SD: .49. (*Journal* 56–58; *Daily Constitutionalist*, Dec. 20, 1867, 2.)

5. A vote on John H. Caldwell's petition on December 19 naming Rufus Bullock the gubernatorial appointee favored by the convention. It passed, 81–59. Yea 58%, Nay 42%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 140. SD: .50. (*Journal*, 58–61; *Daily Constitutionalist*, Dec. 21, 1867, 2.)

6. A vote on January 9 on President Parrott's ruling against George Ashburn's resolution that declared all civil offices in the state vacant. The ruling was overturned, 68–70. Yea 49%, Nay 51%. Republican position: Nay. Votes counted: 138. SD: .50. (*Journal*, 94–96; *Daily Constitutionalist*, Jan. 11, 1868, 2.)

7. A motion by George Ashburn on January 14 calling on Congress to grant the convention the power to establish a civil government in Georgia. A call for a vote on this proposal passed, 74–70, but it apparently failed to carry due to an insufficient margin for suspending convention rules. Yea 51%, Nay 49%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 144. SD: .50. (*Journal*, 139–41, 27; *Daily Constitutionalist*, Jan. 16, 1868, 2.)

8. A vote on February 14 on a resolution by David Cotting condemning an "unauthorized" suit of the state against the Reconstruction Acts. It passed, 105–24. Yea 81%, Nay 19%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 129. SD: .39. (*Journal*, 314–16; *Daily Constitutionalist*, Feb. 16, 1868, 2.)

9. A vote on February 29 on a motion by John Bryant to reconsider the earlier tabling of a resolution thanking Congress for impeaching President Andrew Johnson. Though the motion is incorrectly recorded as being defeated, 61–62 (with William Griffin voting both ye and nay), the actual tally was 60–59 in favor, and we count it as a Republican victory. Yea 50%, Nay 50%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 119. SD: .50. (*Journal*, 437–40; *Daily Constitutionalist*, Mar. 3, 1868, 2.)

10. A vote on March 9 endorsing the report of the Committee on Miscellaneous Provisions, which established procedures for the ratification referendum on the new constitution. The report was endorsed, 77–46. Yea 63%, Nay 37%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 123. SD: .49. (*Journal*, 501–6.)

Suffrage Votes

1. A vote on January 21 to substitute Richard Whiteley's proposal, to modify the oath requirement (third section of the proposed Fourteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution) when applied to those sincerely willing to work for Reconstruction, for a more restrictive measure offered by George Ashburn. The substitute passed, 95–38. Yea 71%, Nay 29%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 133. SD: .45. (*Journal*, 170–72; *Daily Constitutionalist*, Jan. 23, 1868, 2.)

2. A vote on January 21 on the final adoption of Richard Whiteley's resolution requesting modification of the oath required of officials. It passed, 91–44. Yea 67%, Nay 33%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 135. SD: .47. (*Journal*, 172–74; *Daily Constitutionalist*, Jan. 23, 1868, 2.)

3. A vote on February 8 on Amos Akerman's amendment to section 2 of the Franchise Committee report requiring literacy of voters coming of age after January 1, 1873. It failed, 40–68. Yea 37%, Nay 63%. Republican position: Nay. Votes counted: 108. SD: .49. (*Journal*, 279–82; *Daily Constitutionalist*, Feb. 11, 1868, 2.)

4. A vote on February 10 on a motion by James Waddell calling for reconsideration of the adoption of the second article of the Franchise Committee report without Akerman's literacy requirement. It failed, 20–98. Yea 17%, Nay 83%. Republican position: Nay. Votes counted: 118. SD: .38. (*Journal*, 288–90; *Daily Constitutionalist*, Feb. 12, 1868, 2.)

5. A vote on February 12 on Homer Miller's substitute for section 3 of the report of the Franchise Committee, designed to disenfranchise only small numbers of whites. It passed, 116–15. Yea 89%, Nay 11%. Republican position: Nay. Votes counted: 131. SD: .32. (*Journal*, 148, 299–300; *Daily Constitutionalist*, Feb. 14, 1868, 2.) **REPUBLICAN LOSS.**

6. A vote on February 13 on Richard Whiteley's motion to strike section 4 of the Franchise Committee report, which contained an oath required of registered voters. It passed, 72–60. Yea 55%, Nay 45%. Republican position: Nay. Votes counted: 132. SD: .50. (*Journal*, 149, 303–4; *Daily Constitutionalist*, Feb. 15, 1868, 2.) **REPUBLICAN LOSS.**

7. A vote on February 13 on Richard Whiteley's amendment to section 5 of the Franchise Committee report. It removed "and civil process" from a sentence that had read that electors "Shall, in all cases, except treason, felony, or breach of the peace, be privileged from arrest and civil process for five days before the first day of election, on the day of election, and two days subsequent to the last day of election." It passed, 71–60. Yea 54%, Nay 46%. Republican position: Nay. Votes counted: 131. SD: .50. (*Journal*, 305–6; *Daily Constitutionalist*, Feb. 15, 1868, 2.) **REPUBLICAN LOSS.**

8. A vote on March 11 on a motion to combine the majority and minority reports of a special committee to gather names for congressional clemency. The majority report mentioned only specific individuals; the minority report recommended a general removal of political disabilities. The motion carried, 102–26. Yea 80%, Nay 20%. Republican position: Nay. Votes counted: 128. SD: .40. (*Journal*, 527–30; *Daily Constitutionalist*, Mar. 13, 1868, 3.) **REPUBLICAN LOSS.**

Government Structure Issues

1. A vote on February 7 on the adoption of the report from the Committee on the Executive, which called for a ten-year state citizenship requirement for governorship. It passed, 67–55. Yea 55%, Nay 45%. Republican position: Nay. Votes counted: 122. SD: .50. (*Journal*, 90–93, 263–65; *Daily Constitutionalist*, Feb. 9, 1868, 2.) **REPUBLICAN LOSS.**
2. A vote on February 8 on a motion by Benjamin Conley to reconsider adoption of the Executive Committee report. Conley was successful, 64–48. Yea 57%, Nay 43%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 112. SD: .50. (*Journal*, 268–69, 550; *Daily Constitutionalist*, Feb. 11, 1868, 2.)
3. A vote on February 15 on an amendment by Richard Whiteley to section 4 of the Legislative Committee report. It replaced the requirement for a two-thirds majority vote of the legislature to create new legislative staff positions with a requirement of a simple majority vote. It carried, 68–49. Yea 58%, Nay 42%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 117. SD: .50. (*Journal*, 126–27, 329–31; *Daily Constitutionalist*, Feb. 18, 1868, 2.)
4. A vote on February 24 on an amendment by Madison Bell to a resolution offered by Richard Whiteley. Bell's amendment required that legislators be "citizens" and not merely "inhabitants" of Georgia. This measure failed, 44–63. Yea 41%, Nay 59%. Republican position: Nay. Votes counted: 107. SD: .49. (*Journal*, 381–83; *Daily Constitutionalist*, Feb. 26, 1868, 3.)
5. A vote on February 27 to prevent the move of the state capital to Atlanta unless certain conditions were met (such as, for example, government buildings being free of cost to the state for 10 years). The vote failed, 60–61. Yea 50%, Nay 50%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 121. SD: .50. (*Journal*, 418–19; *Daily Constitutionalist*, Feb. 29, 1868, 3.) **REPUBLICAN LOSS.**
6. A vote on March 6 on Benjamin Conley's motion to reconsider the adoption of a resolution on congressional apportionment. It passed, 64–51. Yea 56%, Nay 44%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 115. SD: .50. (*Journal*, 483–86; *Daily Constitutionalist*, Mar. 8, 1868, 2.)
7. A vote on March 9 on John Bryant's substitution for the original article on the amendment of the constitution. His substitution prevented future disenfranchisement of voters enfranchised under the constitution. It passed, 60–57. Yea 51%, Nay 49%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 117. SD: .50. (*Journal*, 507–10.)

Racial Votes

1. A vote on February 8 on a motion by John Bryant to table until February 11 discussion of whether to expel Aaron Bradley. This motion was endorsed, 61–56. Yea 52%, Nay 48%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 117. SD: .50. (*Journal*, 276–78; *Daily Constitutionalist*, Feb. 11, 1868, 2.)
2. A vote on February 11 on a motion by Amos Akerman to return the Bradley case to the special investigative committee. This motion passed, 64–52. Yea 55%, Nay 45%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 116. SD: .50. (*Journal*, 291–93; *Daily Constitutionalist*, Feb. 13, 1868, 2.)
3. A vote on February 13 on a motion by William Crane to amend section 10 of the Franchise Committee report so as to delay blacks from holding public office by requiring all officeholders to have been U.S. citi-

zens for at least seven years. It failed, 33–89. Yea 27%, Nay 73%. Republican position: Nay. Votes counted: 122. SD: .45. (*Journal*, 308–9; *Daily Constitutionalist*, Feb. 15, 1868, 2.)

4. A vote on February 15 on a motion by James Waddell to reconsider section 10 of the Franchise Committee report and to reword it so that only white men could hold public office. It failed, 19–103. Yea 16%, Nay 84%. Republican position: Nay. Votes counted: 122. SD: .36. (*Journal*, 322–23; *Daily Constitutionalist*, Feb. 18, 1868, 2.)

5. A vote on February 19 on a motion by Wiley Smith to table discussion of whether to prohibit discrimination on public carriers. The motion to table carried, 67–60. Yea 53%, Nay 47%. Republican position: Nay. Votes counted: 127. SD: .50. (*Journal*, 350–52; *Daily Constitutionalist*, Feb. 21, 1868, 2.) **REPUBLICAN LOSS.**

NORTH CAROLINA

Suffrage Votes

1. A vote on January 31 on tabling Plato Durham's amendment to a resolution offered by Albion Tourg  e. The original proposed listing specific southern whites whose political disabilities might be removed. The amendment, which was tabled, 82–29, called for removal of disabilities from all ex-Confederates. Yea 74%, Nay 26%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 111. SD: .44. (*Journal of the Convention of North-Carolina*, 95, 97–98.)

2. A vote on February 7 on Durham's motion to table the report of the Committee on Relief from Disability. His motion to table failed, 11–88. Yea 11%, Nay 89%. Republican position: Nay. Votes counted: 99. SD: .32. (*Journal*, 150–51.)

3. A vote on February 7 in which the report of the Committee on Relief from Disability was adopted by a vote of 86–9. Yea 91%, Nay 9%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 95. SD: .29. (*Journal*, 151.)

4. A vote on February 25 on the adoption of section 1 of the report of the Committee on Suffrage and Eligibility to Office. It enfranchised all males 21 or older and was endorsed, 76–27. Yea 74%, Nay 26%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 103. SD: .44. (*Journal*, 257–58, 232–33.)

5. A vote on March 9 in which the suffrage article (as reported by the Committee on Suffrage and Eligibility to Office) passed its second reading by a vote of 61–19. Yea 76%, Nay 24%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 80. SD: .43. (*Journal*, 373.)

6. A vote on March 9 in which the article on eligibility to office passed its second reading, 51–34. Yea 60%, Nay 40%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 85. SD: .49. (*Journal*, 374–75.)

7. A vote on March 10 on David Heaton's amendment to the report of the Committee on Suffrage and Eligibility to Office requiring a registration oath of voters. It passed, 74–27 (recorded as 74–22). Yea 73%, Nay 27%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 101. SD: .44. (*Journal*, 390–92.)

8. A vote on March 11 to table F. F. French's call for a reconsideration of the vote on the section of the suffrage article passed on March 10. The motion to table was successful, 75–12. Yea 86%, Nay 14%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 87. SD: .35. (*Journal*, 402.)

9. A vote on March 11 on final passage of the suffrage section of the report of the Committee on Suffrage and Eligibility to Office. It was endorsed, 80–8. Yea 91%, Nay 9%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 88. SD: .29. (*Journal*, 402–3.)
10. A vote on March 11 in which the article on eligibility to office (of the Committee on Suffrage and Eligibility to Office) was adopted, 76–9. Yea 89%, Nay 11%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 85. SD: .31. (*Journal*, 405.)
11. A vote on March 12 on William Rodman's amendment to the report of the Committee on Relief from Political Disability. This measure, which sought to remove political disabilities from all citizens, was defeated, 26–75. Yea 26%, Nay 74%. Republican position: Nay. Votes counted: 101. SD: .44. (*Journal*, 413–14.)
12. A vote on March 13 that repealed an act in which the 1866 General Assembly granted amnesty to all former Confederate soldiers. This repeal was endorsed, 74–24 (recorded as 73–24). Yea 76%, Nay 24%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 98. SD: .43. (*Journal*, 436.)
13. A vote on March 13 on an ordinance establishing penalties for intimidation of voters. It was endorsed, 56–14. Yea 80%, Nay 20%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 70. SD: .40. (*Journal*, 451–52.)
14. A vote on March 16 on the final adoption of the revised article on suffrage and eligibility to office. It was endorsed, 75–12. Yea 86%, Nay 14%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 87. SD: .35. (*Journal*, 471–72.)

Miscellaneous Votes

1. A vote on February 5 on a substitute relief measure offered by Edmund Jones. It was rejected, 26–69 (recorded as 27–69). Yea 27%, Nay 73%. Republican position: Nay. Votes counted: 95. SD: .45. (*Journal*, 138–39.)
2. A vote on February 5 on Albion Tourgée's motion to table the ordinance on relief that prohibited court action only on contracts made prior to May 1, 1865. The motion to table failed, 43–57 (recorded as 44–57). Yea 43%, Nay 57%. Republican position: Nay. Votes counted: 100. SD: .50. (*Journal*, 132–33, 140.)
3. A vote on February 5 on the relief ordinance introduced originally by William Rodman. It passed, 56–39. Yea 59%, Nay 41%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 95. SD: .49. (*Journal*, 140–41.)
4. A vote on February 29 on Tourgée's amendment to section 1 of the majority report of the Committee on Homesteads. The amendment, broadening the homestead exemption to include debts contracted prior to the adoption of the constitution, passed, 51–39 (in a vote recorded as 51–40, with William Marler indicated as having voted twice). Yea 57%, Nay 43%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 90. SD: .50. (*Journal*, 277–79.)
5. A vote on March 3 on Rodman's Ordinance for the Relief of the People. This measure, which prevented courts from enforcing contracts made before May 1, 1865, passed, 47–42 (in a vote recorded as 48–42). Yea 53%, Nay 47%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 89. SD: .50. (*Journal*, 296–301.)
6. A vote on March 6 on final passage of the report of the Committee on Homesteads. It passed, 65–16. Yea 80%, Nay 20%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 81. SD: .40. (*Journal*, 349–50.)

Georgia and North Carolina

Government Structure Votes

1. A vote on February 6 endorsing an ordinance from the Committee on Finance authorizing a property tax to meet the expenses of the convention. It passed, 92–13. Yea 88%, Nay 12%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 105. SD: .33. (*Source Journal*, 143–44.)
2. A vote on February 7 on John Graham's motion to amend the article on the executive department by voiding the creation of the office of lieutenant governor and several other executive department heads. It failed, 13–86. Yea 13%, Nay 86%. Republican position: Nay. Votes counted: 99. SD: .34. (*Journal*, 153–58.)
3. A vote on February 11 on a section of the Judiciary Committee report that provided for popular election of state supreme court judges. It passed, 56–34. Yea 62%, Nay 38%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 90. SD: .49. (*Journal*, 180–84.)
4. A vote on February 13 on Graham's substitute for a section of the legislative committee report. The substitution linked apportionment in the state senate to taxes paid by citizens of each senate district. It failed, 16–88. Yea 15%, Nay 85%. Republican position: Nay. Votes counted: 104. SD: .36. (*Journal*, 189–91, 196–97.)
5. A vote on February 20 on an ordinance dividing the state into seven congressional districts. It passed, 72–28. Yea 72%, Nay 28%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 100. SD: .45. (*Journal*, 242–44.)
6. A vote on March 7 on the final passage of the report of the Committee on Counties, Cities, and Towns. It was endorsed, 87–14. Yea 86%, Nay 14%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 101. SD: .35. (*Journal*, 314–16, 352–53.)
7. A vote on March 10 on final passage of the report of the Committee on the Judicial Department. It was endorsed, 79–21, in a vote recorded as 80–20. Yea 79%, Nay 21%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 100. SD: .41. (*Journal*, 258–64, 383–84)
8. A vote on March 16 on the adoption of the constitution. It was endorsed 89–10, in a vote recorded as 90–10. Yea 90%, Nay 10%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 99. SD: .30. (*Journal*, 479.)

Racial Votes

1. A vote on February 7 on Plato Durham's amendment to the report of the Committee on the Executive Department. It required that the governor and lieutenant governor be American citizens for 20 years and citizens of North Carolina for 5. It failed, 14–80 (recorded as 14–81). Yea 15%, Nay 85%. Republican position: Nay. Votes counted: 94. SD: .36. (*Journal*, 159.)
2. A vote on February 7 in which Durham's effort to declare those of African descent ineligible for state executive offices failed, 11–83. Yea 12%, Nay 88%. Republican position: Nay. Votes counted: 94. SD: .32. (*Journal*, 162–63.)
3. A vote on February 10 on John Graham's amendment to the report of the Committee on the Militia. It required separate black and white units and mandated that no white soldier "ever be required to obey a negro officer." It failed, 9–83. Yea 10%, Nay 90%. Republican position: Nay. Votes counted: 92. SD: .30. (*Journal*, 174–75.)

4. A vote on February 18 in which the bill of rights was accepted for its third and final reading. It passed 87–20. Yea 81%, Nay 19%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 107. SD: .39. (*Journal*, 232.)
5. A vote on March 6 to reject Durham's proposal to mandate constitutionally that schools be segregated. The move to reject passed, 86–11. Yea 89%, Nay 11%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 97. SD: .32. (*Journal*, 338–43.)
6. A vote on March 6 in which the original report of the Committee on Education passed its second reading by a vote of 88–12. Yea 88%, Nay 12%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 100. SD: .33. (*Journal*, 343–44.)
7. A vote on March 9 in which the education article passed its third and final reading by a vote of 78–10 (recorded as 87–10). Yea 89%, Nay 11%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 88. SD: .32. (*Journal*, 367–68.)
8. A vote on March 16 to table Thomas Candler's motion to reconsider an ordinance that had legalized marriages performed by military authorities since April 1, 1862. The motion to reconsider was tabled, 40–27. Yea 60%, Nay 40%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 67. SD: .49. (*Journal*, 462, 473.)

Economic Votes

1. A vote on March 7 on Thomas Candler's amendment to a substitute for section 5 of the report of the Finance Committee. The amendment, which would have made it easier to extend state credit, failed, 38–60. Yea 39%, Nay 61%. Republican position: Nay. Votes counted: 98. SD: .49. (*Journal*, 353–55.)
2. A vote on March 7 on Joseph Abbott's modified wording of section 5 of the report of the finance committee. It passed, 62–30, requiring voter approval for state-aided internal improvements. Yea 67%, Nay 33%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 92. SD: .47. (*Journal*, 353–55.)
3. A vote on March 7 by which the report of the Finance Committee passed its third and final reading by a vote of 77–20. Yea 79%, Nay 21%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 97. SD: .41. (*Journal*, 356.)
4. A vote on March 11 on an ordinance that amended the charter of the Chatham Rail Road Company, allowing it to issue up to \$1,200,000 in state bonds to finish its road. It passed, 81–14. Yea 85%, Nay 15%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 95. SD: .36. (*Journal*, 393–95.)
5. A vote on March 11 on an ordinance authorizing the delivery of \$1,000,000 in state bonds to the Western Rail Road Company. It passed, 68–18. Yea 79%, Nay 21%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 86. SD: .41. (*Journal*, 396–98.)
6. A vote on March 11 on an ordinance authorizing a loan of \$150,000 to the Williamston and Tarboro Rail Road Company. It passed, 55–14 (recorded as 55–15). Yea 80%, Nay 20%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 69. SD: .41. (*Journal*, 398–400.)
7. A vote on March 14 to amend an ordinance to provide for the payment of interest on the state's public debt. The amendment, giving the legislature power to repeal the ordinance, failed, 29–63 (recorded as 29–64). Yea 32%, Nay 68%. Republican position: Nay. Votes counted: 92. SD: .47. (*Journal*, 455.)

8. A vote on March 14 by which the original ordinance on payment of the state debt was endorsed, 72–21. Yea 77%, Nay 23%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 93. SD: .42. (*Journal*, 455–56.)

9. A vote on March 14 on Abbott's resolution pertaining to completion of the Western North Carolina Rail Road. It passed, 62–7. Yea 90%, Nay 10%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 69. SD: .30. (*Journal*, 465–66.)

6

LOUISIANA AND SOUTH CAROLINA

Anomalous Stereotypes

The doctrine of State sovereignty . . . proved to be as fruitful a source of evil to the country as had been the wrath of Achilles to the Greeks, or the eating of the apple by Eve in the garden of Eden to human posterity.

—JAMES G. TALIAFERRO, president of the Louisiana convention

No body of men for a more important purpose ever assembled in Louisiana. For years our State has groaned under the effects of unwholesome laws, and confusion, anarchy and bloodshed has been the result. This Convention is expected to be to the State, what the doctor is to the patient; it is to prescribe decided remedies to purge our political system until the debris of Slavery is entirely removed.

—MICHEL VIDAL, Louisiana convention delegate

What can be expected of a government framed by such men!

—DAVID GOLIGHTLY HARRIS, Spartanburg County, South Carolina, January 1868

OVERVIEW

The 1870 census reported black majorities in three states of the former Confederacy—Louisiana, Mississippi, and South Carolina. From 1840 through 1870, blacks comprised, on average, some 53% of Mississippi residents. The proportion of blacks in Louisiana’s population from 1810 through 1870 was virtually the same. Blacks’ relative numbers were slightly greater in South Carolina, where they averaged 56.9% of all inhabitants from 1820 through 1870.¹ Only in Louisiana and South Carolina, however, were blacks a majority in the Black and Tan conventions, and because of this fact these two assemblies have generally received more attention than any of the others—both in the form of ridicule from past observers, who abhorred them because of their racial composition, and in the form of praise from more recent commentators, who believe that they merit special attention in light of ongoing efforts at crafting a more pluralist version of our national history. This atypical delegate mix of the Louisiana and

South Carolina conventions—so central to their notoriety—is, of course, our principal reason for coupling them in this chapter.

Although racially similar, these two conventions, as we shall demonstrate, were quite different. Union occupation of Louisiana dated from the spring of 1862, and by war's end antebellum free blacks in New Orleans (a number of whom were French speaking) had taken a leading role in establishing the state's Republican party and in putting the issue of black enfranchisement on the national political agenda.² By June of 1867, however, more "moderate" elements would snatch control of the party and would generally prevail in Louisiana's constitutional convention, even in the face of opposition from both disgruntled radicals and outspoken conservatives.

In contrast, South Carolina's Republicans, who organized their party only after passage of the Reconstruction Acts of March 1867, escaped (at least initially) intraparty factionalism of the intensity witnessed in Louisiana. Republican delegates seated in Charleston were thus to enjoy a luxury denied their fellows in any of the other Black and Tan conventions—including even the one assembled in New Orleans. During their deliberations, they met with no organized dissent at all.

INTRODUCTION

General Philip Sheridan, headquartered in New Orleans, took command of the Fifth Military District (Louisiana and Texas) on March 19, 1867; two days later, General Daniel Sickles followed suit in the Second Military District (the Carolinas), establishing his headquarters in Charleston. Registration of Louisiana's voters began on May 1 and was completed by July 30; the process got under way a bit later (August 1) in South Carolina and was finished there by October 1. The referendum authorizing the convention in Louisiana and the election selecting its delegates were then scheduled for September 27–28; the same were set for some two months later, November 19–20, in South Carolina.³

Having completed preliminary organization of the party in September of 1865, Louisiana Republicans assembled in New Orleans on June 11, 1867, to prepare for the September elections. They hoped the platform forged there would appeal to the freedmen, who comprised an almost two-to-one majority (84,436 to 45,218) over whites in the state's electorate. As adopted, it opposed the imposition of all educational or property qualifications for the franchise or for holding public office, advocated that at least half of Republican nominations for such offices go to the newly enfranchised citizens who comprised the majority of the party faithful, and disavowed distinctions between freeborn and freed in the selection of black candidates for elective or appointive positions. Espousing such principles and even suggesting division of the "lands of the state" as a means of facilitating the growth of a yeoman class of black and white landholders led to factional differences among delegates. The most impor-

tant of these divisions pitted a carpetbagger-led group headed by future governor Henry Clay Warmoth against a black contingent loyal to Dr. Louis Roudanez, the octoroon editor of the *New Orleans Tribune*. To the chagrin of the latter group of “Pure Radicals,” who believed their rivals’ commitment to civil rights was suspect, the Warmoth faction asserted its strength, placing some 46 of its partisans on the 79-member state central committee.⁴

Meanwhile, in March of 1867, the task of creating South Carolina’s new Republican party began in Charleston; it ended in Columbia on July 24 with a three-day convention attended by 88 delegates (approximately two-thirds of whom were black) from 21 of the state’s 30 districts. Presided over by Richard Gleaves, a mixed-race lawyer from Pennsylvania who had settled in Beaufort, delegates cobbled together a platform from elements of those forged at previous local meetings: free public schools open to all, inducements to promote the sale of unoccupied lands to the poor, extensive programs of internal improvements, constitutional provisions limiting state legislative and executive officials to single-year terms, and caution in restoring the political rights of former Confederates. Their platform finished, Republican leaders organized rallies throughout the state to get their message to the newly enfranchised freedmen, who outnumbered whites by a margin of 80,550 to 46,882, slightly greater than that by which black voters outnumbered white in Louisiana.⁵

Dismayed conservatives in both states failed to offer active opposition to either convention, virtually assuring that both would be comprised almost exclusively of Republican delegates. The *New Orleans Daily Picayune*, Louisiana’s leading newspaper, conceded that both the delegate elections and the convention referendum would succeed. Focusing instead on a yellow fever epidemic that ravaged the city as these September elections took place, the editors assured their readers that whites would eventually prevail, either “peacefully or with such drenching of the earth with the blood of the innocent as characterized the great revolution in France. . . .”⁶

After considering their options, South Carolina’s white anti-reconstructionists rallied behind Benjamin Perry, a former governor who urged them to register and vote for delegates but not to participate in the referendum on the convention. Since a majority of all registered voters was needed for its authorization, conservatives hoped this strategy might reduce overall voter participation sufficiently to thwart the convention, even if it were endorsed by a majority of those actually casting votes. Given the sizable majority of freedmen in South Carolina’s electorate, this desperate strategy—dependent on a low turnout of blacks and white unanimity on the boycott—had only a minuscule chance of success. It had absolutely none, however, once General Edward R. S. Canby (who had replaced Sickles in command of the Second Military District) announced he would accept delegate votes only if accompanied by ballots on the convention.

On October 21, 1867, military authorities disclosed the results of the Louisiana elections of September 27–28: 75,083 ballots for a convention and 4,006 against. Those victorious in

the accompanying delegate elections were directed to assemble on Saturday, November 23, at the Mechanics' Institute in New Orleans to frame a new Louisiana constitution. In South Carolina's elections of November 19 and 20 the margin of victory was even a bit greater. With some 127,432 voters registered, the convention was endorsed by a margin of 68,768 to 2,278. On December 28, General Canby decreed that delegates were to gather at the Club House in Charleston on January 14, 1868, to begin drafting the new constitution for their state.⁷

Delegate mix was similar in the two states. In striking contrast to the other conventions, the ratio of black to white in Louisiana and South Carolina closely reflected the racial composition of the two electorates. South Carolina ranked first in proportion of black delegates (72 of 121, or 59.5%), and Louisiana ranked second (50 of 97 delegates, or 51.5%). The freedmen there, however, were somewhat less well represented in proportion to the electorate than in South Carolina. The 34 southern whites in South Carolina made up only slightly over a quarter (28.1%) of the delegates, the lowest among any of the conventions. Louisiana's 31 southern whites accounted for about a third (32%) of the delegates there, the next lowest.⁸ The two conventions were also similar in representation by outside whites. In this respect—surprisingly, given popular legend—both conventions ranked low (seventh and eighth, respectively). There were 14 carpetbaggers in Louisiana and 15 in South Carolina (14.4% and 12.4% of delegate totals, respectively); only in Texas and Georgia were carpetbaggers a proportionally smaller contingent.⁹

In the Louisiana election, New Orleans and the Florida Parishes, unlike the other three regions of the state, actually returned slightly greater numbers of black delegates than their relative proportion in the population (see table 6.1). Overall, the 50 black delegates sent to New Orleans represented only about three-quarters (78%) of their ratio in the population of the state. Two of the three South Carolina regions—Midlands and Mountain—returned a black delegate total exactly proportional to the black-white ratio of their respective electorates. The number of blacks from the Low Country, however, was slightly less than expected, owing largely to the fact that there were a number of outside whites from that region (9 of the 15 at the convention). Even so, the number of black delegates at the South Carolina convention was 94% of the number that would be expected based on the proportion of freedmen among the state's electorate.

As shown in table 6.2 and on the Louisiana and South Carolina maps, black, southern white, and outside white delegate constituencies were not distributed evenly among geographic regions. Half of Louisiana's blacks came from River parishes, and a quarter were from New Orleans (Orleans Parish). A fairly similar pattern (42% from River constituencies and 29% from New Orleans) is seen among southern white delegates. Few outside whites, though, called New Orleans home; three-quarters of their number hailed instead from River districts. While South Carolina's black delegates divided almost equally among each of that state's three regions, southern and outside whites did not. Over half of the former were from the Mountain

region, with another quarter from the Midlands. In contrast, the Mountain region returned no outside whites. Almost two-thirds of them (60%) were from the Low Country and the rest from the Midlands.

Table 6.3 reveals an identical average delegate age (39) in each convention. Louisiana's outside whites were a bit younger than South Carolina's, but the opposite was true of southern whites. Given the large number of blacks in each of these conventions, we decided it worthwhile to divide them into three subcategories: those of mixed race, blacks, and blacks whose racial mix was unknown. Those of mixed race were the youngest of the African American contingents in both conventions, and in Louisiana the disparity in age—ten years—was significant. As seen in table 6.4, Louisiana and South Carolina had roughly the same proportions of delegates who were farmers, physicians, and skilled and unskilled laborers. The proportion of lawyers among Louisiana's delegates was more than twice that among South Carolina's, and the proportion of merchants among Louisiana's delegates was nearly twice that among South Carolina's. South Carolina, on the other hand, had a far larger proportion of educators and ministers.

Table 6.5 presents a revealing overview of delegate wealth. Louisiana delegates, holding total property with a median value of only \$2,000, ranked seventh in assets among all conventions; those in South Carolina, with median overall assets of only \$1,500, placed an even-lower ninth, ahead only of Florida. At both conventions, outside whites—with median assets of \$7,150 in South Carolina and \$6,000 in Louisiana—comprised by far the most affluent delegate blocs. They in fact ranked second and third, respectively (behind only Arkansas), in asset levels among outside whites at all the conventions. Southern whites were to some degree responsible for the low overall economic standing of delegates at both conventions but especially in the case of South Carolina. While total median assets of \$3,750 placed Louisiana's southern whites a respectable fourth in total property among their counterparts at all the conventions, South Carolina's southern whites, with total holdings of only \$1,700, ranked dead last.

Even so, the decisive factor in the relatively low economic standing of the membership of the Louisiana and South Carolina conventions was clearly the fact that the majority of their delegates were black. Louisiana's black delegates were more prosperous than those of mixed race (medians of \$2,000 and \$1,075, respectively); this was reversed in South Carolina (with medians of \$425 for blacks and \$1,500 for mixed-race delegates). While the overall median asset levels of black and mixed-race delegates in Louisiana and South Carolina placed them first and third in economic standing among blacks in all the conventions, these delegates were still generally less prosperous than either their southern white or outside white fellow delegates.¹⁰ Given the fact that the Louisiana and South Carolina conventions together accounted for almost half (122 of 268—46%) of the blacks in all the conventions, it is clear that blacks accounted for the relatively low overall economic standing of the delegates in at these two conventions.¹¹

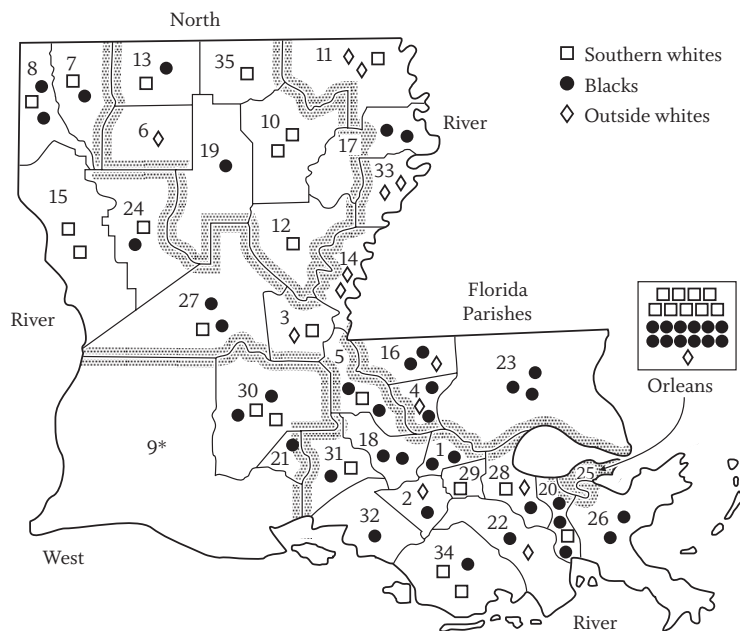
As seen in table 6.6, half (12 of 24) of South Carolina's southern white delegates whose

slaveholding status is known had owned slaves in 1860, as had almost 60% of (10 of 17) of those at the Louisiana convention. The average size of these holdings was, however, greater in South Carolina (16.3) than in Louisiana (12.6). The difference was due mostly to the egregiously large slavholdings of a single delegate from South Carolina. In 1860, Thomas Robertson, a Richland County resident, destined soon to trade his seat in South Carolina's convention for one in the United States Senate, had owned 84 bondsmen, whereas the largest slaveholder among Louisiana delegates, James Taliaferro, a Catahoula Parish lawyer and outspoken opponent of disunion, had owned only 27.¹²

Because there were so many black delegates in South Carolina and Louisiana, it is possible to divide them into statistically significant subgroups. Table 6.7 provides data on these delegates' racial classification, native origin, prior slave status, and literacy. A majority (41 of 72) of South Carolina's blacks were former slaves. By contrast, in Louisiana only 19% (7 of 36) of those whose prewar status is known had been slaves. Over half of black delegates in Louisiana and two-thirds of those in South Carolina were native to their respective states. In South Carolina, mixed-race and black delegates divided fairly evenly (37 and 31, respectively); in Louisiana, however, blacks were outnumbered almost three to one (11 to 27) by mixed-race delegates. As would be expected given its higher proportion of antebellum free and mixed-race delegates, only one of Louisiana's blacks is known to have been illiterate. Of South Carolina's blacks, five were illiterate.¹³

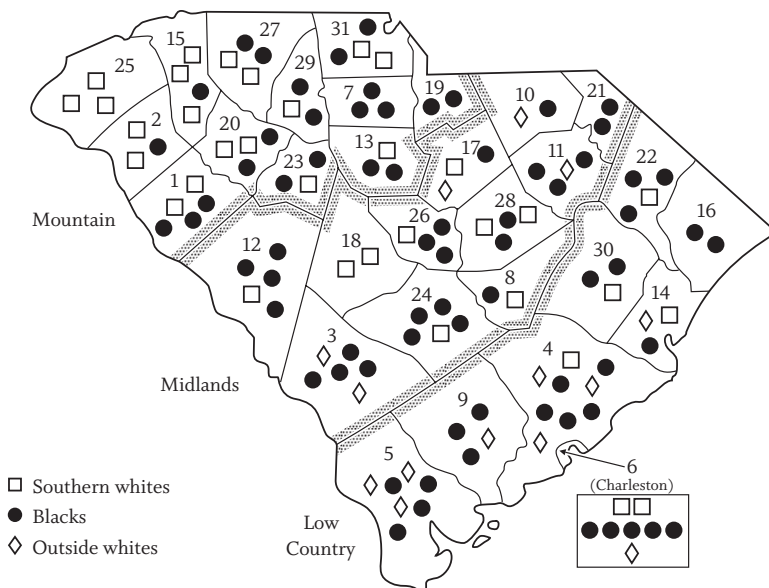
Although scalawag ranks were sparse in both states, southern whites presided over each convention. Albert Gallatin Mackey, a native-born Charleston physician in his early sixties, officiated (by choice without remuneration as either president or delegate) in South Carolina.¹⁴ A wartime Unionist appointed collector of the port of Charleston by President Johnson in July of 1865, he had by then largely abandoned his medical practice to devote his full attention to his writings on the Masonic order. Virginia native and longtime Catahoula Parish resident James G. Taliaferro, the president of the Louisiana convention, was a former lawyer and an ex-Whig (with one son among his ten children named for John Quincy Adams and another for Daniel Webster). Unionist editor of the *Harrisonburg Independent* (its masthead carried the quotation from Cicero "I defended the republic in my youth; I shall not stop as an old man"), Taliaferro, who was destined soon to serve as an associate justice on the state supreme court, had been a delegate to the state's 1852 constitutional convention before becoming the most strident spokesman for the small Unionist minority at Louisiana's secession convention. In protesting the secessionist convention's 113–17 vote for disunion, Taliaferro, who was soon to be arrested by Confederate authorities, contended that "the act of dissolving the ties which connect Louisiana with the Federal Union is a revolutionary act, that this Convention is, of itself, without legitimate power to perform. . . ."¹⁵

As president, Taliaferro staffed his post–Civil War convention's 14 standing committees on November 29, the fifth day of its proceedings. Seven committees were chaired by southern whites, four by outside whites, and three by blacks (Pickney B. S. Pinchback, Militia; James



Louisiana regions, districts, and delegate distribution

*Delegate representing district 9 failed to attend the convention.



South Carolina regions, districts, and delegate distribution

Ingraham, Bill of Rights; and Henry Bonseigneur, Contingent Expenses). President Mackey of South Carolina also staffed the standing committees of his convention on the fifth day of its proceedings. Six of its 11 chairmanships went to southern whites, 3 to blacks (Robert DeLarge, Franchise and Elections; Francis Cardozo, Education; and Stephen Swails, Rules and Regulations), and the remaining 2 to outside whites. Despite their majority status, then, blacks were not afforded committee chairmanships proportionate to their delegate numbers either in New Orleans or Charleston.

As shown in table 6.8, however, although still underrepresented, blacks fared considerably better in rank-and-file positions on standing committees. Taliaferro divided 80 of these 95 slots in his convention evenly between southern whites and blacks. Fourteen of the 15 remaining slots went to outside whites, and 1 went to an unclassified white. In South Carolina, Mackey gave fully half of 88 standing committee seats to blacks, 30 of the remaining 44 to southern whites, and 14 to outside whites. When this process was finished, blacks comprised majorities on two standing committees (Militia and Bill of Rights) in Louisiana and on four (Bill of Rights, Finance, Education, and Petitions) in South Carolina.¹⁶

THE LOUISIANA CONVENTION

During their 81 days in session, November 24, 1867, through March 9, 1868, with extended breaks for Christmas and New Year's Day, Louisiana delegates cast votes on 158 roll calls in which their names were recorded individually. In this chapter we have singled out 38 of these roll calls for statistical analysis. These votes have been grouped into five issue scales: economic issues, 5 votes; miscellaneous issues, 6 votes; racial issues, 8 votes; government structure issues, 8 votes; and suffrage issues, 11 votes. The patterns revealed through examination of these vote sets were then used to assign Republican support scores (RSSs) to all delegates who voted often enough to merit such rankings. Those scores were then used to identify radicals, swing voters, and conservatives among convention delegates.¹⁷

Economic Issues

Within a week or so of President Taliaferro's November 29 designation of the chairmen and members of the convention's 14 standing committees, delegates turned their attention to the funding of the convention, the issue central to the economic issue scale. For several days early in December, they focused on how best to raise the revenues required to keep them in session. On December 10, 1867, William Cooley (a southern white from Pointe Coupee Parish) failed to table a recommendation from a special committee chaired by John S. Harris (an outside white from Concordia Parish). Endorsed the following day, it recommended the state issue bonds with a total value between \$300,000 and \$500,000 to defray convention expenses. At that time, a second effort to table also failed, and delegates endorsed a preliminary version of the funding document. On December 12, in response to a proposal from W. Jasper Blackburn

(a southern white from Claiborne Parish), they then endorsed issuing \$300,000 in state bonds to support the convention.¹⁸

Miscellaneous Issues

Discussion of the six votes comprising the miscellaneous scale began on December 17, with Rufus Waples (a southern white from Orleans Parish) failing to amend a report on printing to allow publication of convention proceedings (and/or the finished constitution itself) in nine different newspapers rather than six. Following the year-end break, Napoleon Underwood (a southern white from St. James Parish) attempted to table a measure establishing a board of health to oversee the sanitation in slaughterhouses in Jefferson and Orleans parishes. Underwood's effort failed; the public health statute offered by George Wickliffe (also a southern white of Orleans Parish) then passed, as did his February 8 proposal providing for election of state officials at the time the constitution was to be ratified.¹⁹ The last two miscellaneous votes, both involving compensation of public officials, then received quick endorsement. On February 11, George Reagan (an outside white from East Baton Rouge Parish) secured raises for convention employees. Two weeks later, on February 26, Pickney Benton Stewart Pinchback (a former slave representing New Orleans) gained approval for setting the annual salary of the lieutenant governor (an office he later secured in 1871) at \$3,000.²⁰

Racial Issues

The first three of the eight votes in the racial issues scale focused on Louisiana's bill of rights. On December 26, Simeon Beldon (a New Orleans southern white) successfully added to that document a section declaring all men free and equal. Acceptance of two additional articles followed quickly on December 28 and 31. Offered by Thomas Isabelle, a New Orleans delegate of mixed racial heritage, the first article guaranteed equal civil, political, and public rights to all men; the second, presented by Pinchback, granted all persons equal access to public carriers and public places. The first of two scaled votes on February 4 then mandated that there "be no separate schools established for any exclusive race by the state" of Louisiana, and a second thwarted an effort to postpone indefinitely consideration of whether to establish a state university open to both blacks and whites. Finally, in votes on January 28 and February 28, delegates endorsed two initiatives by Stephen Packard (outside white of Orleans Parish) requiring that public officials accept the political and civil equality of all men and that they take oaths affirming their belief in that principle.²¹

Government Structure

Delegates first turned to the eight votes in the government structure scale on January 4, 1868, when Napoleon Underwood successfully offered substitute wording for section 18 of the constitution, which set age and residence requirements for legislators. On January 22, delegates outlined duties of sheriffs and coroners; they also considered several qualifications of judicial

officials. Previously, on January 14, they had accepted a measure from William McMillan (outside white from Carroll Parish) requiring candidates to have a minimum of five years' legal experience before appointment to the state supreme court. Later, on February 27, delegates rejected Rufus Waples's effort to demand "certificates of competence" from all judicial officers. The day before, they had also tabled proposed increases in age and residence requirements—offered by Judge William Cooley and three other delegates—for governor and lieutenant governor. Previously, on February 13, they had accepted Stephen Packard's procedure for registering voters and for conducting the referendum on the constitution's ratification. They also provided for the future assembling of the convention should it be needed, tabling on March 9 an effort by George Ferguson (southern white from New Orleans) to disallow such an option. Finally, on February 8, they provided that registered voters could cast ballots in any parish "in which they may happen to be" on the days of elections.²²

Suffrage Issues

Debates on the eleven scaled votes on suffrage issues began on January 22, 1868, with the tabling of a motion by William Crane (southern white of New Orleans) to allow those disenfranchised by the federal constitution to vote in Louisiana. On the following day, delegates rejected two initiatives from Rufus Waples, the first requiring that voters registered after January 1, 1872, be literate and the other disenfranchising voters delinquent in their taxes. The same day, they also adopted article 97 of the constitution, setting qualifications for voters. On February 27, they modified that action significantly, lowering residence requirements for voting in parish elections from 60 to 10 days. Previously, on January 24, while considering whether to disenfranchise various classes of former Confederates, they had tabled an attempt to allow ex-rebels to vote while continuing to prohibit them from holding public office. Later, however, they blocked an effort to disenfranchise individuals who had burned cotton to prevent it from falling into Union hands. At the same time, they also authorized reenfranchisement of former Confederates who had aided Reconstruction, while barring—from both voting and holding office—all uncooperative or high-ranking former rebels. Finally, in early March, they made the last modifications in the wording of the franchise article and rejected an effort to replace the revised article with the original.²³

THE SOUTH CAROLINA CONVENTION

Whenever and wherever assembled, Black and Tan delegates faced the delicate task of returning a former Confederate state to civilian governance by drafting new constitutions that would be acceptable both to officials in Washington and to electoral majorities in the South. Although drafting and ratification were eventually accomplished in every state (except, technically, in Alabama), the conventions responsible for these tasks varied considerably. Radical southern whites dominated the North Carolina convention; conservatives played a significant

role in shaping Georgia's new constitution. Outside whites were much more prominent in Alabama than in Texas. Blacks, so very visible in Louisiana, were much less so in either Texas or Arkansas. Conservatives remained a resolute and vocal force in Virginia; in Mississippi, disheartened and discouraged conservatives withdrew from the convention in droves. Republican leadership, while focused and effective in Arkansas and North Carolina, was (as will be seen) generally in a shambles in Florida and Texas.

Clearly, however, the most extraordinary of all of the Black and Tan conventions was the one that assembled in Charleston. It offered the most dramatic testimony to what is arguably the greatest revolutionary change ever experienced by any state in our national history. South Carolina's secession convention, which assembled in December of 1860, was dominated by "a wealthy, middle-aged, slave-holding, native-born group of planters and lawyers."²⁴ At the revolutionary Congressional Reconstruction convention—as noted with such apprehension by David Golightly Harris—blacks, over half of them (41 of 72) former slaves, were a sizable majority.²⁵ Ironically, the most stereotypical myth of Reconstruction—involving perceived endemic corruption and ruthless exploitation of hapless native whites by freedmen and carpetbaggers seeking to gain from black rule—is the factitious story of postwar South Carolina, as told with considerable and lurid exaggeration in two "classic" accounts—James Shepherd Pike's *The Prostrate State: South Carolina under Negro Government* (1873) and D. W. Griffith's film *The Birth of a Nation* (1915, based in part on Thomas F. Dixon's 1905 book, *The Clansman*). For decades, their hideous caricatures of South Carolina's Reconstruction-era legislature (and by implication the constitutional convention as well) were viewed by many as accurate portrayals of the South as a region that was pillaged by corrupt and incompetent politicians, including those who comprised the radical majorities in the various Black and Tan conventions.

Beneath the turbulent, shifting surface of revolutionary upheaval witnessed by David Harris, however, at least one fundamental continuity remained—South Carolina's long-standing pattern of "nonparty" rule. In this respect, the state had diverged from all the others, North or South. Throughout the century, the authority of planters in Charleston and its environs had gone largely unchallenged as they had extended their economic, social, and political hegemony—along with slavery—beyond the coastal districts into the upland cotton plantations of the state's central regions and beyond. The power they enjoyed was further enhanced and solidified by two key political realities: the exceptional power of the legislature and the perception that slavery was increasingly under attack by outsiders. The legislature, by far the most powerful of any in the antebellum United States, selected presidential electors, the governor, and all other state officials, a fact that clearly thwarted the tumultuous statewide canvasses so central to the development to the two-party systems characteristic of other states during the Jacksonian era. This institutional impediment to genuine partisan competition was also buttressed by the need to stifle dissent and to present a united front in defense of slavery

as white South Carolinians faced various assaults (real or imagined) on their way of life—the Denmark Vesey plot, the nullification crisis, and growing northern criticism of their “peculiar institution.”²⁶

Ironically, then, even during the tumultuous events of the months before the Black and Tan convention assembled, the tradition of one-party domination in South Carolina persisted. Only later, after the April referendum on the constitution, would Democrats begin to muster the strength required for them to contest Republicans for control of the state. For the time being, however, the vast majority of native whites in the state opted out of politics, abandoning the November 1867 delegate elections to their rivals. Consequently, Republicans, who represented a majority of the state’s population, and an even larger percentage of its registered voters, enjoyed virtually total control of the assembly that gathered in Charleston’s Club House on January 14, 1868. Even though vastly different from any assembly South Carolinians had ever elected previously, the circumstances surrounding this convention’s genesis ensured, at least momentarily, the continuation of the state’s tradition of single-party governance.²⁷

Although agreeing on the broad principles of the party platform adopted in late July of 1867, these new Republican delegates also reflected a mix of regional and economic perspectives. This—and the fact that they were to face no organized conservative or factional opposition—produced one-sided voting patterns that, while commonplace within the political culture of South Carolina, were strikingly different from those in any of the other conventions of this study. Only one area—miscellaneous issues—showed much correlation in voting behavior, but the two votes encompassed under that category were insufficient for valid scale construction.²⁸ There was, then, to be little resembling scalable patterns in the voting decisions of South Carolina delegates. Instead, they acted more or less independently within a milieu lacking the well-defined partisan, ideological, or factional dimensions so starkly evident in the other Black and Tan conventions. Not until the new legislature met in July of 1868 and Republicans and Democrats developed their respective competing agendas would discernable voting patterns finally emerge.²⁹

South Carolina’s delegates began their labors at noon on January 14, in a hall in which “space set apart for spectators was densely crowded by colored visitors, not more than five or six whites being in attendance.”³⁰ After selecting Albert Mackey to preside over their deliberations, the delegates opted, over the objection of Landon Langley (a mixed-race lawyer from Beaufort district), to allow reporters from Charleston’s newspapers to be seated in the convention hall as observers, even though the *Charleston Mercury* had allegedly “burlesqued” a number of delegates. Despite protest from Richland district’s William Beverly Nash (a former slave destined to represent his county in the state senate throughout the Reconstruction era), they then invited Governor James Orr to address them. He obliged on the evening of January 17, reminding his audience that the convention represented largely the black element of South Carolina’s population. To attract needed white support, Orr advised drafting a

constitution that would restore the state's credit and provide for universal manhood suffrage (except for the illiterate of both races after January 1, 1870), a homestead exemption, and a tax-supported public education system.³¹

Delegate Voting in the South Carolina Convention

Before proceeding with the voting issues in South Carolina, we need to discuss some of the factors that make our statistical handling of the voting patterns there unlike those in any other convention. All attempts to produce meaningful scales for South Carolina's convention votes have failed. This is owing to several identifiable factors:

- Dominated by the Republicans with little or no organized conservative opposition, the convention produced lopsidedly large margins of victory. The two racial votes, for example, were 106 to 2 and 96 to 4, and not a single one of the four voting against the majority on the second vote were among the two who voted against the majority on the first vote. As a consequence the (mostly meaningless) correlation coefficient between these two votes is $-.03$.
- In the only relatively close votes in a single issue area, three in government structure, there was similarly no pattern of measurable consistency in the voting. The correlations between these votes are $.20$, $.07$, and $-.20$, an average correlation of nearly 0.
- There were only 22 recorded roll-call votes in South Carolina. Suffrage, miscellaneous, and racial votes numbered three, two, and two respectively, far too few to establish meaningful tests of reliability.
- On the two scales in which there were sufficient votes to produce reliability tests, the alphas were a minuscule $.07$ on government structure (nine votes) and a slender $.38$ in economics (six votes). This result is probably owing to the fact that, in order to construct scales from so few votes, loosely related issues (with support and opposition probably determined more by individual than by party interests) were artificially herded together under one heading. In order to make clear meaning of the result, one would have to examine individual motives in voting, and the information needed to conduct such a survey is not available and is never likely to be.

Despite these impediments, some meaningful statistical analyses, especially of the closer votes (six of them, to be specific) can be conducted by carefully examining the ethnic, regional, and economic characteristics of delegates on either side of the issues. This we have done at intervals in the paragraphs below.

Suffrage Issues

On the afternoon of January 17, Langley, a black veteran of the 54th Massachusetts Regiment who had moved to South Carolina from his native Vermont to teach in Freedmen's Bureau schools, offered an "opinion of the convention resolution" that all further disenfranchisement and confiscation of land of former Confederates be abandoned. The convention tabled Langley's resolution, only to see it reintroduced the next day by Robert DeLarge, a mixed-race

Charleston delegate.³² In the first of only six roll calls in which the difference between yeas and nays (45–60) was less than 15%, the Langley-DeLarge initiative to halt further reprisals against Confederates, although supported by a majority of both southern and outside whites, was scrapped by a preponderance of African Americans (44 of the 63 voting). In the ensuing discussion considerable confusion reigned and little was said regarding either disenfranchisement or confiscation. The *Mercury*, however, noted approvingly that Charles Leslie (an outside white from Barnwell district) spoke out strongly in opposition to additional land seizures.³³

Although the vote on Langley's resolution was relatively close, two later roll calls on suffrage were not. On March 5 delegates opted by a margin of 80–19 to support an amendment to section 5 of the report of the Committee on Public Education, chaired by Francis Cardozo (a Charleston delegate of mixed race). In so doing, they endorsed concerns voiced by future congressman Robert Elliott (a black from Edgefield district) regarding the proposed funding of public schools through a combination of property and poll taxes. As amended by Elliott, the dual-tax formula was maintained, but with an added proviso declaring that no one would ever be disenfranchised for failure to pay the poll tax. This action was opposed by a small minority of delegates, among them Langley (destined soon to hold the office of school commissioner in Beaufort County), who argued that, despite suffering the oppression of bondage, the freedman still had "some feeling of pride left" and would "feel degraded" if not required to pay taxes. The overwhelming majority of black delegates (50 out of 58 voting), however, supported the Elliott proviso. Among the majority fearing potential consequences of any legislative action restricting voting rights was Cardozo himself, who was willing to let "the whole report be sunk to the bottom of the ocean rather than lose a ballot."³⁴

The last vote on the franchise concerned a motion from James Bell (outside white from Beaufort district) to postpone indefinitely a DeLarge resolution of March 14 that directed the convention to petition Congress to remove all political disabilities from South Carolina citizens. Opposed to any such action, Solomon George Washington Dill (a southern white of Kershaw district who was destined to be assassinated in early June) did not "think it good policy to put a weapon into the hands of our enemies. . . ." Most delegates, though, agreed with Nash, who asked, "[W]hat more glorious act could we wind up our labors with than to offer to the people of the State, to those disfranchised, a universal pardon?" Bell's motion was defeated by a margin of 21–69, and DeLarge's resolution was deferred for several days. The convention ended early, however, and as a result, it took no further action on this matter.³⁵

Economic Issues

Discussion of economic matters began on January 21, when Franklin Moses Jr. (southern white from Sumter district) released from his Committee on the Executive a petition requesting that General Canby suspend for three months all forced sales of property resulting from debts contracted prior to June 30, 1865. Richard Cain (a mixed-race future congressman from Charleston district) spoke at length against Moses's proposal, arguing that it would

enable large landholders (numbering perhaps 20,000) to retain their holdings and thus deprive the state's poor (some 600,000–700,000) of the opportunity to purchase land that otherwise would be forced onto the open market. On January 23, however, Moses garnered support from Robert DeLarge, who asserted that passage would actually protect small upcountry framers loyal to the government. Unconvinced, Jonathan Wright (a Pennsylvania-born black representing Beaufort district) preferred that Canby protect holdings of only 100 acres or less from forced sale for a period of four months. Moses, nonetheless, was successful, noting—just before his proposal carried, 57–52—that his initiative would create goodwill and thereby “materially aid in the ratification of our Constitution.”³⁶ This second of six close divisions in the convention revealed significant divergence within delegate ranks on the key economic question of landholding and the consequences of land redistribution. Most southern whites (27 of 32, or 84%) supported Moses's effort to protect landholders, whereas a sizable majority of African Americans (43 of 67, or 64%) did not. Not surprisingly, median property holdings of those aligning with Moses were considerably greater than those in opposition (southern whites, \$2,000 to \$500; blacks, \$750 to \$250; mixed-race delegates, \$2,050 to \$800; and outside whites, \$13,650 to \$3,500).³⁷

Discussion of a homestead exemption—for up to 100 acres of land or property up to \$2,000 in value—began on February 18 with a second reading of section 35 of the report from the Committee on the Legislative Part of the Constitution. Committee chairman James Rutland (southern white from Fairfield district) expressed doubts about the constitutionality of the measure; southern white Thomas Robertson did not but believed it should become effective only following passage of the constitution. Jesse Craig (outside white from Colleton district) opposed such a stipulation, arguing that the exemption should be retroactive. Delegates Cardozo, Moses, and Wright each endorsed the section as worded. So, too, did Niles Parker (outside white of Barnwell District), who believed the total acreage to be protected was small enough to ensure that nonsecured property would remain available for purchase by freedmen. Meanwhile, Charles Leslie, overcome while portraying the exemption as essential to the constitution's ratification, broke into tears, and Simeon Corley (southern white from Lexington district) suggested that all squatters be allowed a few acres. Following additional provisions from Robert Elliott regarding its implementation, the homestead provision was endorsed on February 19 by an overwhelmingly majority of 103 to 4.³⁸

While considering the homestead exemption, delegates also acted on a petition presented and referred to committee on January 30. Offered by Richard Cain, it requested that the 40th Congress appropriate \$1,000,000 in Freedmen's Bureau funds to assist former slaves over a five-year period in buying parcels of land ranging from 10 to 100 acres. William Rose (southern white from York district and chair of the Committee on Petitions) reported the measure favorably in mid-February, even though Niles Parker voiced concern that, should Congress approve such funding, “every State from Maine to California would roll up such a Democratic vote in the coming election that was never heard of, or dreamt of, by the most ardent Democrat in this

country.”³⁹ William Whipper (a black Pennsylvania native representing Beaufort district) then voiced his fear that

this measure will not benefit the people of South Carolina, and upon that ground I oppose it. The very moment this resolution passes and the papers publish that a petition has been sent to Congress to buy lands for the poor of this State, a clamor for land will at once arise, the freedmen will forsake their contracts and at once leave their places of employment. You raise the hopes of the entire poor people of the country, you draw around the land offices, which they will inevitably create, a multitude, three fourths of whom will be compelled to go away with shattered hopes.⁴⁰

As a result of these concerns, Benjamin Whittemore (outside white from Darlington District) offered a resolution on February 15 mandating that delegates ascertain in advance the reception Cain’s request might expect in Congress. This suggestion was scuttled in a vote of 8–98 on February 17; the original petition was then endorsed by a margin of 102 to 5. Clearly, then, as the move to secure a federal appropriation for land purchase assistance progressed, most delegates found themselves in agreement with Abram Middleton, a black from Barnwell district. He assured them that he knew the freedmen of his constituency well, having “sat at their firesides and eaten their hoe cake,” and that promise of relief would not cause them to break their contracts. As his measure moved on toward final approval, an ecstatic Cain predicted that its implementation would result “in little farms, log cabins filled with happy families and thousands of families coming on the railroads with their products. There will also spring up depots for the reception of cotton, corn and all other cereals. Prosperity will return to the State, by virtue of the people being happy, bound to the Government by a tie that cannot be broken.”⁴¹

Cain’s rosy forecast proved premature. Delegates were advised by telegram from Senator Henry Wilson of Massachusetts (the key author of the second Reconstruction Act) to forget their resolution, which would surely be defeated in Congress. They consequently turned to a substitute plan patterned after the federal Homestead Act of 1862. Outlined originally on February 20 in the report of the Special Committee for Establishment of a Board of Commissioners of Public Lands (authored by Reuben Holmes, an outside white from Beaufort district), this initiative mandated that the legislature establish a commission to purchase acreage in small tracts for sale to settlers. To thwart speculators, buyers were to agree to bring at least half the holding they acquired under cultivation within three years.⁴²

Although focusing most of their attention on matters of landholding and debtor relief, delegates also voted on two additional economic matters. In the first of these votes, on February 4 they declared null and void (by a margin of 90–18) all contracts for purchase of slaves. James Rutland opposed such action, arguing it would result in endless litigation and ruin the state. Benjamin Randolph (a mixed-race delegate from Orangeburg district), however, favored it, contending that its defeat would “declare it as our opinion that to hold human flesh as property was right.”⁴³ The second such vote on additional economic matters, on March 7, involved

section 14 of the report of the Committee on Miscellaneous Provisions, which protected property held by women at the time of their marriage from sale for debts of their husbands. It passed by a vote of 88–8, even though Robert DeLarge worried that such action might result in fraud (unless women listed their assets upon marriage) by allowing husbands to transfer property to their wives during times of financial difficulty.⁴⁴

Government Structure Issues

The two initial votes among the nine government structure roll calls involved theoretical questions related to the recent war. On February 10, Orangeburg delegate Edmund Mackey (son of the convention president) moved to strike section 23, defining treason against South Carolina, from the report of the Committee on the Bill of Rights, arguing that, although one could commit treason against the federal government, one could never commit treason against South Carolina or any other state. Christopher Bowen (southern white from Charleston) agreed, noting that a constitutional provision such as the one to which his Orangeburg colleague objected had resulted in John Brown's execution for insurrection against Virginia. Mackey's motion carried, 80–26, despite Benjamin Whittemore's concern that the state might later need such authority to use against those seeking to overthrow the very document the delegates were currently drafting. Although outside whites divided evenly, African Americans and southern whites strongly supported Mackey's initiative, which he claimed was aimed at putting down the treasonable doctrine of state sovereignty.⁴⁵

On February 12, section 30 of the bill of rights, which asserted the people's right to keep and bear arms and espoused the principle that the military was always subject to civilian authority, was blocked from a third reading by a vote of 49–53. While most delegates clearly favored such control in principle, a number held reservations about whether it should be absolute. Landon Langley reminded fellow delegates that military authority was not inescapably oppressive and that the Union army had only recently achieved one of the most "sublime works ever performed in the annals of a nation."⁴⁶ The third of the convention's six relatively close votes (49–53) resulted in the eventual acceptance of a more ambiguous statement regarding civilian primacy over the military. Although the convention divided more or less evenly, two-thirds of voting southern whites did not support the measure as worded originally, and two-thirds of mixed race delegates endorsed delay and later consideration of rewording.

After pondering civilian/military relations and treason, delegates focused on practical elements of government, including county boundaries and legislative apportionment. On February 14 they accepted Christopher Bowen's amendment to section 8 of the report of the Legislative Committee by a vote of 54–50. This action, taken in the fourth of the six votes in which delegates were closely divided, allowed Bowen's saliently populous constituency (Charleston) a second senator in addition to the single one normally allotted state senate districts. Not surprisingly, every delegate from Charleston voted in favor of the measure, and every delegate

from Richland County (where the state's second-largest city, Columbia, was located) voted against it. Delegates from the predominately rural mountain region also voted against the measure by a margin exceeding two-thirds.⁴⁷

A week later, though, by a margin of 78–23, delegates accepted an amended third section of the same document, which sanctioned the splitting Pickens County in two but voided the creation of three counties from the Charleston district. In moving to thwart the latter action—which would in effect have granted four senators and thus even more disproportionate power to that city—most delegates heeded the warning of Charles Wilder (a mixed-race delegate from Richland district), who asserted that “Charleston men cut their teeth before they are done sucking, and they intend, if they can, to monopolize the power of the State.”⁴⁸

In addition to confronting questions of regional legislative balance, delegates addressed executive and judicial matters. On February 27 they amended (by a vote of 65–24) section 15 of the judiciary report to require that circuit judges be selected by the legislature rather than by popular vote. Probably because they believed that Republicans could control the legislature but not all districts in the state, African Americans supported legislative choice of judges overwhelmingly (81% favoring it), while whites did so only marginally (with 59% of southern whites and 55% of outside whites voting in favor of the amendment).⁴⁹

Early in March delegates postponed indefinitely (by a vote of 61–33) consideration of James Rutland's substitute for section 19 of the judiciary report, which would have established a court of equity separate from the courts of common pleas in each judicial district and would have required decisions of such courts be filed within 90 days of their hearings.⁵⁰ In the meantime, on February 24, they defeated (by a vote of 38–65) an effort by John Neagle (southern white from York district) to postpone indefinitely amendments to section 3 of the report of the Committee on the Executive Part of the Constitution, which set qualifications for the office of governor. On February 25, however, the same section of that report advanced by a vote of 93–7 to a third reading, after a proposed four-year residence requirement was cut in half.⁵¹

Also in early March, in the fifth of only six close votes in the convention, delegates thwarted (by a vote of 47–53, without any remarkable variation between the major blocs) B. Odell Duncan (southern white from Newberry District) in his attempt to reduce the four-year term of the secretary of state to correspond with the two-year term of the governor. Duncan's argument, that the terms of the governor and members of his cabinet should be identical, failed to move a majority, which instead accepted Franklin J. Moses's contention that longer terms were necessary. As he argued,

The next four years is [*sic*] to decide the question of who shall rule in this State and country, and I propose to place the matter beyond doubt. Put gentlemen in office for a short term, and you defeat the measures we have met here to enforce. Tell the Democrats of the State, or the aristocratic element, that in two years from this time they will have a chance to vote for or fill these

offices, and you will fill their hearts with gladness. It is to their interest that we should have frequent elections, and they would be more than delighted if we should decide upon but one year as the term of office. Make the term short if you please then, but do not allege that we who favor the long term are robbing the people, when every fact and argument conclusively proves the reverse.⁵²

Miscellaneous Issues

Although the question of night sessions, which resulted in two roll-call votes, might seem a trivial affair, such was not the case. It fostered several bitter and personal exchanges among delegates, generally when those favoring such sessions as a means of speeding up proceedings accused those opposed of being more concerned with per diem payments than constitution drafting. The issue erupted on February 26 with a report from Stephen Swails, a mixed-race Pennsylvania native and Union army veteran representing Williamsburg district. As chair of the Committee on Rules and Regulations, he recommended against a resolution offered by Edmund Mackey on February 25 that mandated two sessions daily (except Sunday)—the first from 10:30 A.M. to 2:00 P.M. and the second in the evenings from 7:30 to 10:00. Despite a call for rebuff of Swails's negative recommendation from Jonathan Wright, who hoped to expedite matters through adding an additional daily session, endorsement of the one-session status quo prevailed by the thin margin of 55 to 50 in the last of the six close votes in the convention. A two-thirds majority of blacks favored continuing single sessions; a clear indication that economic motives played a significant role in this matter is shown by the fact that those voting for the more lucrative single sessions had a median property valuation only about one-third of those who voted in favor of the less lucrative double-session alternative. A two-thirds majority of southern whites, on the other hand, favored the more efficient and less costly double sessions. Outside whites divided evenly.⁵³

Discussion of this matter then continued, however, with Benjamin Randolph supporting the additional sessions and the volatile Charles Leslie, who likewise sided with Wright, labeling opponents of such a modified meeting schedule as "men, who have no earthly business to engage in at home, and want to stay here and get their per diem."⁵⁴ Delegates Elliott and DeLarge then both protested bitterly, finding the language of Leslie and Randolph insulting. Amid this turmoil, members then thwarted by a vote 38–68 Leslie's effort to reconsider the vote by which Swails's report had been accepted. Discussion then proceeded until concluded by acceptance of a resolution (in an unrecorded vote) from Langley providing for two sessions daily, the first from 10:00 A.M. to 1:00 P.M. and the second from 3:00 P.M. to 6:00 P.M.⁵⁵

Racial Issues

Two votes on racial issues, which occurred shortly before delegates adjourned on March 17, comprise the final grouping of roll-call votes for the South Carolina convention. The first, on March 9, concerned Robert Elliott's amendment to the second section of the report of the

Committee on Franchise and Elections. Passed overwhelmingly by 106 to 2, Elliott's action effectively struck from that document a literacy requirement for voters coming of age after 1875. Whitefield McKinlay (a mixed-race delegate from Orangeburg district) thought such a qualification wise, arguing unsuccessfully for its becoming effective in 1878. Francis Cardozo spoke in opposition to the "extremely ridiculous" 1875 date, but suggested that one set at 1890 (allowing thereby more time for the establishment and effective operation of a public school system) might be acceptable. The vast majority of delegates, nonetheless, obviously agreed with Alonzo Ransier, who supported Elliott by noting his hope that

the music of the nineteenth century will inspire every man upon the floor to view [the section] in the light of progress and of reason, and to strike from it every word that puts a limitation upon the manhood of the citizen, so far as regards his right to vote. Let the section go forth untrammelled by any qualification whatever. I do not like to use the words colored or white in discussing this matter, but the necessity of the case compels me to do so. So long as the question of suffrage to the white man was concerned, I have never heard of an educational or other qualification. So soon, however, as the colored man applies for this privilege, you at once, on every side, hear the demand that he must be surrounded with both property and educational restrictions, which would deprive a large portion of our race of this inestimable privilege. As I said before, it is our chief means for self-defense. This section will be a weapon in our hands, if we shall use it properly and I do hope that we shall clog it by no qualifications whatever.⁵⁶

The second roll-call vote on racial issues took place on March 16, following discussion of the tenth section of the report of the Committee on Education, chaired by Francis Cardozo. Debate focused on the fact that this document, presented on March 14, provided public schools to all, "without regard to race, color or previous condition." B. Odell Duncan thought this unwise, noting that whites would not attend integrated schools and that efforts to compel racial mixing would bring "trouble, quarrelling and wrangling," especially among women and children, "who are more prejudiced and more difficult to control [than are men]."⁵⁷ The offending section of the report, "most fraught with danger to the peace and harmony of the State, and to the friendly relations between the two races," he argued, should be stricken, leaving the matter of the racial composition of public schools to the legislature. Despite Duncan's lengthy discourse, the article under consideration passed easily (96 to 4), following endorsement by Jonathan Wright, who noted that it

leaves it so that white and colored children can attend school together, if they desire to do so; but I do not believe the colored children will want to go to the white schools, or *vice versa*. I think there will be separate schools established, and there is no clause in our Constitution that prevents it; therefore I hope this clause will be adopted exactly as it is. One thing I would have understood, the colored people do not want to force what is called social equality; that is a matter which will regulate itself. No law we can pass can compel associations that are distasteful to anybody. It is useless to attempt it, and when the idea is held up before you, it is only a bugbear, with

which some persons would frighten you from the performance of your duty. All you have to do is to stand up, face the music for a while, and I tell you that every man, white and black, in South Carolina will come to time [i.e., get in step]. This prejudice will be broken down. We are not framing a Constitution for to-day, but for years, and we should be careful how we execute that task. Let us so enact laws that all children will have the benefit of all schools for which the public pay. We cannot leave this matter wholly to the General Assembly. We must not falter or shrink one inch, or pause in the work of doing all classes justice. Time will prove our work.⁵⁸

ANALYSIS OF ROLL-CALL VOTING

Tables in other chapters corresponding to tables 6.9 and 6.10 present a comparative summary of delegate voting over four to five issue scales in each of two conventions. In this chapter, however, conditions in the South Carolina convention did not allow the usual side-by-side comparison of voting behavior. Along with standard deviations, table 6.9 shows the average percentage of support for the Republican position on roll-call votes in each issue area and overall for Louisiana, but because virtually all of South Carolina's delegates were Republicans and votes at that convention reflected personal, geographic, and economic differences rather than ideological divisions, the corresponding data for the winning position (rather than the Republican position) are given for South Carolina. For the same reason, table 6.10 shows the mean and median RSSs in each issue area and overall for Louisiana convention delegates only.

In the Louisiana convention, Republicans carried all 38 selected roll-call divisions. As shown in table 6.9, the average size of their majority ranged from 61.0% on miscellaneous issues to 79.0% on racial issues. Standard deviations have been calculated from the same figures used in determining averages. With a median overall RSS of a substantial 3.84, the figures in table 6.10 reflect the same basic pattern of support as seen in the average percentages of votes for the Republican position in each issue area among Louisiana delegates in table 6.9. The numbers at the right of table 6.10 represent the total numbers of delegates who voted often enough (i.e., at least half the time) to be scaled in each issue area and overall. Figures at the bottom of table 6.10 are the average, median, and standard deviation of the overall RSS totals of Louisiana delegates who scaled in at least three issue areas. The number of delegates who met this qualification is given at the bottom of the column at right.

Table 6.11 presents reliability statistics on the five issue scales in the Louisiana convention. The alphas reveal a high degree of internal consistency (ranging from .88 to .97) in divisions on economics, race, and suffrage. Votes on structure and miscellaneous issues, although reliable, show considerably lower measures of internal consistency (.81 to .77). Only two of the scales for South Carolina had a sufficient number of votes to yield meaningful alphas. The strikingly low figures for these scales indicate an almost total lack of voting consistency.

Because of their large numbers, African American delegates at the Louisiana convention

are divided into three statistically significant subgroups in table 6.12: blacks, mixed-race delegates, and unclassified blacks (blacks whose racial mix, if any, is unknown). This division allows a refined assessment of differences in voting behavior among these subgroups. Southern whites, with scores ranging from .61 on racial issues to .48 on miscellaneous matters, clearly comprised the least radical delegate bloc, showing only marginal Republican support with an average overall RSS of 2.60. With an average RSS of 3.38, outside whites were more radical, showing especially strong Republican support on suffrage (with an average RSS of .83 close to that of blacks, at .87), even though they gave considerably less support to Republican positions on other issues, especially on race, a scale in which their overall RSS (.55) was actually lower than that of southern whites (.61).

Blacks, unclassified blacks, and mixed-race delegates, with average overall RSSs of 4.34, 4.28, and 3.45, respectively, comprised the most radical element of the Louisiana convention. Although nothing in this matter can be stated with certainty, judging from their voting behavior, the unclassified blacks appear to have been mostly black rather than mixed-race delegates. The average difference between unclassified blacks and known blacks on the five issue scales was only .06; the analogous difference between mixed-race delegates and blacks was .89. Significantly, the highest RSSs for each of blacks, unclassified blacks, and mixed race delegates appeared as they united (with scores of .96, .99, and .89, respectively) on racial issues. The lower overall RSS total for mixed-race delegates is in large part the consequence of their modestly Republican behavior on suffrage questions, where their average score of .60 corresponded closely with that of southern whites (.58).⁵⁹

Table 6.13 shows the voting patterns of Louisiana delegates by region of origin. Those from the North region of the state scored an average overall RSS of 2.14, largely because southern white delegates from this region, with an average overall RSS of .95, were so relatively conservative. The high overall RSS (3.34) for Orleans Parish delegates is largely owing to their radicalism on racial issues, with an average RSS of .88 in that area; the mean of their average RSSs in the remaining four areas was a significantly lower .62. Overall, though, delegates from the Florida Parishes (which returned no southern whites), the West, and the River parishes were even more radical than those from Orleans. Compared with delegates from other regions, those from western constituencies were especially strong in their Republican support on economic and miscellaneous issues; the same can be said of delegates from the Florida Parishes on government structure and suffrage votes.

Table 6.14, which presents the voting patterns of southern whites exclusively, is especially informative. Only those from the West region returned a solidly radical average overall RSS (3.73), despite their supporting the Republicans only half the time on racial issues. Those from the River parishes and Orleans returned virtually identical average overall RSSs (2.83 and 2.84, respectively). The voting patterns of the two, however, varied considerably on two scales. Those from Orleans were considerably more radical on racial issues than were those from the

River parishes (with average RSSs of .82 for Orleans and .67 for River Parishes delegates); the reverse was apparent in government structure issues, on which Orleans delegates garnered an average RSS of .50 and River parishes delegates one of .66.

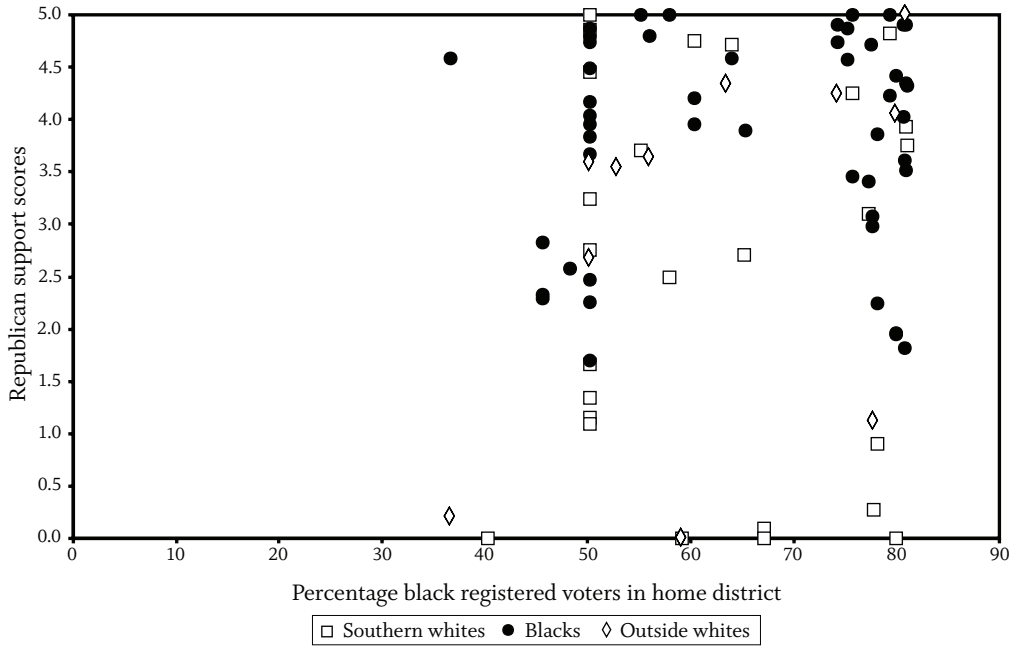
A number of historians have noted political differences between radical politicians from New Orleans and those from other areas of the state. For example, in his *Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution*, Eric Foner notes that "country" blacks were more radical than those from the city. In a similar vein, James Baggett (*The Scalawags*) asserts that in the Louisiana convention blacks and scalawags voted "according to whether or not they represented a New Orleans district." Finally, Caryn Bell, contrary to Foner's view, credits New Orleans's French-speaking black Creoles with being the driving force behind the radical changes incorporated into the state's Black and Tan constitution.⁶⁰

In our analysis, however, radical black delegates in Louisiana, no matter what their origin, evinced only marginal overall differences in voting patterns. Among the 55 radical delegates, the 13 from New Orleans returned an average overall RSS of 4.34; the 42 from outside the city recorded an all but identical one of 4.33. Among the 36 radical African Americans (blacks, mixed race, and unclassified blacks), the difference was a bit greater. The nine from New Orleans had an average overall RSS of 4.28, while that of the 27 from districts outside the city was 4.40. It appears, then, that although rural African American delegates were a bit more radical than were those in New Orleans, the 55 radical delegates, whatever their race or their geographical origin, were strongly supportive of the reform agenda advanced by the state's recently established Republican party.

The scatterplot for Louisiana, which depicts the relationship between individual delegates' overall RSSs and the percentage of blacks among voters registered in the districts they represented, demonstrates graphically the similarities in voting patterns between delegates from Orleans and other parishes. Approximately 50.2% of Orleans Parish's registered voters were black; consequently, delegates from that parish all lie on a straight vertical line near the 50% point on the x axis. Thus, by comparing the Republican support indicated by the points along that line (representing Orleans delegates) with the support indicated by the other points on the chart (representing other delegates), one can see that their voting patterns do not differ substantially from delegates from other parts of the state.

Among southern whites throughout the state, those from constituencies in which blacks comprised 40%–70% of voters accounted for half of the 14 delegates with the lowest overall RSSs (below 1.67); the other 7, divided almost equally between southern and outside whites, represented constituencies in which freedmen made up more than 70% of the electorate. Ten delegates of mixed race, along with 5 southern whites, comprised the majority of Louisiana's 19 swing voters, a bloc of delegates hailing generally from constituencies in which electorates tended to range from those divided evenly between blacks and whites to those in which around three-quarters of voters were African Americans.

As seen in the scatterplot, though, conservative and swing delegates were easily out-



Scatterplot of Louisiana delegates' RSSs and home district black voter constituencies

numbered by radicals. Nearly a fourth of the latter (13 of 55—overall a group of 10 blacks, 17 persons of mixed race, 9 unclassified blacks, 10 southern whites, and 9 outside whites) came from New Orleans, where the electorate was evenly divided racially. The remainder, however, hailed overwhelmingly from districts outside the city in which freedmen comprised 60% to 80% of registered voters. Overall, New Orleans delegates (both black and white), with 56.5% (13 of 23) among their ranks voting as radicals, were less supportive of Republicans than were those from the rest of the state, 64.6% (42 of 65) of whom voted as radicals.

Republican support and delegate wealth were related in Louisiana. Table 6.15, which divides all members of the convention into three roughly equal groups on the basis of assets, illustrates that the least affluent third were the most solidly Republican. Their average RSS was 3.79. Middle-affluence delegates, while still voting as radicals, compiled a lower average overall score of 3.54, while the 2.51 figure among the wealthiest was a consequence of the division between 6 relatively conservative southern whites, with an average RSS of only 1.05, and 11 relatively radical blacks, mixed-race delegates, and outside whites. Table 6.16 discloses a similar tendency among southern whites exclusively. When placed among three affluence levels, none of the resulting groups voted as radicals. Those with low and mid-level assets, however achieved scores sufficient to qualify them as swing voters (RSSs of 2.66 and 2.05, respectively), while the most wealthy third (RSS 1.24) actually behaved as conservatives.

Although hardly as dominant as in South Carolina, Republicans certainly enjoyed a sub-

stantial majority in the Louisiana convention, where some 62.5% of delegates (55 of 88) who were assigned RSSs voted as radicals. The River parishes, as seen in table 6.17, were central to this Republican strength. Not only did they account for more than half (29 of 55, or 53%) of all radicals, but a hefty two-thirds of all delegates (29 of 43, or 67%) from these constituencies voted as radicals. While a plurality of both the state's swing and conservative delegates also hailed from River districts (42% and 43%, respectively), River parish swing and conservative delegates comprised smaller proportions of the delegates from their home region (19% and 14%, respectively) than did swing and conservative delegates from Orleans Parish (26% and 17%, respectively). No conservatives appeared in the small delegate contingent of five from West Louisiana; proportionately, conservatives were most strongly represented among the eight North Louisiana delegates, who were evenly divided between radicals and conservatives.

Table 6.18, which excludes the Florida Parishes because they returned only black and outside white delegates, divides southern whites into voting groups—radical, swing, and conservative—on the basis of their average overall RSSs. Here again, among southern whites exclusively, the River parishes were pivotal to the Republicans. Half (5 of 10) of the River region's native whites voted as radicals; the remainder divided almost evenly as swing and conservative delegates (2 and 3, respectively). A plurality (4 of 9) of those from New Orleans, in contrast, voted as conservatives; among the others from the city, 3 voted as radicals and 2 as swing delegates. No conservative southern whites were elected from the West region; one of the two white natives from that region was a swing voter and the other a radical. Finally, native whites from the northern parishes were generally hostile to Republican initiatives. Three of the four voted as conservatives.

Tables 6.19 and 6.20 analyze the voting behavior of Louisiana's southern whites by profession. Table 6.19 shows the percentage of radical, conservative, and swing southern whites in each of the professions listed; table 6.20 depicts the percentage of those in each profession belonging to each of the three political groupings—radical, swing, and conservative—based on average RSSs. Although the sample is small—only 22 of the 31 southern whites in Louisiana voted frequently enough to be assigned such scores—such a breakdown is revealing in several respects. Half the convention's eight radical southern whites were either merchants or editors (two of each). Not one editor and only a single merchant was among the 14 swing and conservative delegates. In contrast, six of the convention's seven southern white lawyers voted as conservatives, and the remaining one was a radical. Three of the four southern whites in the swing category were skilled laborers, and one was a physician.

Tables 6.21 and 6.22 show the percentages of Louisiana's southern white delegates belonging to young, middle, and old age groups and low, medium, and high property groups. While the majority of radicals (four of five) fell into the middle age grouping, swing and conservative southern whites were divided evenly among the younger and older delegate factions, with only one of their number in the middle age group.

As shown in table 6.22, half of the radicals appear in the middle asset group; the other half were evenly divided between the low and the high groups. Two of the southern white swing delegates held relatively little property. Half of the conservative southern whites fell into the wealthiest delegate grouping, while the remainder were split evenly between the low and medium delegate asset groupings.

THE CONSTITUTIONS RATIFIED

Given the sizable majority of freedmen in Louisiana's electorate, it seemed certain that the Republicans would carry the referendum, on the ratification of the constitution and the election of new state officials on April 17–18, 1868. On the evening of January 14, almost two months before the March 9 adjournment of the constitutional convention, Republicans gathered in New Orleans and selected Missouri carpetbagger Henry Clay Warmoth as their gubernatorial candidate. Democrats, who convened in their own convention in the city on March 6, called for the defeat of the new constitution but made no nominations of their own for state offices. Warmoth's sole opponent was, consequently, none other than James Taliaferro, who announced his candidacy in late January. Taliaferro's supporters were obviously an incompatible mix of "Pure Radicals" (as they were called) associated with firebrand editor Louis Roudanez of the *New Orleans Tribune* and whites (some relatively conservative) who preferred the Virginia native and longtime Louisiana resident over a carpetbagger. The constitution was ratified by a vote of 51,737 to 39,076, and Warmoth, the only duly nominated gubernatorial candidate, prevailed by an even more comfortable margin of 65,270 to 38,118. Louisiana was thus officially restored to the Union on June 25, and Warmoth was inaugurated as the state's new Republican governor in mid-July at a ceremony at the statehouse in New Orleans.⁶¹

On March 10, a week prior to adjournment of the South Carolina convention, Republicans convened in Charleston to organize for the April 14–16, 1868, referendum on their constitution and to select Robert K. Scott, the assistant commissioner of the Freedmen's Bureau in the state, as their gubernatorial candidate. On April 2, just under two weeks before the plebiscite was to take place, Democrats finally convened in Columbia, where they urged rejection of the new constitution in a platform announced by Benjamin F. Perry, the former presidentially appointed provisional governor. They failed, however, to select a gubernatorial candidate after William Dunlop Porter refused the nomination in order to focus his party's efforts exclusively on preservation of white rule by defeating the new constitution. Scott won easily, while the constitution was endorsed by a comfortable margin of over two to one—70,558 to 27,288. South Carolina was subsequently restored to the Union on the same day as Louisiana, June 25, 1868. On July 6, the new legislators—in a senate comprised of 6 Democrats and 25 Republicans (15 whites and 10 blacks) and a house consisting of 15 Democrats and 109 Republicans (34 whites and 75 blacks)—assembled in special session. Governor Scott delivered his inaugural address to three days later.⁶²

SUMMARY

Given our pattern of linking two of the Black and Tan conventions in each of five chapters, those in Louisiana and South Carolina, the only two with African American delegate majorities, were obvious candidates for paring. Despite this, however, the two were remarkably different in at least two respects. First, in Louisiana, where radicals faced organized opposition, selected roll calls could be placed into issue categories and scaled; in South Carolina, where radicals encountered virtually no resistance, those few votes that showed significant division were inconsistent and failed to scale. Second, African Americans in Louisiana were on average (because of the pervasive French influence) more culturally distinct and far wealthier than were those in South Carolina, who were much more fixated on land reform.

Even in the face of such differences, however, the two conventions evinced several characteristics in common in addition to their African American delegate majorities. Their black leaders (many of whom were from the African American elites of New Orleans or Charleston) generally remained influential throughout the entire era of Reconstruction, and although black and mixed-race delegates disagreed at times in both conventions (in scaled votes in the case of Louisiana and in recorded debates in the case of South Carolina), such was almost never the case on issues of race. Such differences as they had were generally a consequence of class and not of racial mixture. It is hardly surprising, then, that Louisiana and South Carolina delegates issued the two most distinct of the ten Black and Tan constitutions in at least one respect—unlike the others, both stipulated that public schools were to be open to all without distinctions as to race.⁶³

Data Tables for the Louisiana and South Carolina Conventions

TABLE 6.1. PERCENTAGE OF ELECTORATE BLACK AND NUMBER
OF BLACK DELEGATES BY REGION

Region	Blacks in region (%)	No. of black delegates expected ^a	Actual no. of black delegates
<i>Louisiana</i>			
Orleans	50	12	12
River	76	37	26
West	60	4	3
Florida Parishes	67	6	7
North	53	5	2
Total	—	64	50
<i>South Carolina</i>			
Low Country	74	30	25
Midlands	63	25	25
Mountain	53	22	22
Total	—	77	72

^aBased on percentage of blacks in electorate.

TABLE 6.2. PERCENTAGE OF DELEGATE GROUPS FROM EACH REGION

Region	<i>Southern</i> whites	Blacks	Mixed race	Unclass. blacks	Outside whites	Unclass. whites	Overall
<i>Louisiana</i>							
Orleans (%)	29.0	18.2	29.6	16.7	7.1	50.0	23.7
River (%)	41.9	63.6	51.9	41.7	71.4	0.0	50.5
West (%)	12.9	0.0	7.4	8.3	0.0	0.0	7.2
Floria Parishes (%)	0.0	18.2	11.1	16.7	14.3	0.0	9.3

TABLE 6.2. (continued)

Region	Southern whites	Blacks	Mixed race	Unclass. blacks	Outside whites	Unclass. whites	Overall
North (%)	16.1	0.0	0.0	16.7	7.1	50.0	9.3
Total no.	31	11	27	12	14	2	97
South Carolina							
Low Country (%)	17.6	32.3	40.5	0.0	60.0	0.0	33.1
Midlands (%)	26.5	38.7	32.4	25.0	40.0	0.0	33.1
Mountain (%)	55.9	29.0	27.0	75.0	0.0	0.0	33.9
Total no.	34	31	37	4	15	0	121

TABLE 6.3. AVERAGE AND MEDIAN AGE BY DELEGATE GROUP

	Average		Median		Number	
	La.	S.C.	La.	S.C.	La.	S.C.
Southern whites	46	45	47	44	21	31
Blacks	45	39	45	40	11	30
Mixed race	35	34	35	32	25	35
Unclassified blacks	40	46	40	46	2	2
Outside whites	32	36	30	33	11	14
Overall	39	39	38	37	70	112

TABLE 6.4. KNOWN DELEGATE OCCUPATIONS BY GROUP (%)

Occupation	Southern whites		Blacks		Mixed		Unclass. blacks		Outside whites		All delegates	
	La.	S.C.	La.	S.C.	La.	S.C.	La.	S.C.	La.	S.C.	La.	S.C.
Farmer/planter	15.4	28.1	9.1	22.6	26.9	8.1	33.3	100.0	50.0	46.7	24.4	23.3
Merchant/businessman	15.4	21.9	45.5	3.2	26.9	5.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	20.0	20.5	11.2
Physician	3.8	12.5	9.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	8.3	0.0	3.8	3.4
Lawyer	34.6	12.5	0.0	6.5	3.8	2.7	0.0	0.0	16.7	6.7	15.4	6.9
Engineer	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	8.3	0.0	1.3	0.0
Educator	0.0	0.0	0.0	6.5	7.7	24.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	6.7	2.6	10.3
Minister	0.0	3.1	18.2	32.3	0.0	10.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	6.7	2.6	13.8
Editor	7.7	0.0	0.0	3.2	3.8	5.4	0.0	0.0	8.3	6.7	5.1	3.4

Louisiana and South Carolina

TABLE 6.4. (continued)

Occupation	Southern whites		Blacks		Mixed		Unclass. blacks		Outside whites		All delegates	
	La.	S.C.	La.	S.C.	La.	S.C.	La.	S.C.	La.	S.C.	La.	S.C.
Druggist/dentist	3.8	3.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.3	0.9
Local government official	0.0	3.1	0.0	0.0	3.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	8.3	0.0	2.6	0.9
Judicial officer	0.0	3.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.9
Fed. official/employee	3.8	3.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	6.7	1.3	1.7
Skilled laborer	15.4	9.4	9.1	19.4	26.9	43.2	66.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	17.9	21.6
Unskilled laborer	0.0	0.0	9.1	6.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.3	1.7

TABLE 6.5. AVERAGE AND MEDIAN 1870 REAL AND PERSONAL PROPERTY BY DELEGATE GROUP

	Average (\$)		Median (\$)		No. in sample	
	La.	S.C.	La.	S.C.	La.	S.C.
1870 real property						
Southern whites	30,510	8,482	2,000	831	16	23
Blacks	1,236	1,008	800	175	11	26
Mixed race	1,535	2,286	400	950	20	29
Outside whites	9,600	2,357	0	1,250	10	14
Overall	11,026	3,485	800	650	57	92
1870 personal property						
Southern whites	4,284	15,285	12,50	800	16	23
Blacks	1,102	495	200	200	11	26
Mixed race	948	721	180	300	20	29
Outside whites	4,535	10,986	2,725	2,000	10	14
Overall	2,544	5,860	500	450	57	92
1870 total property						
Southern whites	34,794	23,767	3,750	1,700	16	23
Blacks	2,339	1,503	2,000	425	11	26
Mixed race	2,483	3,007	1,075	1,500	20	29
Outside whites	14,135	13,343	6,000	7,150	10	14
Overall	13,569	9,345	2,000	1,500	57	92

TABLE 6.6. KNOWN 1860 SLAVEHOLDINGS
OF SOUTHERN WHITE DELEGATES

	<i>Louisiana</i>	<i>South Carolina</i>
Owned no slaves	7	12 ^a
Owned 1–10 slaves	5	9
Owned 11–20 slaves	3	1
Owned >20 slaves	2	2
Known slaveholdings	17	24

^aAlthough counted as non–slave owners, Edmund Mackey and Franklin Moses, ages 16 and 20, respectively, in 1860, lived in households in which their fathers owned slaves.

TABLE 6.7. CHARACTERISTICS OF BLACK DELEGATES

	<i>Louisiana</i>		<i>South Carolina</i>	
	<i>Percent</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percent</i>	<i>Number</i>
<i>Racial classification</i>				
Blacks	22%	11	42%	31
Mixed race	54%	27	53%	37
Unclassified	24%	12	6%	4
<i>Native origin</i>				
Louisiana/South Carolina	54%	27	68%	49
Other Confederate state	14%	7	11%	8
Non-Confederate state	10%	5	11%	8
Foreign country	0%	0	4%	3
Unknown	22%	11	6%	4
<i>Slave status</i>				
Slave	12%	6	47%	34
Antebellum free black	58%	29	42%	31
Slave/free before war's end	2%	1	11%	7
Unknown	28%	14	0%	0
<i>Literacy</i>				
Literate	76%	38	89%	64
Illiterate	2%	1	7%	5
Unknown	22%	11	4%	3

TABLE 6.8. REPRESENTATION OF DELEGATE GROUPS
ON STANDING COMMITTEES

	<i>Louisiana</i>	<i>South Carolina</i>
<i>Standing committee chairs</i>		
Southern whites	7	6
Blacks	3	3
Outside whites	4	2
Unknown whites	0	0
Total	14	11
<i>Standing committee members</i>		
Southern whites	40	30
Blacks	40	44
Outside whites	14	14
Unknown whites	1	0
Total	95	88

Note: In addition, two appointed southern white committee members, one in Louisiana and another in South Carolina, were absent from their respective conventions.

TABLE 6.9. SUMMARY OF VOTING PATTERNS BY ISSUE AREA

<i>Issue area</i>	<i>Avg. support for Republican positions (%)^a</i>		<i>Standard dev. (%)</i>		<i>Republican victories (%)</i>	
	<i>La.</i>	<i>S.C.</i>	<i>La.</i>	<i>S.C.</i>	<i>La.</i>	<i>S.C.</i>
Suffrage	66.6	71.5	11.8	12.6	100	—
Race	79.0	97.1	7.7	1.5	100	—
Gov. structure	68.0	67.1	7.0	14.0	100	—
Economics	62.3	85.2	1.5	16.8	100	—
Miscellaneous	61.0	55.9	12.2	11.7	100	—
Total	68.1	75.4	10.8	11.3	100	—

^aFigures in this column for Louisiana are the average percentages of votes for the Republican position on scaled roll calls in each issue area and overall. Figures for South Carolina are the average percentages of votes for the winning position.

TABLE 6.10. AVERAGE RSS OF LOUISIANA DELEGATES BY ISSUE AREA

<i>Issue area</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>Median</i>	<i>Stand. dev.</i>	<i>No. of delegates scaled</i>
Suffrage	.69	.73	.30	76
Race	.77	1.00	.33	83
Gov. structure	.69	.78	.28	78
Economics	.63	1.00	.46	90
Miscellaneous	.61	.67	.35	85
Overall ^a	3.37	3.84	1.46	88

^aValues for delegates who voted at least half the time in at least three issue areas.

TABLE 6.11. RESULTS OF RELIABILITY ANALYSIS FOR FIVE VOTING SCALES—
INTER-ITEM CORRELATIONS

<i>Issue area</i>	<i>Mean</i>		<i>Minimum</i>		<i>Maximum</i>		<i>Alpha</i>	
	<i>La.</i>	<i>S.C.</i>	<i>La.</i>	<i>S.C.</i>	<i>La.</i>	<i>S.C.</i>	<i>La.</i>	<i>S.C.</i>
Suffrage	.41	—	.15	—	.91	—	.88	—
Race	.53	—	.17	—	.90	—	.90	—
Gov. structure	.34	.01	−.01	−.44	.81	.39	.81	.07
Economics	.86	.09	.76	−.22	.95	.37	.97	.38
Miscellaneous	.36	—	.16	—	.67	—	.77	—

TABLE 6.12. AVERAGE RSS BY DELEGATE GROUP AND ISSUE AREA FOR LOUISIANA DELEGATES

<i>Issue area</i>	<i>Southern whites</i>		<i>Blacks</i>		<i>Unclassified blacks</i>		<i>Mixed race</i>		<i>Outside whites</i>	
	<i>Avg. RSS</i>	<i>No. scaled</i>	<i>Avg. RSS</i>	<i>No. scaled</i>	<i>Avg. RSS</i>	<i>No. scaled</i>	<i>Avg. RSS</i>	<i>No. scaled</i>	<i>Avg. RSS</i>	<i>No. scaled</i>
Suffrage	.58	19	.87	11	.81	9	.60	24	.83	11
Gov. structure	.57	22	.83	11	.76	10	.70	24	.77	9
Economics	.54	25	.86	11	.79	12	.63	27	.54	13
Race	.61	23	.96	11	.99	10	.89	26	.55	11
Miscellaneous	.48	23	.81	11	.81	11	.62	24	.58	14
Overall/total	2.60	25	4.34	11	4.28	11	3.45	27	3.38	12

TABLE 6.13. AVERAGE LOUISIANA RSS BY REGION AND ISSUE AREA

<i>Region</i>	<i>Suffrage</i>	<i>Race</i>	<i>Structure</i>	<i>Econ.</i>	<i>Misc.</i>	<i>Avg. overall RSS</i>
Orleans	.65	.88	.65	.59	.60	3.34
River	.71	.78	.72	.63	.64	3.49
West	.43	.80	.72	.90	.71	3.64
Florida Parishes	.79	.87	.77	.67	.70	3.80
North	.62	.36	.49	.50	.30	2.14

TABLE 6.14. AVERAGE LOUISIANA SOUTHERN WHITE RSS BY REGION AND ISSUE AREA

<i>Region</i>	<i>Suffrage</i>	<i>Race</i>	<i>Gov. structure</i>	<i>Econ.</i>	<i>Misc.</i>	<i>Avg. overall RSS</i>
Orleans	.54	.82	.50	.56	.50	2.84
River	.59	.67	.66	.55	.51	2.83
West	.80	.50	.75	1.00	.83	3.73
North	.55	.10	.25	.25	.20	.95

Note: There were no southern white delegates from the Florida Parishes.

TABLE 6.15. AVERAGE LOUISIANA RSS BY LEVEL OF AFFLUENCE AND ISSUE AREA

<i>Affluence level</i>	<i>Suffrage</i>	<i>Race</i>	<i>Gov. structure</i>	<i>Econ.</i>	<i>Misc.</i>	<i>Avg. overall RSS</i>
Low (\leq \$700)	.70	.79	.73	.82	.75	3.79
Medium (\$701–\$4,500)	.76	.85	.78	.64	.61	3.54
High ($>$ \$4,500)	.66	.60	.57	.39	.41	2.51

TABLE 6.16. AVERAGE LOUISIANA SOUTHERN WHITES RSS BY LEVEL OF AFFLUENCE AND ISSUE AREA

<i>Affluence level</i>	<i>Suffrage</i>	<i>Race</i>	<i>Gov. structure</i>	<i>Econ.</i>	<i>Misc.</i>	<i>Avg. overall RSS</i>
Low (\leq \$900)	.34	.69	.51	.60	.46	2.66
Medium (\$901–\$14,995)	.64	.45	.52	.25	.26	2.05
High ($>$ \$14,995)	.51	.34	.30	.20	.16	1.24

TABLE 6.17. REGIONAL ORIGIN OF LOUISIANA RADICALS,
SWING VOTERS, AND CONSERVATIVES

Region	Radicals			Swing voters			Conservatives		
	No.	% T	% R	No.	% T	% R	No.	% T	% R
Orleans	13	24	57	6	32	26	4	29	17
River	29	53	67	8	42	19	6	43	14
West	3	5	60	2	11	40	0	0	0
Florida Parishes	6	11	67	3	16	33	0	0	0
North	4	7	50	0	0	0	4	29	50
Total	55	—	—	19	—	—	14	—	—

% T = percentage of voting group (radical, swing, conservative) in state from region

% R = percentage of region's delegates in voting group

TABLE 6.18. REGIONAL ORIGIN OF LOUISIANA SOUTHERN WHITE RADICALS,
SWING VOTERS, AND CONSERVATIVES

Region	Radical			Swing			Conservative		
	No.	% T	% R	No.	% T	% R	No.	% T	% R
Orleans	3	30	33	2	40	22	4	40	44
River	5	50	50	2	40	20	3	30	30
West	1	10	50	1	20	50	0	0	0
North	1	10	25	0	0	0	3	30	75
Total	10	—	—	5	—	—	10	—	—

Note: There were no southern white delegates from the Florida Parishes.

% T = percentage of voting group (radical, swing, conservative) in state from region

% R = percentage of region's delegates in voting group

TABLE 6.19. PERCENTAGE OF LOUISIANA SOUTHERN WHITES BY VOTING
GROUP BELONGING TO VARIOUS OCCUPATIONS

Occupation	Radicals (%)	Swing voters (%)	Conservatives (%)
Farmer	13	0	22
Merchant/businessman	25	0	11
Physician	0	20	0
Lawyer	13	0	67
Dentist	13	0	0

TABLE 6.19. (*continued*)

<i>Occupation</i>	<i>Radicals (%)</i>	<i>Swing voters (%)</i>	<i>Conservatives (%)</i>
Newspaper editor	25	0	0
Federal gov. official	0	20	0
Skilled laborer	13	60	0

TABLE 6.20. PERCENTAGE OF LOUISIANA SOUTHERN WHITES BY OCCUPATION
BELONGING TO EACH VOTING GROUP

<i>Occupation</i>	<i>Radicals (%)</i>	<i>Swing voters (%)</i>	<i>Conservatives (%)</i>
Farmer	33	0	67
Merchant/businessman	67	0	33
Physician	0	100	0
Lawyer	14	0	86
Dentist	100	0	0
Newspaper editor	100	0	0
Fed gov. official	0	100	0
Skilled laborer	25	75	0

TABLE 6.21. PERCENTAGE OF SOUTHERN WHITES BY AGE GROUP
IN EACH LOUISIANA VOTING GROUP

<i>Age group</i>	<i>Radicals (%)</i>	<i>Swing voters (%)</i>	<i>Conservatives (%)</i>
Young (≤ 42 years)	20	50	44
Middle (43–47 years)	80	0	11
Old (≥ 48 years)	0	50	44

TABLE 6.22. PERCENTAGE OF SOUTHERN WHITES BY PROPERTY GROUP
IN EACH LOUISIANA VOTING GROUP

<i>Property group</i>	<i>Radicals (%)</i>	<i>Swing voters (%)</i>	<i>Conservatives (%)</i>
Low ($\leq \$900$)	25	67	25
Medium ($\$901$ – $\$14,994$)	50	33	25
High ($> \$14,995$)	25	0	50

Selected Roll-Call Votes of the Louisiana and South Carolina Conventions

LOUISIANA

Economic Votes

1. A vote on December 10 on a motion by William Cooley to table a report from a special committee that recommended issuing \$300,000–\$500,000 in state bonds to defray expenses of the convention. Cooley's motion failed, 30–54. Yea 36%, Nay 64%. Republican position: Nay. Votes counted: 84. SD: .48. (*Official Journal of the Convention for Louisiana*, 56.)
2. A vote on December 11 on whether to adopt the report of the special committee on financing the convention. It passed in a vote of 54–35. Yea 61%, Nay 39%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 89. SD: .49. (*Official Journal*, 57.)
3. A vote on December 11 on whether to table the final report of the special committee on financing the convention. The effort to table failed, 33–55. Yea 38%, Nay 62%. Republican position: Nay. Votes counted: 88. SD: .49. (*Official Journal*, 58.)
4. A vote on December 11 on the adoption of a more detailed version of the report of the special committee on financing the convention. It was adopted, 50–32. Yea 61%, Nay 39%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 82. SD: .49. (*Official Journal*, 58–59.)
5. A vote on December 12 on an ordinance that provided for issuing of bonds totaling \$300,000 to meet convention expenses. It passed, 55–32. Yea 63%, Nay 37%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 87. SD: .49. (*Official Journal*, 62–63.)

Miscellaneous Votes

1. A vote on December 17 to table an amendment to a resolution relating to the publication of convention proceedings. The original report allowed their publication in six newspapers; Rufus Waples wanted them to appear in nine. His amendment was tabled, 38–36 (recorded as 39–36). Yea 51%, Nay 49%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 74. SD: .50. (*Official Journal*, 73–74, 77.)
2. A vote on January 31 to table an article George Wickliffe wished added to the constitution to establish a board of health to oversee slaughterhouse conditions in Jefferson and Orleans parishes. The effort to table failed, 30–35 (recorded as 30–36). Yea 46%, Nay 54%. Republican position: Nay. Votes counted: 65. SD: .50. (*Official Journal*, 192–93.)

3. A vote on January 31 to adopt Wickliffe's article establishing a board of health. It was adopted, 35–31 (recorded as 34–31). Yea 53%, Nay 47%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 66. SD: .50. (*Official Journal*, 192–93.)
4. A vote on February 8 on an ordinance offered by George Wickliffe providing for election of state officials at the time the constitution was to be ratified. The ordinance passed, 49–12. Yea 80%, Nay 20%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 61. SD: .40. (*Official Journal*, 214.)
5. A vote on February 11 on George Reagan's proposal to increase the salaries of employees of the convention. It passed, 39–32 (recorded as 40–32). Yea 55%, Nay 45%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 71. SD: .50. (*Official Journal*, 220–21.)
6. A vote on February 26 setting the salary of the lieutenant governor. The \$3,000 sum, proposed by B. S. Pinchback, was accepted, 52–20 (recorded as 51–20). Yea 72%, Nay 28%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 72. SD: .45. (*Official Journal*, 249.)

Racial Votes

1. A vote on December 26 on a section of the bill of rights that declared all men free and equal. Offered by Simeon Beldon, it was endorsed, 57–11. Yea 84%, Nay 16%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 68. SD: .37. (*Official Journal*, 114–15.)
2. A vote on December 28 on Thomas Isabelle's amendment to article 1 of the bill of rights guaranteeing equal civil, political, and public rights to all men. It passed, 60–14 (recorded as 59–16, with Kelso and Landers each voting twice). Yea 81%, Nay 19%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 74. SD: .39. (*Official Journal*, 116–18.) In this case (and some others as well) it should be noted that the article numbers designated in a convention vote sometimes varied from those assigned them in the final draft of the constitution.
3. A vote on December 31 on an article of the bill of rights guaranteeing all persons equal access to public carriers and public places. This article, presented by Pinchback, passed, 66–8 (recorded as 67–8; it is impossible to tell which Lewis voted yea). Yea 89%, Nay 11%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 74. SD: .31. (*Official Journal*, 121.)
4. A final vote on January 3 on article 13 of the constitution, which granted equal rights to all in public places and on public carriers. It passed, 58–16. Yea 78%, Nay 22%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 74. SD: .41. (*Official Journal*, 125.)
5. A vote on January 28 on an amendment by Stephen Packard to article 97 of the constitution. The amendment, which required that elected officials accept the civil and political equality of all men, passed, 40–23. Yea 63%, Nay 37%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 63. SD: .49. (*Official Journal*, 183–84.)
6. A vote on February 4 on an education article that established public schools (for students ages 6–18) and provided that there would "be no separate schools established for any exclusive race by the state of Louisiana." It passed, 63–12 (recorded as 61–12). Yea 84%, Nay 16%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 75. SD: .37. (*Official Journal*, 201.)
7. A vote on February 4 on whether to postpone indefinitely the establishment of a state-sponsored univer-

sity in New Orleans open to both races. The motion to postpone failed, 14–48. Yea 23%, Nay 77%. Republican position: Nay. Votes counted: 62. SD: .42. (*Official Journal*, 203.)

8. A vote on February 28 on the adoption of article 99 of the constitution, which required legislators and other officials to take an oath avowing civil and political equality of all men. The article was adopted, 48–16. Yea 75%, Nay 25%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 64. SD: .44. (*Official Journal*, 260.)

Government Structure Votes

1. A vote on January 4 on substitute wording for section 18 of the constitution, which established age and residence requirements for senators and representatives. It passed, 48–27. Yea 64%, Nay 36%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 75. SD: .48. (*Official Journal*, 129.)

2. A vote on January 14 on an amendment by William McMillan requiring five years' legal experience, three of them in Louisiana, immediately prior to appointment, for state supreme court judges. It passed, 41–21 (recorded as 42–22, with James Ingraham recorded as voting twice). Yea 66%, Nay 34%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 62. SD: .48. (*Official Journal*, 154.)

3. A final vote on January 22 on the section of the constitution pertaining to duties, selection, numbers, etc., of sheriffs and coroners. It passed, 43–24. Yea 64%, Nay 36%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 67. SD: .48. (*Official Journal*, 173.)

4. A vote on February 8 on an article that established procedures allowing registered voters to vote in any parish "in which they may happen to be" on election days. It passed, 33–22 (recorded as 34–23). Yea 60%, Nay 40%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 55. SD: .49. (*Official Journal*, 215.)

5. A vote on February 13 on a resolution offered by Stephen Packard to establish a board to register voters for the referendum on ratification of the constitution. It passed, 36–18. Yea 67%, Nay 33%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 54. SD: .47. (*Official Journal*, 222–23.)

6. A vote on February 26 to table an amendment by William Cooley, William Crane, Thomas Crawford, and Rufus Waples to article 49 of the constitution. It would have increased age and residence requirements for governor and lieutenant governor. The amendment was tabled, 62–13. Yea 83%, Nay 17%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 75. SD: .38. (*Official Journal*, 248.)

7. A vote on February 27 on Solomon Moses' motion to table an article offered by Rufus Waples that required all judicial officers in Louisiana to apply for and to obtain certificates of competence from the state supreme court. The motion to table passed, 50–18. Yea 74%, Nay 26%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 68. SD: .44. (*Official Journal*, 255.)

8. A vote on March 9 on George Ferguson's motion to table the provision for reassembling the convention if needed. The motion failed, 21–43. Yea 33%, Nay 67%. Republican position: Nay. Votes counted: 64. SD: .47. (*Official Journal*, 314.)

Suffrage Votes

1. A vote on January 22 to table William Crane's motion to allow those disqualified by the federal constitution to vote in Louisiana. The measure was tabled, 35–28 (recorded as 36–28, with Simeon Jones voting twice). Yea 56%, Nay 44%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 63. SD: .50. (*Official Journal*, 174.)

2. A vote on January 23 on a part of a measure Rufus Waples proposed adding to the section of the constitution setting qualifications for electors, requiring all voters becoming eligible after January 1, 1872, to be literate. The proposed requirement was defeated, 8–56. Yea 12%, Nay 88%. Republican position: Nay. Votes counted: 64. SD: .33. (*Official Journal*, 175.)
3. A vote on January 23 on a second part of Waples's aforementioned proposed measure, which would have prevented those delinquent in paying taxes from voting. The proposed restriction was defeated, 18–48. Yea 27%, Nay 73%. Republican position: Nay. Votes counted: 66. SD: .45. (*Official Journal*, 175.)
4. A vote on January 23 on article 97 of the constitution, which set qualifications for voters. It passed, 35–31. Yea 53%, Nay 47%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 66. SD: .50. (*Official Journal*, 176.)
5. A vote on January 24 to table William Crane's amendment designed to exclude former Confederates from public office (but to allow them to vote). This amendment was tabled, 58–14. Yea 80%, Nay 20 %. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 72. SD: .40. (*Official Journal*, 177.)
6. A vote on February 27 on a motion by George Wickliffe to lower parish residence requirements for voters from 60 to 10 days. It passed, 43–18. Yea 70%, Nay 30%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 61. SD: .46. (*Official Journal*, 256.)
7. A vote on February 28 to table William Cooley's amendment to article 99; the amendment would have disenfranchised those who burned cotton or caused it to be burned. It was tabled in a vote of 45–28. Yea 62%, Nay 38%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 73. SD: .49. (*Official Journal*, 258.)
8. A vote on February 28 on Stephen Packard's amendment excluding those who aided Reconstruction from disenfranchisement and other restrictions. It passed, 56–16. Yea 78%, Nay 22%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 72. SD: .42. (*Official Journal*, 258–59.)
9. A vote on February 28 on article 99 of the constitution, which prevented civil and military leaders of the Confederacy from voting or holding public office. It passed, 44–29 (recorded as 44–30). Yea 60%, Nay 40%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 73. SD: .49. (*Official Journal*, 259.)
10. A vote on March 5 on a motion by Rufus Waples to change slightly the wording of article 98 (formerly 99) of the new constitution. This change in the franchise article passed, 37–28. Yea 57%, Nay 43%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 65. SD: .50. (*Official Journal*, 283.)
11. A vote on March 7 on William McMillan's motion to repeal the new franchise article and replace it with the original. It failed, 32–41. Yea 44%, Nay 36%. Republican position: Nay. Votes counted: 73. SD: .50. (*Official Journal*, 250, 259, 283, 290.)

SOUTH CAROLINA

Suffrage Votes

1. A vote on January 17 to take up Landon Langley's motion (which had been tabled) to abandon all further action on both disenfranchisement and confiscation. The effort failed, 45–60, in a vote recorded as 46–61. Since it is not possible to determine how George and Samuel Lee voted, we have not counted their votes. Yea 43%, Nay 57%. Votes counted: 105. SD: .50. (*Proceedings of the Convention of South Carolina*, 43.)
2. A vote on March 5 on Robert Elliott's amendment to section 5 of the report of the Committee on Educa-

tion, which established property and poll taxes for support of public schools. The amendment, stating none would be disenfranchised for nonpayment of the poll taxes, passed, 80–19, in a vote recorded as 81–21. It cannot be determined which Wilder (Charles or Francis) voted nay, and there is confusion in the recording of the votes of the three Thompson delegates (Augustus, Benjamin, and Samuel). We did not count either Wilder, and we counted only the vote of Samuel Thompson. Yea 81%, Nay 19%. Votes counted: 99. SD: .40. (*Proceedings*, 737–38.)

3. A vote on March 14 on James Bell's motion to postpone indefinitely a resolution petitioning Congress to remove all political disabilities from citizens of the state. It failed, 21–69, in a vote recorded as 22–72, with the votes of Lee Nance and several delegates with the same surnames (Cain, Jones, and Lee) impossible to determine. Yea 77%, Nay 23%. Votes counted: 90. SD: .49. (*Proceedings*, p. 880).

Economic Votes

1. A vote on January 25 on a petition from Franklin Moses requesting that General Canby suspend for three months all sales of property under execution for debts contracted prior to June 30, 1865. It passed, 57–52. Yea 52%, Nay 48%. Votes counted: 109. SD: .50. (*Proceedings*, 148.)

2. A vote on February 19 on section 35 of the report of the Committee on the Legislative Part of the Constitution, providing a homestead exemption covering at most 100 acres of land up to \$2,000 in value. It passed, 103–4. Yea 96%, Nay 4%. Votes counted: 107. SD: .19. (*Proceedings*, 506.)

3. A vote on February 17 on a petition requesting a grant of \$1,000,000 from Congress for the purchase of land in South Carolina. It passed, 102–5, in a vote recorded as 101–5. Yea 95%, Nay 5%. Votes counted: 107. SD: .21. (*Proceedings*, 439.)

4. A vote on February 4 on an ordinance voiding all contracts involving purchase of slaves. It passed, 90–18. Yea 83%, Nay 17%. Votes counted: 108. SD: .37. (*Proceedings*, 248–49.)

5. A vote on March 7 on section 14 of the report of the Committee on Miscellaneous Provisions of the Constitution. That section, protecting the property of married women from attachment due to debts of their husbands, passed, 88–8. Yea 92%, Nay 8%. Votes counted: 96. SD: .28. (*Proceedings*, 787–88.)

6. A vote on February 17 on a resolution offered by Benjamin Whittemore that would authorize contacting appropriate officials in Washington to determine support for a federal loan to allow South Carolinians to purchase farms. It failed, 8–98. Yea 8%, Nay 92%. Votes counted: 106. SD: .27. (*Proceedings*, 438–39.)

Government Structure Votes

1. A vote on February 11 on Edmund Mackey's motion to strike section 23, relating to treason against the state of South Carolina, from the report of the Committee on the Bill of Rights. The motion passed, 80–26. Yea 75%, Nay 25%. Votes counted: 106. SD: .43. (*Proceedings*, 337–38.)

2. A vote on February 12 on passing to a third reading section 30 of the report of the Committee on the Bill of Rights, which defined the military as always subordinate to civilian authority. It failed, 49–53. Yea 48%, Nay 52%. Votes counted: 102. SD: .50. (*Proceedings*, 344–45.)

3. A vote on February 14 on Christopher Bowen's amendment to section 8 of the report of the Committee on the Legislative Provisions of the Constitution, which allowed Charleston a second state senator in

addition to the one each allotted to it and to all other districts. It carried in a vote of 54–50 (recorded as 55–51, with Henry Jacobs listed as voting both yea and nay). Yea 52%, Nay 48%. Votes counted: 104. SD: .50. (*Proceedings*, 375.)

4. A vote on February 21 on section 3 of the report of the Committee on the Legislative Part of the Constitution, which established county boundaries with changes to those of Charleston and Pickens counties. It passed, 78–23 (recorded as 79–23). Yea 77%, Nay 23%. Votes counted: 101. SD: .42.

5. A vote on February 24 on a motion offered by John Neagle to postpone amendments to section 3 of the report of the Committee on the Executive Part of the Constitution, which set qualifications for governor. The motion failed, 38–65. Yea 37%, Nay 63%. Votes counted: 103. SD: .48. (*Proceedings*, 546–47.)

6. A vote on February 25 endorsing an amended section 3 of the report of the Committee on the Executive Part of the Constitution. It was accepted, 93–7. Yea 93%, Nay 7%. Votes counted: 100. SD: .26. (*Proceedings*, 569–70.)

7. A vote on February 27 on Charles Wilder's amendment to section 15 of the report of the Committee on the Judiciary. That amendment, mandating legislative selection of circuit judges (rather than their popular election), passed, 65–24. Yea 73%, Nay 27%. Votes counted: 89. SD: .45. (*Proceedings*, 621–22.)

8. A vote on March 6 on B. Odell Duncan's amendment to an additional section of the report of Committee on the Executive Part of the Constitution. That amendment, reducing the term of the secretary of state from four to two years, failed, 47–53 (recorded as 47–50). Yea 47%, Nay 53%. Votes counted: 100. SD: .50.

9. A vote on March 3 on Robert Elliott's motion to postpone discussion of James Rutland's amendment to section 19 of the report of the Committee on the Judiciary, which would differentiate courts of equity from courts of common pleas. Discussion was postponed, 61–33 (recorded as 62–34). Yea 65%, Nay 35%. Votes counted: 94. SD: .48.

Miscellaneous Votes

1. A vote on February 26 on a report from the Committee on Rules and Regulations recommending defeat of a resolution calling for night sessions. That recommendation was endorsed, 55–50. Yea 52%, Nay 48%. Votes counted: 105. SD: .50. (*Proceedings*, 579.)

2. A vote on February 26 to table reconsideration of the resolution on night sessions. The effort to table failed, 38–68 (recorded as 38–69). Yea 64%, Nay 36%. Votes counted: 106. SD: .48. (*Proceedings*, 583–84.)

Race Votes

1. A vote on March 9 on Robert Elliott's amendment to section 2 of the report of the Committee on Franchise and Elections. That amendment, removing literacy qualifications for voters coming of age after 1875, was endorsed in a vote we count as 106–2 (recorded as 107–2; it could not be ascertained which Jones voted with the majority). Yea 98%, Nay 2%. Votes counted: 108. SD: .14. (*Proceedings*, 834–35.)

2. A vote on March 16 on article 10 of the report of the Committee on Education, which established free public schools open to all. It passed in a vote we count as 96–4 (recorded as 98–4, but it could not be determined which Cain or which Jones voted with the majority). Yea 96%, Nay 4%. Votes counted: 100. SD: .20. (*Proceedings*, 901–2.)

7

FLORIDA AND TEXAS

Foreshadowing Failure

I believe there is a “God in Israel” & that he [sic] will not abandon us to the tender mercies of vagabond adventurers.

—HARRISON REED, Florida’s first Republican governor (1868–73)

[T]he present Reconstruction Convention has lost . . . all regard for dignity and honor as a legislative assemblage. . . . [I]ts continued session will only terminate in disgrace to the entire country. I herewith tender my resignation as a member hereof. . . .

—GEORGE RUBY, black delegate to the Texas convention

OVERVIEW

Florida and Texas, the last two of the soon-to-be Confederate states to be admitted to the Union—on March 3 and December 29 of 1845, respectively—were also the last to assemble their Black and Tan conventions. Carved from Spanish and Mexican territories, both states remained in frontier stages of development. In the early 1860s Texas, with about 604,000 residents, ranked ninth in population among Confederate states; Florida, with its minuscule population of around 140,000, ranked eleventh, and among all the states that had not seceded, only Delaware and Oregon had smaller populations. By 1870, however, Florida and Texas led all former Confederate states in population growth—Florida had increased its 1860 population by 33.5%, to 187,748, and Texas had grown by 26.2% since that year, to 818,579. In Florida, this growth was racially disproportionate: blacks increased by 46.3% and whites by about 23.5%. Texas’s growth was much more racially balanced, showing a gain of 38.6% among blacks and 34.2% among whites. Even with such surges, however, vast expanses of both states—South Florida and West Texas especially—still remained virtually unoccupied in 1867 as Congress assumed control of Reconstruction. Dade County, for example, the future home of megalopolis Miami, had a population of only 85.¹

With their political destinies controlled by five populous, black-majority, cotton-producing

counties in the northern region of their state, white Floridians had strongly favored secession. John Breckinridge gained their support in the 1860 presidential election, and Florida became the third state to leave the Union prior to president-elect Lincoln's inauguration. In the Lone Star State, too, the planter-dominated region—relatively populous East Texas—pushed for secession. Here, though, sizable numbers of nonslaveholders—frequently in the state's northern and western regions—supported secession with less enthusiasm. Nonetheless, in a February 1861 referendum, voters endorsed leaving the Union by a three-to-one majority (46,188 to 15,149). Despite the oft-noted political comeback of avid Unionist Sam Houston in the gubernatorial election of 1859, a substantial majority of white Texans remained unwavering in their support for the southern cause. "Old Sam" refused, however, to take an oath of loyalty to the Confederacy and as a result was deposed as the state's chief executive.²

Because of their comparative isolation from the rest of the Confederacy and their relative lack of strategic importance, no major Civil War battles occurred in either state. Florida, nonetheless, suffered considerably from the Union's naval blockade. While fortifications at Key West and around Pensacola Bay remained in Union hands, Jacksonville was also occupied on several occasions, and northerners—most notably treasury agents and new arrivals such as future governor Harrison Reed—began moving into occupied areas of the state early in 1863. Meanwhile, owing to its ability to trade with neighboring Mexico, Texas suffered less from the blockade, and Union invasion efforts there failed—at the port city of Galveston in October of 1862, at the mouth of the Sabine River in September of 1863, and via the Red River in April of 1864. Even so, Texas suffered as the war progressed. Some 60,000 of its young men served in Confederate ranks, and toward the end of the war, refugees and deserters roamed the state in alarming numbers.³

As will be seen, in a number of respects the Florida and Texas conventions were to be quite different. Delegates assembled in Austin (with median overall assets of \$5,665) were the wealthiest among those of all of the conventions; those in Tallahassee (with median overall assets of \$800) were the poorest. While southern whites would enjoy an overwhelming majority in Texas, the Florida convention, with more or less equal allotments of black, outside white, and southern white delegates, would be dominated by carpetbaggers. However, these differences would be eclipsed by a common fundamental characteristic: the conventions' confused and chaotic proceedings. In Tallahassee, intense factionalism would lead to two separate conventions and, despite their subsequent enforced merger by military authorities, to two separate constitutions being sent to Washington for congressional scrutiny. In Texas, bitter debates, often over extraneous matters (and extending over nine months, a period much longer than any of the other conventions were in session), would finally result in a constitution that the convention president signed only under the duress imposed by military authorities, who themselves pieced the document together into its final form. Clearly, then, the tumult of the proceedings at these conventions provides the rationale for our pairing them.

INTRODUCTION

Activities leading to the assembling of the Florida convention began in June of 1867, when Ossian B. Hart was placed in charge of voter registration. A Jacksonville resident, destined soon to become his state's first native-born governor, Hart completed registration on October 5, 1867, at which time General John Pope, commander of the Third Military District, announced that delegate elections were to begin on Tuesday, November 14, and continue over three days. Following sporadic attempts to organize, Florida conservatives eventually opted to register but then sit out the election. By doing so, they hoped to keep the total vote below the majority of all registered voters, thereby invalidating the elections under the provisions of the Reconstruction Act of March 23, 1867. As a result of this strategy, of course, Florida's convention was certain to be one in which Republicans would enjoy an overwhelming majority.⁴

The state's Republicans, however, were badly divided, and their large delegate majority turned out to be insuperably factious. The first of the party's two factions was associated with the Union League and known as the Mule Team because its leaders—carpetbaggers Liberty Billings and Daniel Richards, along with William Saunders (a black immigrant from Baltimore)—were often carried to well-orchestrated rallies in wagons pulled by mules. Mule Teamers envisaged a major role for the freedmen in postwar Florida politics, and their delegates are thus identified as Republican radicals in the Florida vote listings following this chapter. Their rivals coalesced around the Republican Club of Jacksonville, an organization founded by Hart. Although also Republicans and welcoming black enfranchisement, they viewed Reconstruction largely as a prerequisite for the organization of a new state government. Identified as Republican “moderates” in the Florida vote listings following this chapter, their delegates—and future governor Harrison Reed as well—were determined to concentrate more on developing Florida economically than on addressing the state's social and racial inequities.

Unhappy with the control exercised by Hart and his allies at Jacksonville during a party convention in July, Mule Teamers held a separate meeting and nominated their own competing slate of candidates for convention seats. This action led to competing Republican campaigns, with especially heated contests in district 4 (Gadsden County) and district 14 (Nassau, Duval, and St. Johns counties), which resulted in a delegate mix unique to the Florida convention, the only Black and Tan convention apportioned almost evenly among blacks, carpetbaggers, and scalawags. That no faction was dominant exacerbated already bitter intraparty disputes, and moderate delegates abandoned Tallahassee to assemble as a rump convention in Monticello, a community some 30 miles to the northeast. After picking up additional delegate supporters there, the defectors then returned to Tallahassee, took control of the convention, expelled its radical Mule Team president, and replaced him with one of their own choosing. This brouhaha thus led to the drafting of two constitutions (the moderate one framed at

Monticello and modified later in Tallahassee and the radical one framed by the Mule Team delegates in Tallahassee during the absence of the moderate delegates), each of which was subsequently sent to Washington, along with supporters who lobbied for the approval of their respective charters before baffled and dismayed Republican congressmen.⁵

Although southern whites enjoyed an overwhelming delegate majority in the Texas convention, which met from June 1, 1868 through February 6, 1869 (some 127 days in two sessions separated by a three-month recess extending from September 1, 1868, through December 6, 1869), its proceedings were almost as contentious as those in Florida. The process giving rise to these events began on March 19, 1867, as General Philip Sheridan, headquartered in New Orleans, assumed control of the Fifth Military District. In April, Charles Griffin, his subordinate in charge of the subdistrict of Texas, began registering voters. Owing to the combined impediments imposed by great distances, frontier conditions, and poor communications, registration was not finished until September 1, just days before Griffin died of yellow fever after refusing to flee his own headquarters in the plague-infested city of Galveston. His successor, Joseph J. Reynolds, housed himself safely in Austin and then finished a supplemental registration. Finally, on December 18, the referendum authorizing the last of the Black and Tan conventions was set for February 10–14, 1868.⁶

Although African Americans comprised the majority of the 600 or so who attended a Houston meeting launching the state's Republican party on July 4, 1867, the party itself was clearly led by southern white Unionists. One such person, Edward Degener, was a German immigrant who had arrived in Bexar County and San Antonio following a hasty flight from his homeland as a result of his revolutionary activities during the upheavals of 1848. Another Unionist, James P. Newcomb, was a former Kentucky Whig who had gravitated toward the Know-Nothings following the disintegration of the Whig party.⁷ Military/provisional governor Andrew J. Hamilton, by contrast, had been a Douglas or Unionist Democrat before moving into John Bell's Constitutional Unionist fold during the presidential election of 1860. Yet another Republican leader, William Wallace Mills of El Paso, had fled the state following secession, as had Edmund J. Davis, who had served in the Union army as a brigadier general.

Except for their Unionism, then, these leaders—and many of the rank and file among them as well—had little in common except perhaps a hope that altered political and social conditions would propel a new coalition to power in postwar Texas. This, however, would be difficult. White Texans found themselves confronted by a whole new set of issues arising not out of the secession crisis but instead from the maelstrom of Confederate defeat and black freedom. Unionist delegates often remained divided over the issues arising from these unsettling new realities, even in the face their previously united front against secession. As a result, they would splinter during the convention. Two Republican candidates (both former convention delegates) would subsequently vie for governor in the elections of December 1869, in which the new constitution was also ratified. As in Florida, the party's reform efforts fell hostage to debilitating factional squabbles over patronage and power.⁸

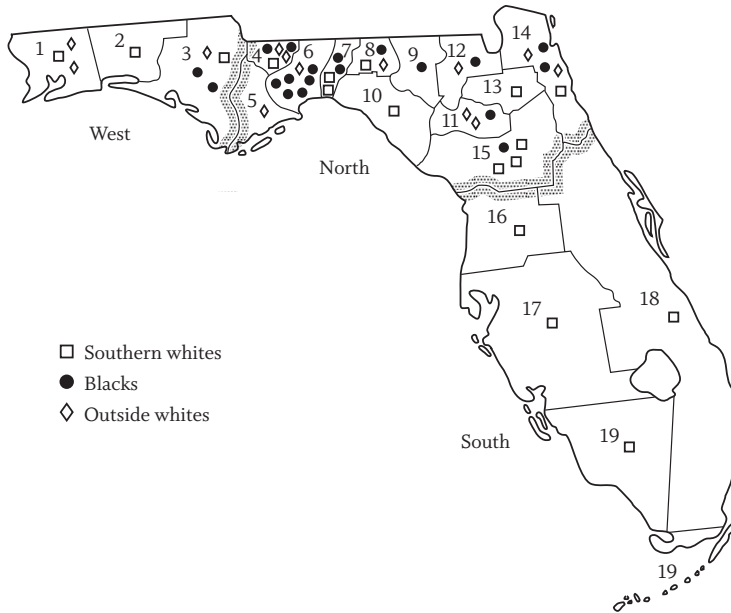
Despite their divisions, though, Florida Republicans easily secured approval of their convention. General Pope on December 27, 1867, announced that the state's 28,003 registered voters had approved it by an almost unanimous 14,300 to 203. The outcome was the same—by a closer but still considerable margin—in Texas, where a slight majority (56,269) of the state's 109,130 registered voters approved their convention by a margin of 44,689 to 11,400.⁹ Military authorities instructed Florida's 46 delegates-elect to open their deliberations in the chamber of the state house of representatives in Tallahassee on January 20, 1868. The 90 delegates-elect in Texas were summoned to start their labors some four months later, on June 1 at the state capital in Austin.¹⁰

Despite their common factional problems, the delegate composition of the two conventions could hardly have differed more. Among all the conventions, Texas ranked first (76%) in its proportion of southern whites. By contrast the 17 southern whites (34% of delegates) in Florida placed it a distant eighth in that regard, ahead of only Louisiana and South Carolina. These rankings were almost completely reversed, however, in the case of outside whites. Florida was first among all the conventions in percentage of carpetbaggers (13, or 26%); Texas was ninth, with its 10 outside whites (10.9% of all its delegates), placing it ahead only of Georgia.

Had blacks been returned in proportion to their overall numbers in the electorate, that component of the Florida convention would have been larger by about a third—29 as opposed to 19 delegates (see table 7.1). Even so, their percentage of the delegate total in Tallahassee (38%) was exceeded only by those of blacks at the South Carolina and Louisiana conventions. By contrast, blacks were grossly underrepresented in Texas. Given their overall numbers among voters, they should have accounted for about 45% of delegates. In fact their total of only ten delegates (10.9%) gave Texas the smallest proportion of blacks delegates of any of the Black and Tan conventions.

As shown in table 7.2 and on the Florida map, an overwhelming majority (74%) of all delegates assembled in Tallahassee came from the northern (and most populous) region of the state. Some 90% of black delegates represented constituencies in that region. Almost 60% of southern whites also came from North Florida, as did a majority of outside whites, although a significant portion of the latter group (about a third) hailed from the western or panhandle region. The Texas map reveals that southern whites, by far the largest delegate bloc in Austin, were returned in virtually equal numbers from each of the state's four regions. Nearly half of outside whites and almost three-quarters of blacks came from the Central region, which also returned a plurality (31%) of all 92 delegates.

Tables 7.3 and 7.4 offer information on delegate ages and occupations. Texas delegates were on average over five years senior to those in Florida (44.6 years to 39.1). This difference was a consequence of two factors. Texas's southern whites, with their sizable delegate majority, were slightly older than the smaller contingent of native whites in Florida, and Florida's black

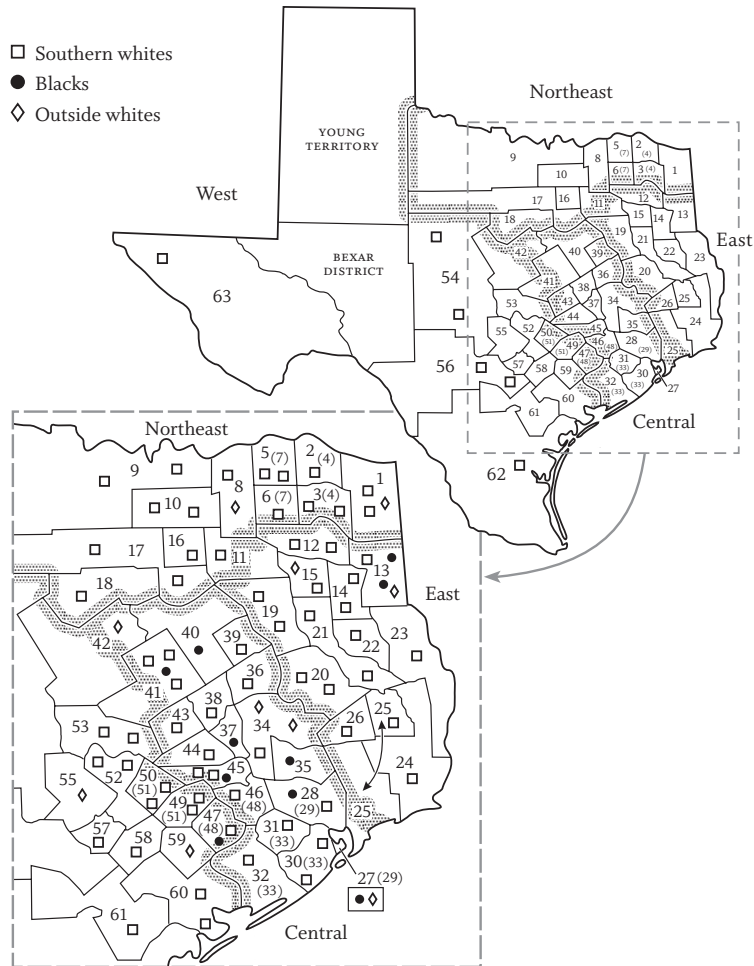


Florida regions, districts, and delegate distribution

delegates, a plurality in that convention, were younger, on average, than the smaller faction of black delegates in Texas.

As shown in table 7.4, about a third of the southern whites at both the Florida and Texas conventions (35% and 30%, respectively) were farmers or planters. Over half (54%) of those in Texas were lawyers, merchants/businessmen, physicians, or ministers, whereas less than a third (29%) of Florida southern whites were similarly employed. Skilled laborers made up a plurality (40%) of the black delegates in Texas; skilled laborers and the ministry (65% total) were the most common employments of black delegates in Tallahassee. The majority (7 of 13, or 54%) of Florida's outside whites were federal officials or lawyers, whereas fully half of Texas's carpetbaggers were engaged in agricultural or business pursuits.

Analysis of delegate wealth distribution in the two conventions, as seen in table 7.5, offers a striking contrast. With median overall assets of \$5,665 the Texas delegates were not only more affluent than those of any of the other conventions, their asset levels were almost twice those of the next wealthiest delegation (the Virginia delegates, at \$3,000). In contrast, Florida's \$800 median overall delegate worth ranks it a distant last among all the conventions, only about half that of the next poorest delegation (South Carolina's, with a median of \$1,500). In large part this disparity is a consequence of the fact that the median asset for Texas's large native white delegate grouping was \$6,000, tying it with the analogous figure for southern whites in Virginia. With median wealth (\$2,000) at only a third of Texas's southern white dele-



Texas regions, districts, and delegate distribution

Red River and Titus counties, single districts (2 and 3, respectively), also form a combined district (4). Lamar and Hopkins counties, single districts (5 and 6), also form a combined district (7). Tyler, Liberty, and Chambers counties shared one delegate (district 25) but were not contiguous. Galveston and Harris counties, single districts (27 and 28), also form a combined district (29). Brazoria county, a single district (30), is also combined with four other counties as another district (33). Wharton and Matagorda counties, combined as district 32, are also combined with 2 other counties as another district (33). Austin and Colorado counties, single districts (46 and 47), also form a combined district (48). Fayette and Bastrop counties, single districts (49 and 50), also form a combined district (51). Delegates representing multiregional districts (41, 42, and 48) are shown in the county of their respective districts in which they resided.

gates, Florida's southern whites came in ahead only of Arkansas' and South Carolina's (\$1,917 and \$1,700, respectively). Texas's black delegates were likewise considerably more affluent than those in Florida (by a ratio of over two to one, at \$550 to \$250). Nonetheless, the disparity was greatest among the outside whites of the two conventions, with a difference of greater than five to one (\$5,500 to \$1,000) in favor of those in Texas.

Given this great gap in wealth, it seems surprising that about half of southern whites at both conventions are known to have held slaves. In both states, the large majority of those with slaves had owned few of them—the largest former slaveholder in Florida had only 8, whereas 22 of the 27 former slaveholders in Texas had each owned 10 or fewer. In Florida the majority of former slaveholders were clearly farmers or small planters. The same was true in Texas, although one Texas delegate (future United States senator James Flanagan) had owned 104 slaves. The much greater asset levels of southern whites in Texas consequently reflect the fact that almost half of its native whites (48%) as opposed to less than a third of those in Florida (29%) were businessmen, lawyers, or physicians.¹¹

Three men, two of whom had achieved the rank of general in the Union army, presided over these two turbulent conventions. Daniel Richards, a carpetbagger with no military experience, was ousted as president of the Florida convention on February 19, 1868, and replaced by Horatio Jenkins Jr. A New York native and 48-year-old attorney, Richards had arrived in Florida from Illinois 1866 as a tax commissioner. Although he then returned to Illinois (where, as a Republican, he represented Whiteside County as state senator, 1863–67), he reappeared in Florida following passage of the first Reconstruction Act, becoming an organizer of Union League chapters and a key leader of the radical wing of Florida's new Republican party. But his return to Illinois led to charges at the convention that he was not a legal resident of Florida, resulting in his ouster as president and eventual expulsion from the convention altogether.¹² Jenkins, who replaced fellow carpetbagger Richards, was a 28-year-old Massachusetts native and a Union army veteran who had risen to the rank of brevet brigadier general. Arriving in Florida in 1865, he became a leader among the Reed-Hart Republicans. After the adoption of the constitution framed by his supporters following Richards's ouster from the convention, Jenkins, who became United States revenue collector in Jacksonville, remained active politically as a Republican legislator.¹³

The president of the Texas convention, scalawag Edmund J. Davis, was born in Florida in 1821 but left the state in 1848, settling in Galveston, where he took up the practice of law. Initially a Whig, Davis by the late 1850s had become a Unionist Democrat and a supporter of Sam Houston. Owing to his unwillingness to take an oath of loyalty to the Confederacy, he resigned his position as a circuit court judge in 1862 and fled the state, raising, while in exile, the 1st Texas Cavalry, United States Volunteers, a unit in which he rose to the rank of brigadier general. Returning to Texas following Appomattox, he served as a delegate to the state's 1866 constitutional convention. Then, with the adjournment of the Black and Tan convention over which he presided, Davis was elected governor, an office he held until January of 1874. Follow-

ing his failed attempt at reelection as chief executive in 1873, he remained active in the state Republican party until his death almost a decade later in 1883.¹⁴

As seen in table 7.7, blacks were remarkably well represented in the 23 standing committees in Florida's Mule Team convention. In the assignment process initiated by President Richards on January 23, 1868, they secured six chairmanships, with southern whites gaining eight, and outside whites nine. Blacks were strikingly less prominent in the reorganized Jenkins convention. On February 19 the new president excluded them from the chairmanships of all his 21 standing committees. Twelve chairmanships went to carpetbaggers and nine to southern whites. The eventual expulsion of several Mule Team delegates also significantly reduced black rank-and-file memberships on Florida's standing committees, from 36 to 27. In Texas, in contrast to either the Richards or the Jenkins convention, southern whites dominated overwhelmingly. In a process begun by President Davis on June 5, 1868, they secured the chairmanships of 20 of 21 standing committees (the sole exception going to an outside white) along with over three-quarters (120 of 153, or 78%) of their rank-and-file positions.¹⁵

THE FLORIDA CONVENTION

The 30 days Florida delegates were in session, January 20 through February 25, 1868, can be separated into four segments. During the first, from the initial meeting to February 4, the Mule Team elected one of its own (Daniel Richards) as presiding officer and remained precariously in control. The second began on February 4, when the moderate Republicans—unhappy about the outcomes of disputes involving the seating of four delegates—withdraw to the nearby community of Monticello in Jefferson County to frame their own constitution. Meanwhile, Richards's supporters, maintaining that they still had a quorum of delegates legally authorized to be seated in Tallahassee, continued work on their document. After finishing, they forwarded their draft to military district headquarters in Atlanta for approval before adjourning until February 15 and awaiting the response of General George Meade, who had by then replaced Pope in command.

To the dismay of the radicals, the moderates, propelled to a bare majority by the inclusion of two delegates who had not attended the initial sessions in Tallahassee, then commandeered the convention, ousted Richards as its presiding officer and replaced him with Horatio Jenkins Jr. For several days following this coup, rival conventions continued meeting in the capital city. On February 18, Meade insisted that delegates hold a second election for president of the convention. The result was the legitimization of Jenkins's presidency over a single body of reunited delegates. With this action, the convention finally entered its fourth and final phase. Over a period of several days, delegates ejected four Mule Teamers (including Richards) from their midst, replaced them with moderates, and added an additional delegate (not seated previously) to their ranks. Securely in control, they then drafted a second constitution (one

only slightly modified from the draft done at Monticello) and sent it on to military and congressional authorities for approval.¹⁶

Returning to the first phase of the Florida convention, the 29 delegates who gathered initially in Tallahassee on January 20 began organizing their convention on a morning that, according to the *Florida Union*, was “cold enough to make Florida feel like some other place, and to make Floridians—native or imported—wish for the comfortable sunshine of a week ago.”¹⁷ Intraparty factionalism, however, soon generated plenty of heat inside the hall of the house of representatives. During the 30 days in which delegates to the Florida convention met (including February 4 through 17, when a quorum was not attained), 49 roll-call votes were recorded. We have placed 26 of these in four scales—race and government structure, miscellaneous, suffrage, and economic issues—which we have then analyzed systematically in order to identify delegates politically as moderate or radical Republicans (there were no swing voters in Florida) on the basis of their average Republican support scores (RSSs). The reader, however, must bear in mind that in this uniquely factionalized convention the radicals (Mule Team delegates) were in the minority. The higher RSSs are assigned to the most radical (but defeated) Richards Mule Teamers, and the lower (“moderate” Republican) scores are accorded to the less radical, or moderate, Jenkins delegates, who wrested control of the convention from their more radical opponents and then went on to lead Florida’s “official” or “establishment” Republicans until that party’s fall from power in 1877.¹⁸

Racial and Government Structure Issues

Matters of eligibility and seating consumed delegate attention throughout a series of bitter disputes that were not finally resolved until February 20, exactly a month after the convention had first assembled. These squabbles, which retarded the drafting of an “official” constitution (even while “unofficial” ones were being hammered out by both factions), were of critical importance. Unseemly though they were, they actually determined the convention’s eventual delegate mix, thereby guaranteeing that the constitution eventually accepted by Congress would be markedly less reflective of the interests of Florida’s freedmen than the document advanced initially by Richards’s supporters. While the Mule Team constitution had provided for elective county and state officials and for population-based representation in both houses of the legislature, the Richards document made most county and state officials appointive and set limits of from one to four representatives per county in the statehouse. By reducing elective offices and limiting the size of legislative delegations from more populous (and often heavily black) counties, the Jenkins constitution reduced significantly the impact of black enfranchisement. Thus in the letter quoted in the epigraph to this chapter, soon-to-be governor Harrison Reed noted approvingly that under Richards’s constitution “the Judiciary & State officers will be appointed & the apportionment will prevent a negro legislature.”¹⁹

The first of four key votes in the struggle for control of the convention occurred on Janu-

ary 29, when Jesse Goss (southern white from Marion County) moved successfully to table an amendment from E. D. Howse (also a Marion County southern white) that would have removed the requirement of a two-thirds majority to overturn rulings by President Richards. Mule Teamers were again victorious on February 1 when Liberty Billings (outside white from Nassau County) secured postponement until March of discussion on whether John Butler (moderate outside white from Santa Rosa County) and George Walker (southern white who was never seated) were to be certified as delegates. By February 18, however, the “bolt-ers,” with their ranks augmented after seceding to Monticello and then returning to Tallahassee, carried two crucial votes. The first of these was critical, elevating Horatio Jenkins Jr. to the convention’s presidency; the second, more symbolic in confirming the strength of the new majority, replaced the previous rules (which were identical to those of the last session of the state’s house of representatives) with those of “Jefferson’s Manual” (written by Thomas Jefferson when he was vice president of the United States—and president of the United States Senate—and published in 1801 to provide procedural rules for the Senate).

Three of four votes on February 19 solidified the new majority’s control of the convention. Following an initial loss on a measure offered by William Cessna (outside white from Alachua County), Jenkins’s delegates secured an identical motion by William Purman (outside white from Jackson County), which, along with yet another vote to follow, unseated three key Mule Team leaders—Liberty Billings, Charles Pearce, and William Saunders—and ousted them from the convention. A second recommendation from the restructured Committee on Eligibility then resulted in the same fate for the now-beleaguered Daniel Richards. Then, in two votes on the following day, a majority of delegates accepted a motion from Cessna expunging debates of the rump Mule Team convention (February 4–17) from the official journal. They then seated J. E. Davidson, Ossian Hart, Marcellus Stearns, and Richard Wells (replacing Richards, Billings, Saunders and Pearce, respectively). Finally, they bestowed on John Butler the seat that had remained unclaimed by its originally certified occupant, George Walker. With their majority secure, Jenkins’s supporters then passed their new constitution (essentially the document drafted in Monticello), endorsing it by a vote of 28–16 on February 25, 1868.

Miscellaneous Issues

The first of the four votes in the miscellaneous scale was called on February 20, as the Jenkins partisans labored to oust opposition leaders from their midst and replace them with supporters. At the same time, they denied further access to Solon Robinson, a nationally known reporter from the *New York Tribune* who had filed dispatches sympathetic to the Mule Team that were then published in the *Tribune* (on February 5, 8, 10, and 12).²⁰ Moderates also endorsed section 18 of their constitution’s executive article, which granted the governor power to appoint officers of the militia. Then, on February 25, the day the constitution itself was endorsed, they thwarted Jesse Goss’s effort to table an ordinance prohibiting payment to delegates who failed to sign the Jenkins document within three days of adjournment. Determined to force re-

maining Mule Teamers into line, Jenkins's partisans then endorsed withholding payment from nonsigners (a measure that had been formulated originally by Thomas Urquhart, a black delegate from Hamilton and Suwannee counties).

Suffrage Issues

Voting on this scale also began on February 20, when Jesse Goss moved to amend section 16 of the executive article to provide for election of cabinet-level executive officials. This effort, aimed at further empowering an electorate in which freedmen were in the majority, failed, leaving the selection of such officers instead to the discretion of the governor, with the approval of the state senate. On February 24, Goss was again unsuccessful, failing to postpone consideration of an article offered by Lyman Rowley (southern white of Escambia County) that required the legislature to establish educational qualifications for voters enrolling after 1880. William Cessna then called successfully for a vote on the Rowley article, and it passed.

Economic Issues

Despite his failure to obtain an article providing for elections of cabinet-level executive officials and to prevent an article mandating educational requirements for future voters, Goss finally enjoyed success in the first two votes on economics. Although the votes in this scale were of little consequence, he first managed, on February 20, to prevail in thwarting William Cessna's effort to table a motion to consider (in part for reasons of economy) abolition of county criminal courts, and then he secured delegate approval of that action. On the following day, Mule Teamers once again garnered support from some ten delegates (five southern whites, four outside whites, and a black) who usually voted as moderates, thus securing three additional measures involving courts and economic matters. The first, offered by Rowley, voided past suits against those who had been unable to respond to them due to the recent rebellion. The other two, both introduced by E. D. Howse, set parameters for dollar amounts in cases in particular courts and gave magistrates authority over those involving sums of less than \$50.

THE TEXAS CONVENTION

Ninety-two delegates eventually took part in the protracted deliberations of the Texas convention, a tumultuous body that struggled to near exhaustion to frame the last of the Black and Tan constitutions. The convention opened in Austin on June 1, 1868, and remained in session for three months, until August 31, when it adjourned until late fall. A second session then began on December 7 and plodded toward adjournment on February 6, 1869.²¹ During this span of more than eight months, one delegate committed suicide, at least eight others were involved in fisticuffs on or off the convention floor, the Klan murdered another delegate, and another was expelled for the alleged rape of an eleven-year-old girl. Amid this bedlam, dele-

gates failed to complete a number of the final tasks required to prepare their constitution for submission to voters. These matters had to be completed by a three-person special commission appointed by General E. R. S. Canby, who had replaced Reynolds as military commander of the state in November 1868.²²

Given such confusion, Texas delegates were in session for 121 days and engaged in 779 recorded roll-call votes.²³ We have distributed 66 of these among four scales—government structure/economic issues (17 votes), racial issues (18 votes), miscellaneous issues (18 votes), and suffrage issues (13 votes). These scales were then used to analyze voting patterns on key issues coming before the convention and to assign RSSs to particular delegates.

Government Structure/Economic Issues

The first vote in the government structure/economic issue area was taken on June 10 and thwarted an effort to give the *Austin Republican*, the official organ of provisional governor Elisha M. Pease's state government, the newspaper patronage associated with the convention.²⁴ This outcome demonstrated the power Morgan Hamilton (a southern white from Bastrop County), the leader of the delegate faction that, in contrast to Pease, believed that all acts of the Confederate legislature were null and void from their inception, a position referred to at the time as *ab initio* (Latin for "from the beginning"). The *ab initio* delegates maintained that Confederate legislation had been invalid from the day of passage. That contention had also been at issue in the constitutional convention of 1866. On June 5 delegates who shared the governor's opposition to the *ab initio* premise had already succeeded in killing a resolution that declared most government actions since Texas's secession unconstitutional by pigeonholing it in the Committee on Federal Relations.²⁵ Had they not succeeded in burying this resolution, it would have invalidated a number of railroad charters as well as various land-grant subsidies for improvement of infrastructure, especially railroads. Most important, it would have invalidated an 1864 law allowing various railroads to pay portions of their indebtedness to the school fund with state and Confederate money rather than United States currency. Obviously, such companies preferred to meet these obligations, dating originally from the 1850s, with worthless Confederate dollars.²⁶

Burial of the resolution was opposed vehemently by Morgan Hamilton and his supporters, whose ranks, in this instance, were augmented by black delegates demanding that freedmen enjoy adequately funded public schools, as well as by west Texans, who desired additional schools for their region. These delegates insisted that the railroads replenish the school fund with real money. Following several votes (on July 7 and 17) involving the International Pacific Railroad Company, on July 25 delegates also failed to support a substitution by Andrew Evans (southern white from McLennan County) for the report of the Committee on Internal Improvements. Had they been successful, the state would have been required to take over all railroads indebted to the school fund.²⁷

On August 19, following earlier votes (on August 7 and 15) that prevented the tabling of

relief for the Mexican Gulf Railroad and the striking of a proposed \$100,000 limit on debts contracted by the legislature, the *ab initio* issue arose again. A report from the Special Select Committee on Railroads that proposed the sale of railroads in default to the state was tabled, as was a report from the Committee on Internal Improvements that approved such sales. Sparring on the *ab initio* question resumed on August 20 with an unsuccessful effort to table a substitution by James Thomas (southern white from Collin County) for section 44 of the report of the Committee on General Provisions. Delegates did, however, manage to table the original section of the document, which had declared acts of the Confederate legislature null and void. Colbert Caldwell (a southern white from Marion County) then offered yet another substitute for the general provisions section then under discussion. Delegates accepted his proposal for consideration and then adopted it, validating thereby the controversial railroad subsidies of the previous decade. Caldwell's substitute also then survived an immediate call for reconsideration.²⁸

Triumphant Pease administration supporters and the disheartened *ab initio* faction then turned to an assortment of less contentious economic matters. These included rejection of a declaration proposed by Ralph Long (a black from Limestone County) voiding debts contracted for purchase of slaves, passage of a resolution offering relief to the Mexican Gulf Railway, and tabling of a motion by Nathan Patten (southern white from McLennan County) to secure revenue owed the state school fund by several railroads. Delegates concluded their actions on economic matters on August 29, when they thwarted an attempt by James Flanagan (southern white of Rusk County) to defeat a resolution requiring six months' notice from the governor prior to the sale of several railroads.²⁹

The *ab initio* issue, debated heatedly from early in June until late in August, set the stage for the contentious Texas convention. In theory, had the delegates voided acts of the Confederate legislature, they could simply have amended the state's 1845 constitution and gone home. They chose otherwise, however, and many frustrated *ab initio* partisans consequently gravitated toward President Davis, who was in turn widely criticized for being too radical. Although not destined to face the humiliation suffered by President Richards, who had been ousted from his seat in the Florida convention, Davis and his supporters often found themselves in the minority—as they had been over the *ab initio* question—as delegates turned to other issues.³⁰

Racial Issues

The first votes on this scale involved violence, a long-standing Texas problem now exacerbated by racial and other postwar tensions. Provisional governor Pease discussed this issue in his June 3, 1868, address to the convention, an assembly that included perhaps as many as six delegates who had firsthand experience with the problem. Two days later a Committee on Lawlessness was proposed; on June 6, Davis appointed eight delegates to that committee, which was chaired by Colbert Caldwell.³¹ Although delegates failed on June 20 to table a protest by James Armstrong (southern white of Jefferson County) against a resolution requesting

congressional authority for a militia to suppress crime, they proceeded on July 6 to instruct Caldwell and Morgan Hamilton to travel to Washington to inform authorities there of the problems of violence and disorder in the state. On July 25 delegates also endorsed a proposal from George Whitmore (a southern white from Smith County) inviting a congressional committee to Texas to investigate. Finally, supporting Edward Degener's recommendation for rewarding informants, they defeated on the last day of July an attempt to restrict the use of some \$25,000 appropriated for "ferreting out criminals and for paying suitable awards."³²

Although delegates returned to the issue of violence from time to time, schools and their racial mix had become a greater concern by August.³³ In the first of three votes on August 27, Julius Schuetze (a southern white of Bastrop County) secured an additional section to the education article requiring separate schools for blacks and whites. Delegates then tabled a proviso from Robert Smith allowing integration in single-school districts; Edward Degener's effort to substitute "may" for "shall" in board of education instructions regarding the establishment of separate schools then met a similar fate. On August 28, James Flanagan's attempt to postpone consideration of the education report until December also failed. As discussion continued, delegates tabled an effort by Livingston Lindsay (a southern white of Fayette County) to guarantee education to children of either race and then endorsed Schuetze's separate-schools requirement. Finally, they established a state board of education and provided for the election of its members.³⁴

In addition to violence and public schools, delegates considered an assortment of other racial issues. On August 7, they accepted Livingston Lindsay's substitute for section 4 of the report on General Provisions, recognizing the legal equality of all persons. They nonetheless refused to endorse Edward Degener's amendment to section 23 of the bill of rights, which declared that state agencies that violated citizens' rights were in violation of "conditions" under which Texas had entered the Union. Finally, shortly before concluding their second session, they expelled black delegate Charles Bryant, a Harris County minister accused of raping a young girl. The day prior to taking that action, they also refused Degener's demand for the suspension of convention doorkeeper, Scipio McKee, pending an inquiry into whether he had assaulted fellow black George Ruby.³⁵

Violence, a topic of discussion from the opening of the convention in of June 1868 until its adjournment in February of 1869, remained a volatile partisan issue throughout Texas's reconstruction. Republicans argued that disorder made fair elections impossible and necessitated federal intervention. Democrats asserted that such claims were partisan and unfounded. The two parties continued to battle over public schools as well. The segregated school system that delegates established received strong support from the state's Republican administration. After becoming governor in early January of 1870, Edmund Davis held to his belief that education—and a well-funded system of public schools—offered the only viable solution to problems of violence. Democrats, however, held just as consistently to their party line that

funding for schools, and for other state programs and agencies, slowed a return to prosperity and threatened to bankrupt the state.³⁶

Miscellaneous Issues

The 1845 joint congressional resolution under which the Lone Star Republic had joined the Union provided for the possible creation of a maximum of five states from the newly admitted territory. Unique among all the Black and Tan delegates, those in Austin faced the question of whether their state was to be divided. Three of them—James Flanagan (a member of both the 1852 legislature and the 1866 constitutional convention), Edward Degener, and Edmund J. Davis (the latter two had both served in the 1866 convention as well)—led those who supported division. Provisional governor Pease, however, opposed division, arguing it was too costly and, given that the wording of the Reconstruction Acts assumed a unified Texas, division would hinder the state's Reconstruction. Instead, he favored the sale of large tracts of the state's unsettled western lands to the federal government for use as Indian reservations. The resulting revenues could then be used for public education, the promotion of immigration, and the funding of internal improvements.³⁷

Pease, however, secured little backing as vocal support for division increased among key Unionist leaders, especially those from San Antonio and farther west. Convention President Davis and delegates Andrew Evans and James Newcomb asserted that partition would stimulate increased immigration and rapid economic development while also creating new Republican-controlled commonwealths, compensating thereby for the likely continued domination of the state's more populous eastern sections by former Confederates. As the convention assembled, divisionists were also heartened by two developments: Congressman Thaddeus Stevens echoed their position, and Representative Fernando Beaman (R-Michigan) introduced a bill authorizing splitting Texas into three states. Although Beaman's measure never passed, anticipation that it might contributed to Davis's June 9 appointment of a Special Committee on Division of the State, chaired by Armisted Munroe (southern white of Houston County). The actions of this committee set into motion the most lengthy and divisive debates of the convention.³⁸

As the Committee on Division presented its report on June 27, Andrew McCormick (southern white from Brazoria County) attempted but failed to delay consideration. Former provisional governor Andrew J. Hamilton (southern white of Travis County and a leading opponent of division) then attempted to divide the divisionists by offering a competing plan for boundary revisions that had come from a report of the Committee on Federal Relations. The essential provision of this plan (as suggested by William Mills, Hamilton's son-in-law and a southern white from El Paso County) was to cede El Paso to the federal government on the condition that it be joined with the adjacent Dona Aña County in New Mexico. Both counties would then be designated the "Territory of Montezuma." This proposal, however, was tabled

on June 29, owing largely to opposition from divisionists, who were willing to support such an idea only following creation of a state of West Texas. Finally, on July 7, divisionist Degener also met defeat when he failed to obtain suspension of convention rules in order to take up the report of the Committee on Division of the State.³⁹

Encouraged by that outcome, on July 13, antidivisionist delegates abandoned (by tabling) Hamilton's delaying ploy and moved forward successfully with three votes aimed instead at simply killing all prospects for partition. Two of these, both on July 16, resulted in passage first of a resolution from James Thomas prohibiting further consideration of division unless expressly authorized by Congress and, second, an endorsement of Andrew Hamilton's motion to table all further discussion. On August 17, delegates then tabled the report of the Committee on Federal Relations, which advocated the ceding of El Paso County to the federal government.⁴⁰

With funding for the convention running low and tempers heating up along with the Texas summer, delegates turned (before breaking from September 1 to December 7) to the Republican state convention, which began on August 12 in Austin. At the party convocation, controlled by provisional governor Pease's partisans, delegates refused to accept Davis supporters' minority platform endorsing the *ab initio* principle. As a result, on August 15, the Davis backers walked out and reconvened in the chamber of the state senate, where they formed a new radical Republican organization, which advocated the *ab initio* principle, collection from the railroads of all monies owed the school fund, and more intensive promotion of manufacturing and internal improvements. In effect, then, the Texas Republican party, much like its Florida counterpart, had now formally splintered. Supported by key black leaders and by many West Texans, the Davis element had abandoned the Pease administration supporters and established a rival organization of its own.⁴¹

When delegates gathered on December 7 to begin the constitutional convention's second session, the Davis divisionists stubbornly redoubled their efforts. They first defeated James Thomas's resolution of December 10 requiring that the constitution be framed before extraneous matters be taken up. On December 21, the same fate awaited Colbert Caldwell's effort to require that any division plan also be submitted directly to the voters. Then, on December 29, James Newcomb succeeded in rescinding Thomas's original restriction of July 16 mandating congressional approval prior to any consideration of division. In the first of two key votes on January 16, 1869, President Davis also successfully thwarted renewed antidivisionist delaying tactics by altering convention rules pertaining to calls of the house. A report of the Special Committee on the Condition of the State recommending division was then endorsed. Four days later, delegates approved its final passage. At that time, they also expelled antidivisionist Frederick Sumner (southern white from Grayson County), and on January 22 they refused to enter Andrew Hamilton's formal protest of the action against Sumner in the journal. Triumphant divisionists then failed, however, to table Thomas's most recent resolution, mandating that the convention remain in session until a constitution was framed. Ironically, though, as

exhausted delegates rushed toward adjournment, the matter of division, which had initially sparked such extended and heated debate, was simply dropped.⁴²

Although the divisionists had technically triumphed, they were unable to follow up on their victory during the last days of the convention. Their protracted maneuvering throughout this struggle had, however, added significantly to serious intraparty divisions between adherents of President Davis and those of Andrew Hamilton. Since the bitterness of that unresolved conflict had also somewhat tarnished the reputation of the divisionists, both at home and in the nation's capital, the issue of division simply faded away. As governor, Davis would concentrate instead on funding public schools, on internal improvements, and on frontier defense. Division, a cause for which he had once so diligently labored, was forsaken as a priority during his tenure as the state's chief executive.⁴³

Suffrage Issues

In late January and early February, as interest in dividing the state waned, delegates focused on the constitution's suffrage article. Voting on this issue opened on January 29 with the tabling of James Armstrong's effort to exclude blacks from the electorate. It proceeded immediately with two votes on what evolved into article 3, section 1, of the legislative article.⁴⁴ After passing this article without the requirement of a loyalty oath originally recommended by the committee, delegates became immersed in six additional suffrage votes on February 3. In the most important of these, they thwarted Morgan Hamilton's effort to remove wording from a substitute article that reaffirmed Congress's right to restore the voting and office-holding rights of southern whites disqualified from such privileges under the new Texas constitution.⁴⁵

On the following day, in establishing procedures for ratification of the new constitution, delegates refused to consider George Ruby's ordinance authorizing a separate flyer—to be circulated along with copies of the constitution—informing constituents of the legal consequences of voter intimidation. Delegates also endorsed a resolution from W. Frank Carter (southern white of Parker County) declaring it the convention's intent that "no person . . . be allowed to vote or hold office who is now, or may hereafter, be ineligible to office under the Constitution of the United States, or who is denied the right to vote under the Reconstruction Acts. . . ." ⁴⁶ They did so, however, by less than the two-thirds majority that convention rules stipulated for adding a new section to the constitution.

The fate of Carter's resolution shows that Andrew Hamilton and his supporters had generally prevailed in defining office-holding and voting rights. Over the opposition of Davis's supporters, they had managed to minimize the number of former Confederates who faced restriction of voting or office-holding prerogatives. Disheartened over this outcome, Davis was concerned that Democrats, perhaps even in league with the turncoat Republicans of the Hamilton camp, might secure control of Texas in the pending referendum on ratification of the constitution and election of state officials. Morgan Hamilton (Andrew Hamilton's brother but a Davis ally) asserted that such an outcome was probable because a majority of delegates had

acted “on the false premise ‘that since the rebels cannot be governed, they must, therefore, be permitted to govern.’”⁴⁷

Following the votes on suffrage, disillusioned radicals attempted to adjourn the convention. On the evening of February 5, several, including George Ruby, resigned. In doing so, Ruby castigated the anti-Davis majority’s responsibility for the convention’s having lost “all regard for dignity and honor as a legislative assemblage . . . [so that] its continued session will only terminate in disgrace to the entire country.”⁴⁸ The following morning anti-Davis delegates, opposed to adjournment before finishing a constitution, assembled and selected Micajah Armstrong (a southern white of Lamar County) as their presiding officer. Their plans to continue their proceedings were thwarted, however, when the convention’s secretary moved his records to the headquarters of General Canby. Thoroughly frustrated by the constant turmoil and deadlock of the convention, Canby authorized Davis to adjourn the body *sine die*, much to the dismay of Andrew Hamilton and the delegates who had coalesced around the former provisional governor. On February 8, after refusing to allow Armstrong delegates to resume their deliberations, Canby then appointed a three-man committee—consisting of Morgan Hamilton, James Thomas, and Major C. R. Layton of Canby’s staff—to put convention records in order and prepare the constitution in its final form for submission to voters. This accomplished, he called for a July referendum on ratification, which was later rescheduled for November 30–December 3, 1869.⁴⁹

ANALYSIS OF ROLL-CALL VOTING

Tables 7.8 and 7.9 reveal that the roll-call votes in Florida and Texas were strikingly different from those examined for the other Black and Tan conventions. In all the other states, Republicans were clearly in control—whether overwhelmingly as in North Carolina or marginally as in Georgia. In Tallahassee, however, the bolting moderate Republicans took possession of the convention, ousting President Richards and three of his fellow Mule Team leaders. With Horatio Jenkins in charge, the moderates dominated the proceedings; their radical opponents carried only about a third of roll-call votes, and with the moderate Jenkins Republicans in control, Richards’ delegates secured only anemic support levels overall (averaging 44%) on scaled divisions.⁵⁰ The opposition faced by Richards’s Mule Teamers is illustrated further in table 7.9, which presents data on the voting patterns of delegates individually.⁵¹ In the very contentious Florida convention, delegates garnered an average overall RSS of only 2.23. The extent of their divisiveness is shown by the fact that the standard deviation of their RSSs is a sizable 2.00. Florida delegates, then, clearly drafted a constitution less friendly to the political aspirations of Florida’s freedpersons than the one formulated by Richards’s partisans before their fall from power.

In Texas, the ordeal endured by President Davis was even more convoluted than that faced

by either Richards or Jenkins. During their protracted sessions in Austin, delegates splintered into (and at times moved in and out of or among) four factions, composed of (1) followers of Andrew Jackson Hamilton allied with Governor Pease and the ardent opponents of state division; (2) supporters of James W. Flanagan, generally unsympathetic to the freedmen but favoring division; (3) champions of President Davis committed to the *ab initio* principle; and (4) a small group that coalesced around George Ruby and was determined to advance the interests of the freedmen. Davis was thus able to secure majority support only on racial and miscellaneous votes, in which his partisans prevailed narrowly—by a margin of 52.5% overall. He fared much worse in government structure/economics and suffrage votes, in which his support levels ranged from only 40.5% to 46.0%, bringing his support overall down to an average of only 48.2%.⁵² Following Richards's expulsion in Tallahassee, then, Davis, was the only minority president to preside over a Black and Tan convention, a fact clearly reflected in table 7.9. Although the Texas proceedings were less contentious (with a standard deviation of 1.49) than those in Florida, Austin delegates, on average, supported their beleaguered president on fewer than half the votes, generating an average overall RSS of only 2.41.⁵³

Table 7.10 presents statistics on the four issue scales in each convention. In Texas, the alphas reveal a high degree of internal consistency in the voting. Votes in particular scales were strongly correlated with one another, with alphas ranging from .91 on race to .96 on both suffrage and miscellaneous (division of the state) votes. The same is true in Florida, where measures of internal consistency in the voting were only slightly lower. There, alphas ranged from .78 on economics to .99 on race and government structure, the scale that included the fateful matter of the ousting of Mule Team delegates and the seating of their replacements.

Table 7.11 presents voting patterns on the four scaled issue areas in both conventions for southern whites, blacks, and outside whites. Not surprisingly, Florida's black delegates supported the Mule Team and its ousted leader, Daniel Richards, returning an overall RSS of 3.49. Although generally in agreement with Mule Teamers on economic matters, southern whites, in contrast, were decidedly hostile to the radicals in all other issue areas, especially those of race and government structure, in which they mustered an RSS of only .32. Outside whites, however, were even more truculent, returning abysmally low support scores of .02 and .10, respectively, on the suffrage and race/government structure scales, while compiling a minuscule overall RSS of only .60.

In Texas, by contrast, outside whites approved of the radical (or Davis) position on each issue scale, obtaining an average overall RSS of 3.41. There, as in Florida, blacks, with an average overall score of 3.57, were again ardent proponents of radical positions. Finally, although split almost evenly on the division of the state (miscellaneous votes), Texas's southern white delegates clearly tended to oppose President Davis in all other areas, but most notably on suffrage and government structure/economics votes, in which they dissented, overall, from his initiatives by a ratio of nearly two to one.

As seen in table 7.12, delegates representing North Florida constituencies, most of which

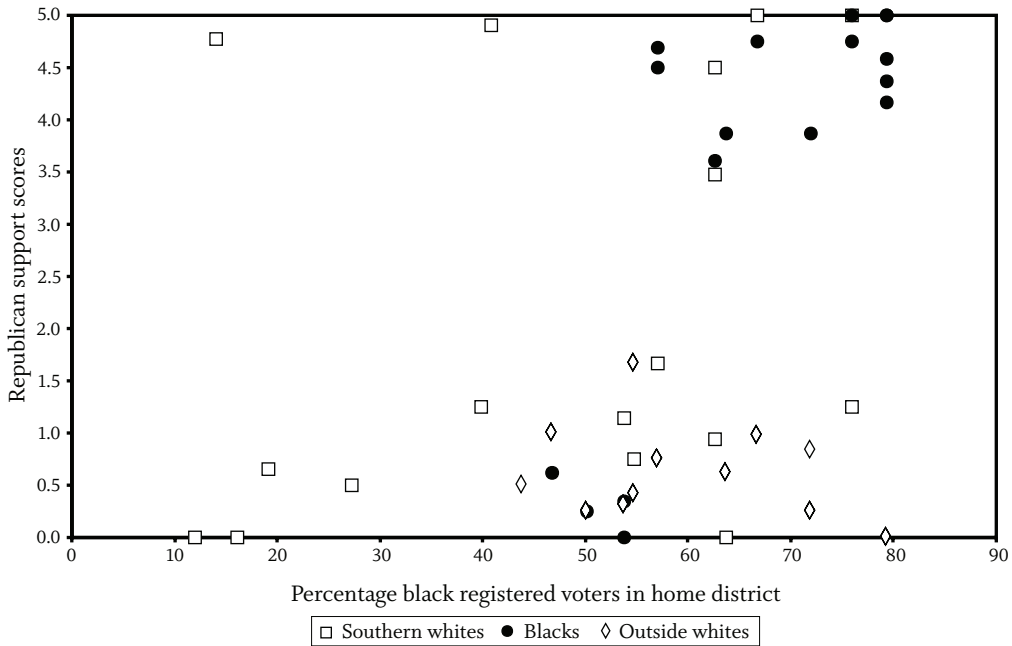
included large numbers of freedmen, tended to support radical or Mule Team positions, showing a slight radical (.53) leaning even in the hotly contested disputes over delegate seating. Those from South Florida districts—all of whom were southern whites—were much less radical, voting with the Mule Teamers only a third of the time. Delegates from western districts, a plurality of whom were outside whites, were clearly strong Jenkins supporters, showing virtual unanimity in opposition to the Mule Team on the suffrage and race and government structure scales, with average RSSs of .00 and .02, respectively.

In Texas, delegates representing constituencies in the state's West and Central regions tended to oppose the *ab initio* principle. They were, however, predisposed toward supporting President Davis in each of the other three issue areas (all but government structure/economics) and consequently received average overall RSSs of 2.95 and 2.62, respectively. In contrast, those from the East and Northeast were generally more antagonistic to Davis. Those from eastern districts supported him only on dividing the state (miscellaneous issues), while those from the Northeast opposed him across all four issue areas. Delegates from these regions averaged overall RSSs of only 2.18 and 1.81.

Table 7.13 presents the voting patterns of southern white delegates by region. In Florida, those from northern constituencies, where most of the freedmen resided, supported the Mule Team overwhelmingly on economic matters but slightly less than half the time on the other three scales. Compared to the other two regions, northern delegates, however, had a relatively high average overall RSS of 2.71. Native whites from the state's remaining two regions were hostile toward Richards's partisans. Those from West Florida voted in opposition on all issue scales; their colleagues from South Florida did likewise on all except economics. The southern white delegates from the West and the South regions earned average overall RSSs of only .63 and 1.70, respectively. Both groups thus revealed a solid determination to unseat the Mule Team president, recast the delegate mix of the convention, and secure the more moderate Monticello constitution.

Texas delegates from the West region failed to support the president on the *ab initio* issue (as shown by the fact that they divided relatively evenly on the government structure and economics scale), but they backed him in each of the other three issue areas. Davis, however, did not attract nearly that much support from the native whites of the state's other three regions. The only other southern white delegates who supported him on any issue were those from East Texas, who sided with him on dividing the state (miscellaneous issues).

The scatterplots for Florida and Texas present the relationship between Republican support and the percentages of back voters in the electorates of delegate home districts. The first of these confirms the dramatic polarization in the tumultuous Florida convention, where there were no swing delegates. In Tallahassee the solidly radical Mule Team minority—a coalition of 13 blacks and 6 southern whites but no outside whites—generally represented constituencies in which blacks averaged about three-quarters of registered voters. In contrast,

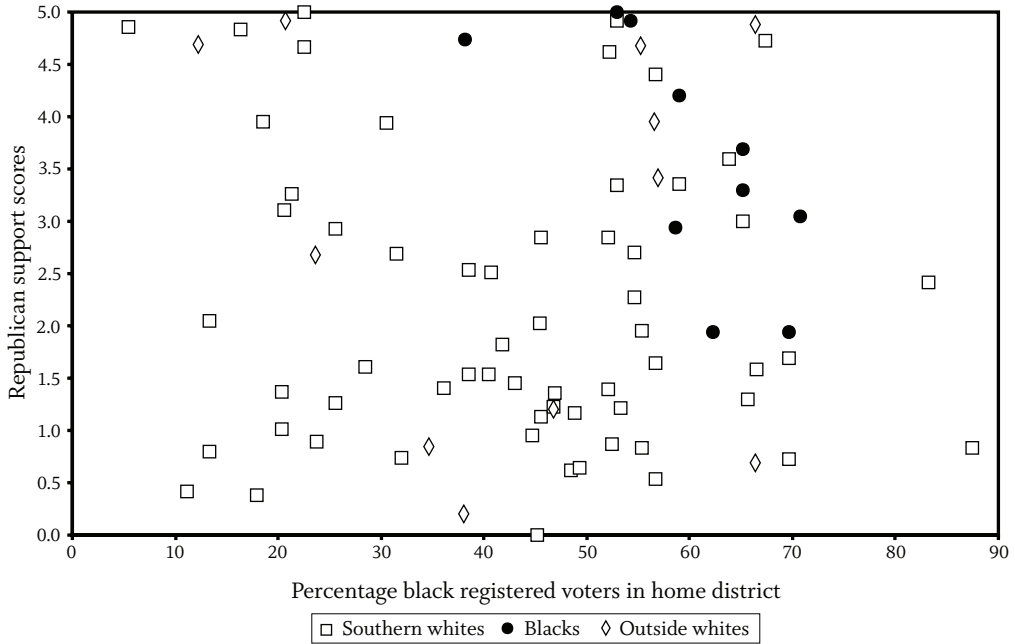


Scatterplot of Florida delegates' RSSs and home district black voter constituencies

the 27 Jenkins delegates—11 southern whites, 11 outside whites, 4 blacks, and an unclassified white—were returned from districts in which the freedmen made up around half the voters.

The Texas scatterplot demonstrates once again that Davis was a minority president, even though coalitions in Texas shifted somewhat as delegates addressed the *ab initio* question and argued over whether to divide the state. Thirty-six conservatives (32 southern whites, 2 outside whites, and 2 unclassified whites), most from districts in which freedmen were in the minority, accounted for the convention's largest delegate bloc. A second sizable contingent of 23 swing voters (17 southern whites, 5 blacks, and an outside white) represented home districts in which blacks generally accounted for 30% to 60% of voters. Finally, a group of 24 delegates (13 southern whites, 5 blacks, and 6 outside whites) voted as radicals. Thus Davis's coalition was a heterogeneous mix: southern whites from Central and West Texas constituencies representing relatively few blacks in league with black and outside white delegates from districts in which there were relatively large numbers of former slaves.

Table 7.14 divides all scaled delegates in both conventions into three approximately equal groups on the basis of affluence. In Texas, the result is the one expected: the most wealthy delegates were more conservative than the less wealthy. In Florida, although the most wealthy delegates were again the most conservative, the most radical were not the poorest but those with medium-level assets; their average overall RSS (3.68) was considerably higher than the



Scatterplot of Texas delegates' RSSs and home district black voter constituencies

2.16 average overall score of the poorest delegates.⁵⁴ This anomaly is a result of the volatile divisions among the contentious delegates in Tallahassee. Blacks appeared in equal numbers among the low- and middle-asset groups (six in each), while outside whites (most frequently Jenkins supporters) were more often from the lower-affluence group (four of them) than from the middle-affluence group (only one). Only a single black was among Florida's most affluent delegates.

Florida's three groups of southern whites divided by affluence levels in table 7.15 consisted of only five, six, and five delegates. The voting patterns within each of these were so scattered that the average figures are meaningless. In Texas 7 of the 17 (40%) least affluent southern whites fell into the radical group. By contrast, southern whites of medium and high affluence (16 delegates) were significantly less supportive of President Davis. Both groups had exactly the same number of radical, swing, and conservative delegates (two, four, and ten, respectively).

Radical Republicans comprised a minority of both the Florida and the Texas conventions. As seen in table 7.16, 19 of 46 scaled Florida delegates voted as radicals, whereas in Texas only 24 out of 83 (29%) did so. Mule Team (radical) strength was centered in North Florida. A slight majority of delegates (18 of 33) from that region voted as radicals; only a quarter of those from south Florida did so, while all 9 from the West region supported President Jenkins (as conservatives). In contrast to the Florida convention, where there were no swing delegates,

well over a quarter (23 of 83, or 28%) of Texas delegates fell into that category. While the Texas swing voters were distributed evenly among the state's four regions, some 80% (19 of 24) of the radical delegates in Austin were from Central or West Texas. Radicals made up a bit more than 40% of the total delegates from each of those two regions. A plurality (20 of 36) of Texas conservatives resided in the East and Northeast regions.

As we have done for other conventions, in table 7.17 we have divided southern whites at the Florida and Texas conventions into three voting groups—radical, swing, and conservative (the conservative column representing the moderate Republicans in the case of Florida).⁵⁵ Half the southern white delegates (5 of 10) from northern Florida were Richards supporters, as were a quarter from the South region. Some 85% (11 of 13) radical southern whites in Texas came from Central or western districts. In contrast, only two radical white southerners represented the North or Northeast regions. Some 85% of all native white Texas conservatives (27 of 32) resided in the Northeast, Central, or eastern regions. They made up over half (27 of 46, or 59%) of all delegates returned from those three regions. Over a quarter (17 of 62) of Texas's southern whites were swing voters; these were distributed fairly evenly (in allotments of 3 to 5) among each of the state's four geographic regions.

Table 7.18 illustrates the percentage of radical, conservative, and swing southern whites active in each of the professions listed. While fully half of Florida's southern white radicals (3 of 6) were farmers, less than a quarter (3 of 13) of those in Texas were. Nearly half of Texas's southern white radicals (6 of 13) were merchants or lawyers. There were no swing voters in Florida; those in Texas were most often farmers or merchants, although their ranks also included a mix of lawyers and ministers. Most of the "moderate," anti-Mule Team southern whites in Florida were engaged in farming, the law, or federal government service. Farming and the practice of law were clearly the most common professions of Texas conservatives as well.

Table 7.19 depicts the percentages of southern white radical, swing, and conservative (i.e., "moderate" in Florida) delegates in various professions. Although in Florida the numbers in any single profession were too small to be statistically significant, this table nonetheless suggests that the "moderate" (conservative) southern whites aligned with Jenkins were frequently in high-status occupations—merchants, editors, judicial officials, or federal employees. Farmers were relatively few among the native white radicals in Texas; they were more common among swing and conservative delegates. The ranks of conservatives in Austin were also more often buttressed by skilled laborers and lawyers than were those of their radical opponents. Swing delegates in Texas were relatively diverse, the nonagricultural workers among them most commonly being merchants, lawyers, or ministers.

Tables 7.20 and 7.21 depict the age and wealth of southern white delegate groups at the two conventions. Although the sample is again small in the case of Florida, the available data suggest that native whites who supported the deposed President Richards (shown as radicals in the tables) were a bit older and somewhat more prosperous than those who aligned with Presi-

dent Jenkins (moderates). A plurality of the Texas convention's native white swing voters fell into the older age category; conservative southern whites were fairly evenly disbursed among each of the three age groupings.

In Texas, a sizable majority of southern white radicals fit into the lower-affluence grouping, while a majority of southern white conservatives were in the middle-and most-affluent groupings. A majority of the swing voters in Texas were also in the middle- or high-affluence brackets.

THE CONSTITUTIONS RATIFIED

The adjournment of the Florida convention on February 25, 1868, presented leaders in Washington with a dilemma. Representatives of both the bitterly contesting delegate factions proceeded to the nation's capital to lobby for congressional endorsement of their respective constitutions. Along with soon-to-be Governor Harrison Reed, two future carpetbagger lieutenant governors—Santa Rosa County delegate George Alden (a Union army veteran from Massachusetts) and William Gleason (a lumberman from Wisconsin)—presented the successful case for the moderate Republican document. Ousted president Daniel Richards along with William Saunders lobbied for the Mule Team's case but failed; the Jenkins constitution secured congressional endorsement early in April. The drama that had accompanied the complex and tumultuous events associated with the beginnings of Florida's Congressional Reconstruction then finally came to a close.⁵⁶

In a referendum extending from May 14 to May 16, 1868, Florida's new constitution was ratified by a margin of 14,520 to 7,852. At the same time, Harrison Reed, the behind-the-scenes leader of the Jenkins forces, garnered 14,170 votes in a three-man contest for the governorship, besting conservative George Scott and radical Republican Samuel Walker (receiving 7,852 and 2,262 votes, respectively). As Reed entered the governor's office on July 4, Liberty Billings, the longtime Mule Team firebrand, was released from jail, where he had been placed without charges by military authorities for making incendiary speeches while campaigning as the radical Republican candidate for Florida's congressional seat. This conciliatory gesture, however, failed to heal divisions that had rent the Florida Republicans in their struggle to frame a new constitution. Although they were to remain in power for almost a decade, the state's Republicans suffered continual intraparty rancor. Many of the black rank and file would advocate a radical agenda of political and social reform; pragmatic moderate party leaders—including governors Harrison Reed, Ossian Hart, and Marcellus Stearns—would work with native whites to foster Florida's postwar economic growth.⁵⁷

The Texas convention adjourned on February 6, 1869, and as the Florida factions had done the previous year, rival delegations left immediately for Washington. Led by Andrew Hamilton, the anti-Davis delegation pressed for congressional acceptance of the new constitution, for its early ratification, and for immediate readmission of Texas to the Union. These objec-

tives were opposed by the Davis deputation, led by Morgan Hamilton, who argued for postponing the ratification election, for dividing the state, and for disenfranchising additional former rebels.⁵⁸ Congress, in contrast to its insistence on taking the lead in resolving the Florida imbroglio while the embattled and mistrusted Andrew Johnson still occupied the White House, now chose to sidestep this dispute by empowering the newly inaugurated president Ulysses S. Grant to resolve it. Although sympathetic initially to the moderate party in Texas led by Andrew Hamilton, Grant became alarmed after Gilbert Walker, a moderate Republican allied with Democrats, won Virginia's gubernatorial election in July 1869 and effectively returned the state to Democratic control. Fearing a similar outcome in Texas, Grant decided to favor the more radical delegation led by Morgan Hamilton, the older of the two Hamilton brothers and a partisan of Edmund Davis.⁵⁹

Back in Texas, meanwhile, competing groups organized for the elections that had been scheduled for November 30 through December 3, 1869. The Republican State Executive Committee opted against a convention and selected Andrew Hamilton as its gubernatorial nominee on April 20; rank-and-file Republicans selected Edmund Davis as their nominee at a convention in Houston on June 7, where, lacking a practical alternative, delegates also endorsed the very constitution Davis had so recently criticized while in the nation's capital. Finally, on September 29, Democrats selected Hamilton Stuart, the editor of the *Galveston Civilian*, as their standard-bearer.⁶⁰

In the hotly contested gubernatorial election, both major candidates—Davis and Hamilton—concentrated on white voters. Davis defended his support of the *ab initio* position as a strategy to protect funding for public schools, and he endorsed the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments. As the two men often spoke from the same platforms as they traversed the state, Hamilton countered with two major points: that he had thwarted efforts to disenfranchise numerous whites, and that Davis's policies would lead to black control of the Republican party, a situation that would result in growing white hostility and in the eventual destruction of blacks. In an extremely close contest, Davis emerged victorious, defeating his less radical opponent by fewer than 800 votes out of a total of 78,891 cast.⁶¹ In the ratification plebiscite, which actually received much less attention than the governor's race, the new constitution was endorsed overwhelmingly—72,366 to 4,928.

On January 8, 1870, General Reynolds (who was once again in command) ordered Davis and other newly elected state officials to assume their offices immediately as a provisional government. The legislature, with a Republican majority (somewhat less radical than the new governor), assembled briefly, ratified the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments and selected two new United States senators. President Grant signed the state's readmission bill on March 30. General Reynolds then concluded military rule in Texas by turning over control of civil matters to Davis and his administration on April 6, 1870.⁶²

In contrast to Florida's vanquished Mule Teamers, Davis and his radical supporters were victorious in Texas: they won the support of the Grant administration, they secured the new

constitution, and they elevated their leader to the governor's office. This success, however, was destined to be short lived. Although Florida Republicans held on to power until 1876, Davis and his followers quickly fell victim to the same sort of internecine conflict that had divided Texas's Republicans in both their constitutional convention and the gubernatorial election of 1869. Although black support for the Republicans in Texas would remain solid, freedmen accounted for only about a quarter of the state's electorate. Most native white Republicans, meanwhile, had supported Hamilton in the gubernatorial election and were reluctant to align with his old nemesis, the new governor. At the same time, Democratic ranks would continue to swell as that party—resolute in its opposition to both Reconstruction and Republican rule—prepared for future electoral contests in which it would be perceived as the champion of most white Texans.

The revolution that had begun in the old Confederate capital of Montgomery in November of 1867 had already run much of its course by the time the last of the Black and Tan constitutions was finally in force in Austin. Democrats had secured Virginia as soon as Military Reconstruction ended there in 1869. They were also soon to triumph in Georgia and North Carolina, taking the legislature and the governorship in Georgia in 1870 and 1871 and impeaching Governor Holden in North Carolina in 1871. Unable to overcome bitter party divisions engendered in the constitutional convention and exacerbated by the gubernatorial contest that followed, Texas Republicans were destined to lose control of their state legislature by 1872. Davis's reform program would then be dismantled by hostile Democratic legislators prior to his resignation from the governorship on January 19, 1874. Later that year, Democrats would also reclaim Alabama and Arkansas, leaving Republicans solidly in control in only four states—South Carolina, Louisiana, Mississippi, and Florida.⁶³ Even in those states, they relied increasingly on federal support to maintain their hegemony. Such succor was fading fast. The nation was in a depression and confronting a major economic crisis as Davis left the governor's office for his law practice in Austin. As northerners faced growing economic hardships, they worried more and more about their own difficulties and less and less about the fate of both the Republican party and the freedmen in the South.

SUMMARY

As noted previously in the conclusion to chapter 3, accounts of the southern states during the Reconstruction era, whether from a traditional or a revisionist perspective, have generally offered two standard but variant characterizations of the Black and Tan conventions. The first, seen earlier in the case of Virginia and Arkansas, is the view that biracial Republican coalitions were solidly in control and framed new constitutions with ease, even in the face of dogged opposition from minority conservatives. The second characterization, viewed mistakenly by those who accept it as the pattern common to all Black and Tan conventions—that they were dominated not only by Republicans but by black delegate majorities—was in fact seen only in

Louisiana and South Carolina. Neither of these depictions, however, comes close to a third, often neglected type of convention outcome—that seen in Florida and Texas, characterized by bitter intraparty conflict. In Florida, disputes became so intense that they split the convention and resulted in the drafting of two separate and competing constitutions. In Texas, controversies eventually exhausted delegates, who struggled for the better part of an entire year before finally adjourning in disarray, leaving military authorities to prepare the final document for the ratification referendum.

From its inception, Florida's Republican party had been factionalized among three groups: radical Union Leaguers (the Mule Teamers) and the more moderate elements aligned with either the Lincoln Brotherhood, led by Thomas Osborn (an outside white delegate from New Jersey and a Freedman's Bureau agent), or Ossian Hart's Republican Club of Jacksonville. This fragmentation resulted in an uncontrollable convention that was unique in its almost equal contingents of black, outside white, and native white delegates. Since they were more numerous proportionately in Florida than in any other convention, carpetbaggers soon prevailed, even though those who first did so were a militant minority who organized the convention initially so that blacks, their major supporters, gained more committee chairmanships than in any of the other conventions, including even those in Louisiana and South Carolina. A larger group of moderate carpetbaggers (and their supporters) then reappeared, however, following a self-imposed exile, took control of the convention in Tallahassee with the complicity of the military, purged black delegates from all standing committee chairmanships, and reconstituted the convention. Interested primarily in economic development, hardly the radical carpetbaggers of legend, they then proceeded to draft a constitution that—through the gerrymandering of legislative districts and the generous granting of the power of gubernatorial appointment—reduced decisively the potential sway of the state's black electoral majority. Although hardly characteristic of the Black and Tan constitutions generally, the provisions of Florida's constitution ensured that Republican factionalism would continue to be rife throughout the state's turbulent Reconstruction period, during which most white party leaders more or less took the votes of the freedmen for granted.

In Austin, by contrast, carpetbaggers were of little consequence. Southern whites dominated the Texas convention, where they were more numerous proportionately than in any of the others, chairing 20 of its 21 standing committees. Still, even though the Constitutional Unionist movement of 1860 (and remains of Governor Houston's former Unionist coalition) had been the nucleus for the state's postwar Republican party, that coalition was by 1868 deeply divided over a batch of new issues, among them the *ab initio* question, the division of the state, and the disenfranchisement of southern whites. Southern white delegates in Texas consequently splintered; the more radical among them (along with most outside white and black delegates) aligned with President Davis and the more moderate (or in some cases conservative) with Andrew J. Hamilton.

As this splintering developed, Davis lost control of his own convention.⁶⁴ Unlike Daniel

Richards in Florida, however, he was not deposed; he generally enjoyed the support of military authorities, even though they eventually required him to sign his own convention's constitution under protest. In the ensuing gubernatorial election of late November–early December 1869, Davis again secured the support of Republican leaders in Washington, who feared that his defeat (by Andrew J. Hamilton) would mean a replay of the Virginia elections of the previous July, in which the Republicans had suffered a stinging defeat. Davis thus secured the governorship, but he could not hold it. The bitter Republican factionalism witnessed during the convention over which he had presided was to continue and would be key to the failure of his 1873 reelection bid, which he lost by a margin of slightly more than two to one.

Data Tables for the Florida and Texas Conventions

TABLE 7.1. PERCENTAGE OF ELECTORATE BLACK AND NUMBER OF BLACK DELEGATES BY REGION

<i>Region</i>	<i>Blacks in region (%)</i>	<i>No. of black delegates expected^a</i>	<i>Actual no. of black delegates</i>
<i>Florida</i>			
North	64	24	17
South	25	1	0
West	48	4	2
Total	—	29	19
<i>Texas</i>			
East	49	10	2
Northeast	30	6	0
Central	62	17	7
West	36	7	1
Total	—	40	10

^aBased on percentage of blacks in electorate.

TABLE 7.2. PERCENTAGE OF DELEGATE GROUPS FROM EACH REGION

<i>Region</i>	<i>Southern whites</i>	<i>Blacks</i>	<i>Outside whites</i>	<i>Overall</i>
<i>Florida</i>				
North (%)	59	90	69	74
South (%)	24	0	0	8
West (%)	18	10	31	18
Total no.	17	19	13	49
<i>Texas</i>				
East (%)	24	20	20	23
Northeast (%)	26	0	20	22

TABLE 7.2. (continued)

Region	Southern whites	Blacks	Outside whites	Overall
Central (%)	24	70	40	31
West (%)	26	10	20	23
Total no.	70	10	10	90

TABLE 7.3. AVERAGE AND MEDIAN AGE BY DELEGATE GROUP

	Average		Median		Number	
	Fla.	Tex.	Fla.	Tex.	Fla.	Tex.
Southern whites	44	46	41	46	16	67
Blacks	38	40	36	38	15	8
Outside whites	33	32	32	30	10	6
Overall	39	45	38	45	41	81

TABLE 7.4. KNOWN DELEGATE OCCUPATIONS BY GROUP (%)

Occupation	Southern whites		Blacks		Outside whites		All delegates	
	Fla.	Tex.	Fla.	Tex.	Fla.	Tex.	Fla.	Tex.
Farmer/planter	35.3	30.0	17.6	20.0	8.3	25.0	21.7	28.4
Merchant/businessman	5.9	17.1	0.0	0.0	8.3	37.5	4.3	17.0
Physician	5.9	7.1	0.0	0.0	8.3	12.5	4.3	6.8
Lawyer	17.6	24.3	0.0	0.0	25.0	12.5	13.0	19.3
Educator	0.0	0.0	11.8	20.0	0.0	0.0	4.3	2.3
Minister	0.0	5.7	35.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	13.0	4.5
Editor	5.9	2.9	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.2	2.3
Druggist/dentist	0.0	0.0	0.0	20.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.4
Local gov. official	5.9	2.9	0.0	0.0	16.7	0.0	6.5	2.3
State gov. official	0.0	0.0	5.9	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.2	0.0
Judicial officer	5.9	2.9	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.2	2.3
Fed. official/employee	11.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	33.3	0.0	13.0	0.0
Skilled Laborer	5.9	7.1	29.4	40.0	0.0	12.5	13.0	11.4

TABLE 7.5. AVERAGE AND MEDIAN 1870 REAL AND PERSONAL PROPERTY
BY DELEGATE GROUP

	Average (\$)		Median (\$)		Number	
	Fla.	Tex.	Fla.	Tex.	Fla.	Tex.
<i>1870 real property</i>						
Southern whites	1,325	4,765	500	3,792	16	55
Blacks	371	725	200	250	14	4
Outside whites	9,167	4,700	0	5,000	9	5
Overall	2,792	4,507	500	3,000	39	64
<i>1870 personal property</i>						
Southern whites	868	2,687	400	1,000	16	55
Blacks	100	150	0	50	14	4
Outside whites	883	2,340	200	2000	9	5
Overall	596	2,501	175	1,000	39	64
<i>1870 total property</i>						
Southern whites	2,192	7,452	2,000	6,000	16	55
Blacks	472	875	250	550	14	4
Outside whites	10,050	7,040	1,000	5,500	9	5
Overall	3,388	7,009	800	5,665	39	64

TABLE 7.6. KNOWN 1860 SLAVEHOLDINGS OF
SOUTHERN WHITE DELEGATES

	Florida	Texas
Owned no slaves	5	24
Owned 1–10 slaves	4	22
Owned 11–20 slaves	0	2
Owned >20 slaves	0	3
Known slaveholdings	10 ^a	51

^aIncludes the holding of a tenth delegate not counted above who had owned an unknown number of Virginia.

BLACKS, CARPETBAGGERS, AND SCALAWAGS

TABLE 7.7. REPRESENTATION OF DELEGATE GROUPS ON STANDING COMMITTEES

	<i>Florida (Richards)</i>	<i>Florida (Jenkins)</i>	<i>Florida (Jenkins reorganized)</i>	<i>Texas</i>
<i>Standing committee chairs</i>				
Southern whites	8	9	9	20
Blacks	6	0	0	0
Outside whites	9	12	12	1
Unknown whites	0	0	0	0
Total	23	21	21	21
<i>Standing committee members</i>				
Southern whites	28	24	27	120
Blacks	36	29	27	13
Outside whites	23	24	23	17
Unknown whites	1	1	1	3
Total	88	78	78	153

TABLE 7.8. SUMMARY OF VOTING PATTERNS BY ISSUE AREA

<i>Issue area</i>	<i>Avg. support for Republican positions (%)</i>		<i>Standard dev. (%)</i>		<i>Republican victories (%)</i>	
	<i>Fla.</i>	<i>Tex.</i>	<i>Fla.</i>	<i>Tex.</i>	<i>Fla.</i>	<i>Tex.</i>
Suffrage	33.9	46.0	4.2	16.9	0	38
Race/gov. structure (Fla.)	41.0	—	8.5	—	23	—
Gov. structure/economics (Tex.)	—	40.5	—	10.2	—	29
Economics (Fla.)	64.0	—	8.7	—	0	—
Race (Tex.)	—	52.4	—	19.4	—	44
Miscellaneous	38.8	52.6	5.5	5.4	0	72
Overall	44.0	48.2	12.6	13.0	12	47

TABLE 7.9. AVERAGE RSS BY ISSUE AREA

Issue area	Mean		Median		Stand. dev.		No. of delegates scaled	
	Fla.	Tex.	Fla.	Tex.	Fla.	Tex.	Fla.	Tex.
Suffrage	.36	.46	.00	.38	.46	.39	42	65
Race/gov. structure (Fla.)	.41	—	.08	—	.46	—	42	—
Gov. structure/economics (Tex.)	—	.41	—	.30	—	.34	—	79
Economics (Fla.)	.66	—	.75	—	.35	—	38	—
Race (Tex.)	—	.54	—	.50	—	.29	—	74
Miscellaneous	.38	.54	.00	.53	.45	.38	46	73
Overall	2.23	2.41	1.20	2.03	2.00	1.49	46	83

TABLE 7.10. RESULTS OF RELIABILITY ANALYSIS FOR FOUR VOTING SCALES—
INTER-ITEM CORRELATIONS

Issue area	Mean		Minimum		Maximum		Alpha	
	Fla.	Tex.	Fla.	Tex.	Fla.	Tex.	Fla.	Tex.
Suffrage	.84	.64	.76	.20	.94	.97	.95	.96
Race/gov. structure (Fla.)	.85	—	.60	—	1.00	—	.99	—
Gov. structure/economics (Tex.)	—	.46	—	.14	—	.86	—	.94
Economics (Fla.)	.41	—	.18	—	.89	—	.78	—
Race (Tex.)	—	.36	—	-.04	—	.89	—	.91
Miscellaneous	.77	.57	.65	.09	.89	.97	.93	.96

TABLE 7.11. AVERAGE RSS BY DELEGATE GROUP AND ISSUE AREA

Issue area	Southern whites		Blacks		Outside whites	
	Fla.	Tex.	Fla.	Tex.	Fla.	Tex.
Suffrage	.35 (15)	.40 (47)	.63 (15)	.69 (9)	.02 (11)	.68 (7)
Race/gov. structure (Fla.)	.32 (15)	—	.70 (16)	—	.10 (10)	—
Gov. structure/economics (Tex.)	—	.36 (60)	—	.52 (9)	—	.58 (9)
Economics (Fla.)	.81 (14)	—	.70 (13)	—	.43 (10)	—
Race (Tex.)	—	.46 (56)	—	.90 (9)	—	.71 (8)
Miscellaneous	.37 (17)	.51 (54)	.66 (17)	.67 (10)	.00 (11)	.70 (7)
Overall	2.11 (17)	2.14 (62)	3.49 (17)	3.57 (10)	.60 (11)	3.41 (9)

Note: Numbers in parentheses are the numbers of delegates in each group who had sufficient votes to scale.

BLACKS, CARPETBAGGERS, AND SCALAWAGS

TABLE 7.12. AVERAGE RSS BY REGION AND ISSUE AREA

<i>Region</i>	<i>Suffrage</i>	<i>Race/gov. structure</i>	<i>Gov. structure/ economics</i>	<i>Race</i>	<i>Econ.</i>	<i>Misc.</i>	<i>Avg. overall RSS</i>
<i>Florida</i>							
North	.46	.53	—	—	.73	.49	2.75
South	.42	.25	—	—	.73	.25	1.70
West	.00	.02	—	—	.39	.06	.57
<i>Texas</i>							
East	.42	—	.37	.39	—	.64	2.18
Northeast	.18	—	.33	.43	—	.39	1.81
Central	.52	—	.43	.60	—	.55	2.62
West	.65	—	.47	.69	—	.55	2.95

TABLE 7.13. AVERAGE SOUTHERN WHITE RSS BY REGION AND ISSUE AREA

<i>Region</i>	<i>Suffrage</i>	<i>Race/gov. structure</i>	<i>Gov. structure/ economics</i>	<i>Race</i>	<i>Econ.</i>	<i>Misc.</i>	<i>Avg. overall RSS</i>
<i>Florida</i>							
North	.44	.47	—	—	.91	.48	2.71
South	.42	.25	—	—	.73	.25	1.70
West	.00	.03	—	—	.47	.17	.63
<i>Texas</i>							
East	.33	—	.33	.29	—	.65	1.92
Northeast	.18	—	.30	.37	—	.39	1.60
Central	.41	—	.36	.48	—	.44	2.08
West	.69	—	.46	.66	—	.59	2.97

TABLE 7.14. AVERAGE RSS BY LEVEL OF AFFLUENCE AND ISSUE AREA

<i>Issue area</i>	<i>Low affluence</i>	<i>Medium affluence</i>	<i>High affluence</i>
<i>Florida</i>			
Suffrage	.25	.73	.20
Race/gov. structure	.47	.67	.20
Economics	.66	.84	.62
Miscellaneous	.37	.71	.19
Overall	2.16	3.68	1.36

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TABLE 7.14. (continued)

Issue area	Low affluence	Medium affluence	High affluence
<i>Texas</i>			
Suffrage	.38	.54	.36
Gov. structure/ economics	.38	.40	.32
Race	.60	.47	.45
Miscellaneous	.49	.62	.42
Overall	2.36	2.36	1.93

Note: In Florida, low is ≤\$100 and high is >\$1,500. In Texas, low is ≤\$2,400 and high is >\$7,000.

TABLE 7.15. AVERAGE SOUTHERN WHITE RSS BY
LEVEL OF AFFLUENCE AND ISSUE AREA

Issue area	Low affluence	Medium affluence	High affluence
<i>Florida</i>			
Suffrage	.20	.40	.45
Race/gov. structure	.20	.32	.62
Economics	.79	.79	.80
Miscellaneous	.20	.42	.35
Overall	1.54	2.15	2.34
<i>Texas</i>			
Suffrage	.45	.39	.35
Gov. structure/economics	.43	.24	.35
Race	.53	.40	.45
Miscellaneous	.56	.50	.43
Overall	2.59	1.71	2.00

Note: In Florida, low is ≤\$600 and high is >\$3,000. In Texas, low is ≤\$3,500 and high is >\$7,500.

TABLE 7.16. REGIONAL ORIGIN OF RADICALS, SWING VOTERS, AND CONSERVATIVES

Region	Radicals			Swing voters			Conservatives/moderates ^a		
	No.	% T	% R	No.	% T	% R	No.	% T	% R
<i>Florida</i>									
North	18	95	55	0	0	0	15	56	45
South	1	5	25	0	0	0	3	11	75
West	0	0	0	0	0	0	9	33	100
Total	19	—	—	0	—	—	27	—	—

TABLE 7.16. (continued)

Region	Radicals			Swing voters			Conservatives/moderates ^a		
	No.	% T	% R	No.	% T	% R	No.	% T	% R
Texas									
East	3	13	18	6	26	35	8	22	47
Northeast	2	8	10	6	26	30	12	33	60
Central	11	46	41	6	26	22	10	28	37
West	8	33	42	5	22	26	6	17	32
Total	24	—	—	23	—	—	36	—	—

% T = percentage of voting group (radical, swing, conservative) in state from region

% R = percentage of region's delegates in voting group

^aConservatives in Texas, moderates in Florida.

TABLE 7.17. REGIONAL ORIGIN OF SOUTHERN WHITE RADICALS,
SWING VOTERS, AND CONSERVATIVES

Region	Radicals			Swing voters			Conservatives/moderates ^a		
	No.	% T	% R	No.	% T	% R	No.	% T	% R
Florida									
North	5	83	50	0	0	0	5	45	50
South	1	17	25	0	0	0	3	27	75
West	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	27	100
Total	6	—	—	0	—	—	11	—	—
Texas									
East	1	8	8	5	29	38	7	22	54
Northeast	1	8	6	5	29	28	12	38	67
Central	4	31	27	3	18	20	8	25	53
West	7	54	44	4	24	25	5	16	31
Total	13	—	—	17	—	—	32	—	—

% T = percentage of voting group (radical, swing, conservative) in state from region

% R = percentage of region's delegates in voting group

^aConservatives in Texas, moderates in Florida.

TABLE 7.18. PERCENTAGE OF SOUTHERN WHITES BY VOTING GROUP
BELONGING TO VARIOUS OCCUPATIONS

Occupation	Radicals (%)		Swing voters (%)		Conservatives/moderates ^a (%)	
	Fla.	Tex.	Fla.	Tex.	Fla.	Tex.
Farmer	50	23	0	35	27	28
Merchant/Businessman	0	23	0	24	9	16
Physician	17	8	0	0	0	6
Lawyer	17	23	0	18	18	28
Educator	0	0	0	0	0	0
Minister	0	8	0	12	0	3
Newspaper editor	0	8	0	6	9	0
Judicial officer	0	0	0	0	9	6
Federal gov. official	0	0	0	0	18	0
Local gov. official	17	8	0	0	0	3
Skilled laborer	0	0	0	6	9	9

^aConservatives in Texas, moderates in Florida.

TABLE 7.19. PERCENTAGE OF SOUTHERN WHITES BY OCCUPATION
BELONGING TO EACH VOTING GROUP

Occupation	Radicals (%)		Swing voters (%)		Conservatives/ moderates ^a (%)	
	Fla.	Tex.	Fla.	Tex.	Fla.	Tex.
Farmer	50	17	0	33	50	50
Merchant/businessman	0	25	0	33	100	42
Physician	100	33	0	0	0	67
Lawyer	33	20	0	20	67	60
Educator	0	0	0	0	0	0
Minister	0	25	0	50	0	25
Newspaper editor	0	50	0	50	100	0
Judicial officer	0	0	0	0	100	100
Federal gov. official	0	0	0	0	100	0
Local gov. official	100	50	0	0	0	50
Skilled laborer	0	0	0	25	100	75

^aConservatives in Texas, moderates in Florida.

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TABLE 7.20. PERCENTAGE OF SOUTHERN WHITES BY AGE GROUP IN EACH VOTING GROUP

<i>Age group</i>	<i>Radicals (%)</i>		<i>Swing voters (%)</i>		<i>Conservatives/moderates^a (%)</i>	
	<i>Fla.</i>	<i>Tex.</i>	<i>Fla.</i>	<i>Tex.</i>	<i>Fla.</i>	<i>Tex.</i>
Young	40	33	0	20	27	34
Middle	0	42	0	33	45	34
Old	60	25	0	47	27	31

Note: In Florida, the young group includes delegates through age 38, and the middle group through 46. In Texas, the young group includes delegates through age 41 and the middle group through 52.

^aConservatives in Texas, moderates in Florida.

TABLE 7.21. PERCENTAGE OF SOUTHERN WHITES BY PROPERTY GROUP IN EACH VOTING GROUP

<i>Property group</i>	<i>Radicals (%)</i>		<i>Swing voters (%)</i>		<i>Conservatives/moderates^a (%)</i>	
	<i>Fla.</i>	<i>Tex.</i>	<i>Fla.</i>	<i>Tex.</i>	<i>Fla.</i>	<i>Tex.</i>
Low	20	64	0	20	36	29
Medium	40	18	0	40	36	36
High	40	18	0	40	27	36

Note: In Florida, low is ≤\$600 and high is >\$3,000. In Texas, low is ≤\$3,500 and high is >\$7,500.

^aConservatives in Texas, moderates in Florida.

Selected Roll-Call Votes of the Florida and Texas Conventions

FLORIDA

Racial and Government Structure Votes

NOTE: Racial and government structure scales for Florida are grouped together because these issues were inseparable in the convention and central to the volatile disputes between Richards and Jenkins supporters.

1. A vote on January 29 on a motion by Jesse Goss to table amendments offered by E. D. Howse to the convention's standing rules. The motion to table passed, 23–18 (recorded as 23–17). Yea 56%, Nay 44%. Moderate Republican position: Nay. Votes counted: 41. SD: .50. (*Journal of the Convention of Florida*, 25.) **MODERATE REPUBLICAN LOSS.**

2. A vote on February 1 on Liberty Billings's motion to postpone until March discussion of the claims of George Walker and John Butler to seats in the convention. The motion carried, 21–20. Yea 51%, Nay 49%. Moderate Republican position: Nay. Votes counted: 41. SD: .51. (*Journal*, 30.) **MODERATE REPUBLICAN LOSS.**

3. A vote on February 18 on Clairborne Mobley's motion to designate Horatio Jenkins Jr. president of the convention. Jenkins was elected, 31–13 (recorded as 32–13). Yea 70%, Nay 30%. Moderate Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 44. SD: .46. (*Journal*, 34–35.)

4. A vote on February 18 on William Purman's motion to abolish the convention's standing rules (those of the most recent session of the state's house of representatives) and to replace them with those of "Jefferson's Manual." This passed, 28–14. Yea 67%, Nay 33%. Moderate Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 42. SD: .48. (*Journal*, 35.)

5. A vote on February 19 on a motion by William Cessna calling for adoption of the report removing Liberty Billings, Charles Pearce, and William Saunders from the convention. It was defeated, 21–23. Yea 48%, Nay 52%. Moderate Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 44. SD: .50. (*Journal*, 45–46.) **MODERATE REPUBLICAN LOSS.**

6. A vote on February 19 on William Purman's motion for a second vote on the removal of Billings, Pearce, and Saunders. It passed, 25–20. Yea 56%, Nay 44%. Moderate Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 45. SD: .50. (*Journal*, 46–47.)

7. A vote on February 19 on the adoption of the majority report of the Committee on Eligibility, which recommended ousting Liberty Billings, Charles Pearce, and William Saunders. It passed, 25–16. Yea 61%, Nay 39%. Moderate Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 41. SD: .49. (*Journal*, 47.)
8. A vote on February 19 on a recommendation from the Committee on Eligibility that Daniel Richards be expelled. The recommendation passed, 25–16. Yea 61%, Nay 39%. Moderate Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 41. SD: .49. (*Journal*, 47–48.)
9. A vote on February 20 on William Cessna's motion to expunge the record of convention debates from February 4 through February 17. It passed, 20–15. Yea 57%, Nay 43%. Moderate Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 35. SD: .50. (*Journal*, 49.)
10. A vote on February 20 finalizing Cessna's motion to purge the *Journal*. It passed, 21–15. Yea 58%, Nay 42%. Moderate Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 36. SD: .50. (*Journal*, 49.)
11. A vote on February 20 on William Purman's motion to adopt a report from the Committee on Eligibility, seating J. E. Davidson, Ossian Hart, Marcellus Stearns, and Richard Wells. It passed, 22–14. Yea 61%, Nay 39%. Moderate Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 36. SD: .49. (*Journal*, 79–81.)
12. A vote on February 20 on William Purman's motion to adopt a recommendation from the Committee on Eligibility that John Butler be seated in the convention. It passed, 23–9. Yea 72%, Nay 28%. Moderate Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 32. SD: .46. (*Journal*, 79, 81.)
13. A vote on February 25 on a motion by Lyman Rowley to adopt the completed Monticello constitution. It passed, 28–16. Yea 64%, Nay 36%. Moderate Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 44. SD: .49. (*Journal*, 130.)

Miscellaneous Votes

1. A vote on February 20 on a resolution offered by Clairborne Mobley criticizing reports of convention proceedings (written by Solon Robinson) that had appeared in the *New York Tribune*. It passed, 21–16, and Robinson lost his access to the convention chambers. Yea 57%, Nay 43%. Moderate Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 37. SD: .50. (*Journal*, 49–50.)
2. A vote on February 20 on a section of the executive article providing that militia officers be appointed by the governor. It passed, 24–15. Yea 62%, Nay 38%. Moderate Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 39. SD: .49. (*Journal*, 69, 93.)
3. A vote on February 25 on a motion by Jesse Goss seeking to table an ordinance offered by Thomas Urquhart that would prohibit payment to delegates who refused to sign the new constitution within three days of the convention's adjournment. The motion to table was defeated, 14–31. Yea 31%, Nay 69%. Moderate Republican position: Nay. Votes counted: 45. SD: .47. (*Journal*, 132.)
4. A vote on February 25 in which Urquhart's aforementioned ordinance was approved, 26–19. Yea 58%, Nay 42%. Moderate Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 45. SD: .50. (*Journal*, 132.)

Suffrage Votes

1. A vote on February 20 on a motion by Jesse Goss that provided for election (rather than gubernatorial appointment) of cabinet-level state executive officials. This proposal to amend section 16 (originally 17) of

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the report of the Committee on the Executive Department failed, 15–25 (recorded as 15–23). Yea 38%, Nay 62%. Moderate Republican position: Nay. Votes counted: 40. SD: .49. (*Journal*, 69, 93.)

2. A vote on February 24 on a motion by Jesse Goss to postpone consideration of a suffrage article offered by Lyman Rowley. The motion to delay failed, 13–26. Yea 33%, Nay 67%. Moderate Republican position: Nay. Votes counted: 39. SD: .48. (*Journal*, 124–25.)

3. A vote on February 24 on a motion by William Cessna calling for a vote on Rowley's substitute for the suffrage article presented by the Committee on the Right of Suffrage. The motion passed, 28–11 (recorded as 27–11). Yea 72%, Nay 28%. Moderate Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 39. SD: .46. (*Journal*, 89–90, 126.)

4. A vote on February 24 on Rowley's substitute for the suffrage article. Unlike the original, the substitution required that the legislature set educational qualifications for voters after 1880. It passed, 26–15. Yea 63%, Nay 37%. Moderate Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 41. SD: .49. (*Journal*, 126.)

Economic Votes

1. A vote on February 20 on William Cessna's motion to table Jesse Goss's resolution to consider abolition of county criminal courts. The motion to table failed, 13–21. Yea 38%, Nay 62%. Moderate Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 34. SD: .49. (*Journal*, 75.) **MODERATE REPUBLICAN LOSS.**

2. On February 20 Goss's aforementioned resolution passed in a vote of 20–19. Yea 51%, Nay 49%. Moderate Republican position: Nay. Votes counted: 39. SD: .51. (*Journal*, 75–76.) **MODERATE REPUBLICAN LOSS.**

3. A vote on February 21 on an ordinance offered by Lyman Rowley that would void past civil actions against those unable to respond to such actions because of the rebellion. It passed, 28–10. Yea 74%, Nay 26%. Moderate Republican position: Nay. Votes counted: 38. SD: .45. (*Journal*, 98–99, 76–77.) **MODERATE REPUBLICAN LOSS.**

4. A vote on February 21 on a motion by E. D. Howse to increase (from \$300 to \$500) the value required to be at issue for certain courts to become involved in certain cases. It passed, 20–12. Yea 62%, Nay 38%. Moderate Republican position: Nay. Votes counted: 32. SD: .49. (*Journal*, 101.) **MODERATE REPUBLICAN LOSS.**

5. A vote on February 21 on a motion by E. D. Howse to give magistrates jurisdiction in cases involving sums up to \$50. It passed, 24–10. Yea 71%, Nay 29%. Moderate Republican position: Nay. Votes counted: 34. SD: .46. (*Journal*, 102.) **MODERATE REPUBLICAN LOSS.**

TEXAS

Government Structure/Economics Votes

NOTE: Government structure and economic issues are grouped together because they were discussed in relation to one another in heated debates that set the stage for the contentious Texas convention.

1. A vote on June 10 on whether to purchase copies of the *Austin Daily Republican* for delegates (provided that journal carried a daily summary of convention proceedings). The resolution failed, 43–43. Yea 50%,

Nay 50%. Republican position: Nay. Votes counted: 86. SD: .50. (*Journal of the Reconstruction Convention at Austin, June 1, 49, 60.*)

2. A vote on July 7 to table Andrew Evans's substitute for Colbert Caldwell's measure consolidating several rail lines into the International Pacific Railroad Company. Evans's measure outlining specific subsidies to be granted to this corporation was tabled, 51–26. Yea 66%, Nay 34%. Republican position: Nay. Votes counted: 77. SD: .48. (*Journal, June 1, 42–43, 107–8, 229–31.*) **REPUBLICAN LOSS.**

3. A vote on July 17 on Edward Degener's motion to table portions of the original report of the Committee on Internal Improvements related to the International Pacific Railroad Company. The effort to table failed, 28–49. Yea 36%, Nay 64%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 77. SD: .48. (*Journal, June 1, 413–14, 420–21.*) **REPUBLICAN LOSS.**

4. A vote on July 25 on Andrew Evans's substitute for the report of the Committee on Internal Improvements. His measure, providing for sale of railroads indebted to the school fund, failed, 37–42. Yea 47%, Nay 53%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 79. SD: .50. (*Journal, June 1, 507–8.*) **REPUBLICAN LOSS.**

5. A vote on August 7 on Degener's motion to table a report from the Committee on Internal Improvements recommending relief for the Mexican Gulf Railroad. The attempt to table failed, 19–49 (recorded as 19–48). Yea 28%, Nay 72%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 68. SD: .45. (*Journal, June 1, 694–95, 654–55.*) **REPUBLICAN LOSS.**

6. A vote on August 15 on a motion to strike section 23 of the report of the Committee on General Provisions, which set a \$100,000 limit on debts contracted by the legislature. The motion to strike passed, 41–26. Yea 61%, Nay 39%. Republican position: Nay. Votes counted: 67. SD: .49. (*Journal, June 1, 236, 744.*) **REPUBLICAN LOSS.**

7. A vote on August 19 on whether to consider the report of the Select Committee on Railroads, which recommended sale of roads indebted to the state. Delegates refused to consider it, in a vote of 29–45. Yea 39%, Nay 61%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 74. SD: .49. (*Journal, June 1, 770–71, 790–91.*) **REPUBLICAN LOSS.**

8. A vote on August 19 on Edward Degener's motion to table Colbert Caldwell's substitute for the report of the Select Committee on Railroads in the above vote. The motion to table carried, 42–34. Yea 55%, Nay 45%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 76. SD: .50. (*Journal, June 1, 790–92.*)

9. A vote on August 20 on a motion to table James Thomas's substitute for section 44 of the report of the Committee on General Provisions. It failed, 36–38. Yea 49%, Nay 51%. Republican position: Nay. Votes counted: 74. SD: .50. (*Journal, June 1, 241, 793–94.*)

10. A vote on August 20 to table section 44 of the report of the Committee on General Provisions. This effort succeeded, 52–27. Yea 66%, Nay 34%. Republican position: Nay. Votes counted: 79. SD: .48. (*Journal, June 1, 794.*) **REPUBLICAN LOSS.**

11. A vote on August 20 to consider Colbert Caldwell's new version of section 44 of the Report of the Committee on General Provisions. This passed, 47–27. Yea 64%, Nay 36%. Republican position: Nay. Votes counted: 74. SD: .48. (*Journal, June 1, 241–42, 794–97.*) **REPUBLICAN LOSS.**

12. A vote on August 20 to approve Caldwell's new version of section 44 of the report of the Committee on General Provisions. It was endorsed, 45–28. Yea 62%, Nay 38%. Republican position: Nay. Votes counted: 73. SD: .49. (*Journal, June 1, 797.*) **REPUBLICAN LOSS.**

13. A vote on August 20 to table a motion to reconsider Caldwell's new section 44 of the report of the Committee on General Provisions. The motion to reconsider was tabled, 41–31 (in a vote recorded as 42–31). Yea 57%, Nay 43%. Republican position: Nay. Votes counted: 72. SD: .50. (*Journal, June 1, 797–98.*) **REPUBLICAN LOSS.**

14. A final vote on August 25 on a declaration concerning the Mexican Gulf Railway Company. The declaration was passed, 43–21. Yea 67%, Nay 33%. Republican position: Nay. Votes counted: 64. SD: .47. (*Journal, June 1, 654, 694–95, 876–77.*) **REPUBLICAN LOSS.**

15. A vote on August 28 on a motion to reject Ralph Long's declaration voiding debts contracted for the purchase of slaves after the Emancipation Proclamation. The motion passed, 40–22. Yea 65%, Nay 35%. Republican position: Nay. Votes counted: 62. SD: .48. (*Journal, June 1, 921–22.*) **REPUBLICAN LOSS.**

16. A vote on August 29 to table Nathan Patten's substitute for the report of the Committee on Internal Improvements, relating to relief of the Texas Central Railroad Company. The measure, authorizing collection of funds owed by that line (and two others) to the school fund, was tabled, 45–15. Yea 75%, Nay 25%. Republican position: Nay. Votes counted: 60. SD: .44. (*Journal, June 1, 906–8, 933–34.*) **REPUBLICAN LOSS.**

17. A vote on August 29 on James Flanagan's motion to reject Edmund Davis's resolution requiring that the governor give six months' notice before selling several railroads. The motion failed, 21–38. Yea 36%, Nay 64%. Republican position: Nay. Votes counted: 59. SD: .48. (*Journal, June 1, 941.*)

Racial Votes

1. A vote on June 20 to table James Armstrong's protest against Andrew Hamilton's call for militia in several counties. The motion to table failed, 41–41. Yea 50%, Nay 50%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 82. SD: .50. (*Journal, June 1, 111, 131–32.*) **REPUBLICAN LOSS.**

2. A vote on July 6 on final passage of a resolution authorizing Morgan Hamilton and Colbert Caldwell to travel to Washington to testify on lawlessness and violence in Texas. It passed, 63–15. Yea 81%, Nay 19%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 78. SD: .40. (*Journal, June 1, 193–203, 221, 224.*)

3. A vote on July 25 on George Whitmore's resolution calling for a congressional committee to conduct an in-state investigation of violence. It passed, 65–12. Yea 84%, Nay 16%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 77. SD: .37. (*Journal, June 1, 506–7.*)

4. A vote on July 31 to table a substitute motion offered by James Burnett. Edward Degener had proposed raising \$25,000 for rewards for "ferreting out" criminals. The substitute, tabled 47–30, called for raising such funds only if approved by General Reynolds and Governor Pease. Yea 61%, Nay 39%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 77. SD: .49. (*Journal, June 1, 619–20.*)

5. A vote on August 7 on Livingston Lindsay's substitute for section 4 of the report of the Committee on General Provisions. The substitute, recognizing the equality of all persons before the law, was adopted, 59–18 (recorded as 59–17). Yea 77%, Nay 23%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 77. SD: .43. (*Journal, June 1, 235, 693, 697–98.*)

6. A vote on August 27 on an additional section to the education article offered by Julius Schuetze. This section, requiring separate schools for blacks and whites, was endorsed, 48–12. Yea 80%, Nay 20%. Republican position: Nay. Votes counted: 60. SD: .40. (*Journal, June 1, 897–98, 609–14.*) **REPUBLICAN LOSS.**
7. A vote on August 27 to table a proviso to the education article. Offered by Robert Smith, it allowed all students to attend classes, even when separate schools were unavailable. The motion to table, offered by Andrew Hamilton, passed, 40–20. Yea 67%, Nay 33%. Republican position: Nay. Votes counted: 60. SD: .48. (*Journal, June 1, 898.*) **REPUBLICAN LOSS.**
8. A vote on August 27 to table Edward Degener's motion to substitute "may" for "shall" in directing the board of education to establish separate schools. Webster Flanagan's motion to table passed, 38–22. Yea 63%, Nay 37%. Republican position: Nay. Votes counted: 60. SD: .49. (*Journal, June 1, 898–99.*) **REPUBLICAN LOSS.**
9. A vote on August 28 on James Flanagan's motion to postpone consideration of the education report. This motion failed, 21–44. Yea 32%, Nay 68%. Republican position: Nay. Votes counted: 65. SD: .47. (*Journal, June 1, 911.*)
10. A vote on August 28 on a motion to table Livingston Lindsay's substitute for Julius Schuetze's measure requiring separate schools for blacks and whites (endorsed in vote 6). The motion to table Lindsay's measure, which prevented children of either race from being deprived the opportunity for an education, was successful, 38–27. Yea 58%, Nay 42%. Republican position: Nay. Votes counted: 65. SD: .50. (*Journal, June 1, 899, 911–12.*) **REPUBLICAN LOSS.**
11. A vote on August 28 endorsing Schuetze's article (endorsed in vote 6) requiring separate schools for blacks and whites. It passed, 52–14. Yea 79%, Nay 21%. Republican position: Nay. Votes counted: 66. SD: .41. (*Journal, June 1, 912.*) **REPUBLICAN LOSS.**
12. A vote on August 28 on section 36 of the report on education. It passed, 42–24, establishing a state Board of Public Education and the office of superintendent of public instruction. Yea 64%, Nay 36%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 66. SD: .48. (*Journal, June 1, 610, 915.*)
13. A vote on August 28 providing for members of the Board of Public Education to be elected. It passed, 45–19. Yea 70%, Nay 30%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 64. SD: .46. (*Journal, June 1, 916.*)
14. A vote on January 27, 1869, on Edward Degener's amendment to section 23 of the bill of rights, which declared that departments of state government could not violate the compact under which Texas entered the Union by denying rights to citizens. Delegates refused to consider, 20–35. Yea 36%, Nay 64%. Republican position: Nay. Votes counted: 55. SD: .49. (*Journal, Dec. 7, 392–93.*)
15. A vote on January 27 on a motion to table Degener's amendment to section 23 of the bill of rights (see vote 14). The attempt to table succeeded, 34–23. Yea 60%, Nay 40%. Republican position: Nay. Votes counted: 57. SD: .49. (*Journal, Dec. 7, 394–96.*) **REPUBLICAN LOSS.**
16. A vote on January 30 on a motion to table expulsion of delegate Charles Bryant for rape. The motion to table, offered by Degener, failed, 27–34 (in a vote recorded as 28–34). Yea 44%, Nay 56%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 61. SD: .50. (*Journal, Dec. 7, 442.*) **REPUBLICAN LOSS.**
17. A vote on February 1 on Degener's protest arguing that a convention doorkeeper should be suspended

pending investigation into whether he had assaulted George Ruby. Degener's point of order was overruled, 24–34. Yea 41%, Nay 59%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 58. SD: .50. (*Journal*, Dec. 7, 446–47.)

REPUBLICAN LOSS.

18. A vote on February 2 on the expulsion of Charles Bryant. He was expelled, 33–29 (in a vote recorded as 33–30). The record in the *Journal* poses problems. Wiley Johnson is counted in our total of 30 nay votes. George Ruby (counted in the *Journal* as voting twice) is not included in our total. Yea 53%, Nay 47%. Republican position: Nay. Votes counted: 62. SD: .50. (*Journal*, Dec. 7, 463.) **REPUBLICAN LOSS.**

Miscellaneous Votes

1. A vote on June 27 on Andrew McCormick's motion to postpone consideration of the report of the Committee on Division of the State. This effort failed, 43–43. Yea 50%, Nay 50%. Republican position: Nay. Votes counted: 86. SD: .50. (*Journal*, June 1, 160.)

2. A vote on June 29 to table Andrew Hamilton's substitute for the report of the Committee on Federal Relations. His effort to delay divisionists by proposing alternative boundaries for the three proposed states was tabled, 46–43. Yea 52%, Nay 48%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 89. SD: .50. (*Journal*, June 1, 174–75.)

3. A vote on July 7 to suspend convention rules to take up the report of the Committee on Division of the State. Edward Degener's motion to suspend failed, 38–41 (in a vote recorded as 36–40). Yea 48%, Nay 52%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 79. SD: .50. (*Journal*, June 1, 229, 144–47.) **REPUBLICAN LOSS.**

4. A vote on July 9 on James Thomas's motion to postpone indefinitely Andrew Hamilton's division proposal. It was postponed in a vote of 42–38, although opposed by divisionists who wished to defeat Hamilton outright. Yea 52%, Nay 48%. Republican position: Nay. Votes counted: 80. SD: .50. (*Journal*, June 1, 254.) **REPUBLICAN LOSS.**

5. A vote on July 13 on James Flanagan's motion to table Hamilton's division proposal. It passed, 49–33. Yea 60%, Nay 40%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 82. SD: .49. (*Journal*, June 1, 309.)

6. A vote on July 16 on Thomas's resolution prohibiting the convention from considering division unless authorized to do so by Congress. It passed, 47–37. Yea 56%, Nay 44%. Republican position: Nay. Votes counted: 84. SD: .50. (*Journal*, June 1, 391, 410–11.) **REPUBLICAN LOSS.**

7. A vote on July 16 on Andrew Hamilton's motion to table all discussion of division. It passed, 47–33. Yea 59%, Nay 41%. Republican position: Nay. Votes counted: 80. SD: .50. (*Journal*, June 1, 411.) **REPUBLICAN LOSS.**

8. A vote on August 17 to table the report of the Committee on Federal Relations, which proposed ceding El Paso County to the federal government. It was tabled, 41–34. Yea 55%, Nay 45%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 75. SD: .50. (*Journal*, June 1, 761, 135, 758–59.)

9. A vote on December 10 to reject Thomas's resolution binding delegates to frame a constitution prior to taking up other matters. The motion to reject carried, 35–24. Yea 59%, Nay 41%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 59. SD: .50. (*Journal*, Dec. 7, 13–14.)

10. A vote on December 21 to reject Colbert Caldwell's resolution stating that, if the Thomas resolution of July 16 were violated (and division discussed), all such plans would be submitted to voters. The motion to reject carried, 33–32. Yea 51%, Nay 49%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 65. SD: .50. (*Journal*, Dec. 7, 98.)

11. A vote on December 29 on whether to consider James Newcomb's call to rescind the Thomas resolution of July 16. The motion to consider the matter carried, 38–28. Yea 58%, Nay 42%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 66. SD: .50. (*Journal*, Dec. 7, 147.)

12. Newcomb's resolution passed, 37–28. Yea 57%, Nay 43%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 65. SD: .50. (*Journal*, Dec. 7, 147–48.)

13. A vote on January 16, 1869, in which Edmund Davis proposed altering section 55 of the convention rules, regarding calls of the house. This change, aimed at thwarting the delaying tactics of antidivisionists, passed, 42–27 (recorded as 42–28). Yea 61%, Nay 39%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 69. SD: .49. (*Journal*, Dec. 7, 300–301, 297.)

14. A vote on January 16 on the report of the Special Committee on the Condition of the State, which recommended division. It passed, 38–33. Yea 54%, Nay 46%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 71. SD: .50. (*Journal*, Dec. 7, 303, 267–68.)

15. A vote on January 20 to expel Frederick Sumner, an antidivisionist. He was expelled by a vote of 38–32. Yea 54%, Nay 46%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 70. SD: .50. (*Journal*, Dec. 7, 325–26.)

16. A final vote on January 20 on report of the Special Committee on the Condition of the State (initially approved in vote 14). It was endorsed again, 39–30. Yea 57%, Nay 43%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 69. SD: .50. (*Journal*, Dec. 7, 326.)

17. A vote on January 22 on whether to enter Andrew Hamilton's protest against Sumner's expulsion in the *Journal*. Hamilton's effort to enter the protest failed, 32–34 (in a vote recorded as 34–35, with J. R. Scott listed as voting both yea and nay). Yea 48%, Nay 52%. Republican position: Nay. Votes counted: 66. SD: .50. (*Journal*, Dec. 7, 330–31.)

18. A vote on January 26 on a motion to table James Thomas's resolution requiring the convention to remain in session until a constitution was drafted. The motion to table failed, 29–30. Yea 49%, Nay 51%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 59. SD: .50. (*Journal*, Dec. 7, 378–79.) **REPUBLICAN LOSS.**

Suffrage Votes

1. A vote on January 29, 1869, to table James Armstrong's substitute for section 1 of the legislative article. This substitute, which disenfranchised blacks, was tabled, 58–6 (in a vote recorded as 59–6). Yea 91%, Nay 9%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 64. SD: .29. (*Journal*, Dec. 7, 412.)

2. A vote on January 29 to table James Thomas's substitute for section 1, article 3, of the report of the Committee on the Legislative Department. Thomas's measure was tabled, 34–31. Yea 52%, Nay 48%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 65. SD: .50. (*Journal*, Dec. 7, 415–16, 568–69.)

3. A vote on January 29 on adopting section 1, article 3 (not the Thomas substitute). It was endorsed, 40–26. Yea 61%, Nay 39%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 66. SD: .49. (*Journal*, Dec. 7, 415–16.)

4. A vote on February 3 on whether to vote on the wording of the legislative article. The call to do so was rejected, 23–42. Yea 35%, Nay 65%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 65. SD: .48. (*Journal*, Dec. 7, 482.)
5. A vote on February 3 to reject a substitute for section 1 of the legislative article offered by James Burnett. The vote to reject the substitution failed, 27–38. Yea 42%, Nay 58%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 65. SD: .50. (*Journal*, Dec. 7, 483.) **REPUBLICAN LOSS.**
6. A vote on February 3 to strike part of Andrew Hamilton’s substitute wording on voter registration from the suffrage article. This motion, offered by Morgan Hamilton, failed, 17–48. Yea 26%, Nay 74%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 65. SD: .44. (*Journal*, Dec. 7, 484.) **REPUBLICAN LOSS.**
7. A vote on February 3 to reject Robert Smith’s amendment to section 1 of the legislative article. The amendment, worded so as to disenfranchise certain whites, was rejected, 37–26 (in a vote recorded as 36–26). Yea 59%, Nay 41%. Republican position: Nay. Votes counted: 63. SD: .50. (*Journal*, Dec. 7, 485.) **REPUBLICAN LOSS.**
8. A vote on February 3 on Nathan Patten’s motion to table further discussion of the franchise section in the article on the legislative department. The motion to table failed, 22–43. Yea 34%, Nay 66%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 65. SD: .48. (*Journal*, Dec. 7, 485–86.) **REPUBLICAN LOSS.**
9. A vote on February 3 on William Phillips’s amendment to Andrew Hamilton’s substitute wording on voter registration from the suffrage article. This amendment, which required no registration oath, passed, 38–26 (in a vote recorded as 30–26). Yea 59%, Nay 41%. Republican position: Nay. Votes counted: 64. SD: .50. (*Journal*, Dec. 7, 485–86.) **REPUBLICAN LOSS.**
10. A vote on February 4 on Andrew McCormick’s resolution mandating a referendum on the ratification of the new constitution. This substitute for a measure offered by Morgan Hamilton passed, 37–24. Yea 61%, Nay 39%. Republican position: Nay. Votes counted: 61. SD: .49. (*Journal*, Dec. 7, 506–8.) **REPUBLICAN LOSS.**
11. A vote on February 4 to suspend the rules to take up George Ruby’s declaration involving intimidation of voters. The vote to suspend failed, 18–44. Yea 29%, Nay 71%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 62. SD: .46. (*Journal*, Dec. 7, 510–11.) **REPUBLICAN LOSS.**
12. A vote on February 4 to table W. Frank Carter’s proposed new section of the suffrage article; it clarified “intent” as to which groups were to be excluded from voting and/or holding office. The effort to table failed, 29–34. Yea 46%, Nay 54%. Republican position: Nay. Votes counted: 63. SD: .50. (*Journal*, Dec. 7, 512.)
13. A vote on February 4 on Carter’s new section of the suffrage article (see vote 12). It was endorsed, 33–29 (in a vote recorded as 33–30) but not adopted because a two-thirds majority was required to adopt a new section of the constitution. Yea 53%, Nay 47%. Republican position: Yea. Votes counted: 62. SD: .50. (*Journal*, Dec. 7, 513.)

8

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

[C]onstitutions establish political goals or aspirations . . . creating general welfare, establishing justice, or protecting individual rights. Understanding a political community thus begins with understanding its constitution and how it has changed over time.

—CORNELL W. CLAYTON and STEPHEN MEYER, “Washington’s Constitution”

That the heresies of nullification and secession, which brought the country to grief, may be eliminated from future political discussion; that public order may be restored, private property and human life protected, and the great principles of liberty and equality secured to us and our posterity, we declare that . . . [t]he Constitution of the United States . . . [is] acknowledged to be the supreme law. . . .

—Preface to Article 1, Bill of Rights, Texas Constitution of 1869

THE CONSTITUTIONS

Don E. Fehrenbacher’s overview of constitutional development in the fifteen slaveholding states is especially valuable in placing the constitutions framed by the 1,018 Black and Tan delegates in historical context. In covering a time span from 1776 to 1861, Fehrenbacher first reminds us that it was at the state level, amid the revolutionary crisis of the late eighteenth century, that constitutional conventions were first conceived. It was in this revolutionary context and in the states that both bills of rights and separation of powers appeared. Recognition of these achievements was, however, almost completely overshadowed by the intense scholarly focus on the new federal Constitution. Subsequently, the field of state constitutional history has generally remained terra incognita for most Americans, even though “until well after the Civil War, state governments had considerably more influence than the Federal government on social institutions, economic enterprise, and the quality of American life.”¹

Following the addition of the Bill of Rights to the new federal Constitution in mid-December of 1791, the Constitution was amended only twice again before the Civil War. Meanwhile, within the federal system, which most Americans came to accept, constitution making at the state level became increasingly part of the ordinary, even routine process of gov-

ernance. From 1776 to 1861, the national commitment to inalienable rights and popular sovereignty expanded most dramatically in the states, in some instances through constitutions of those newly admitted to the Union and in others by those of the older commonwealths as they were revised or rewritten. As this process unfolded locally during the Revolution, the original thirteen colonies focused on defining and establishing legitimate governmental authority. From the mid-1780s through the Era of Good Feelings (1815–24), constitutions were adjusted, generally invigorating executive and judicial authority to better check and balance imperious and overbearing legislatures. Finally, from the ascension of the Jacksonians during the late 1820s until the Civil War—years witness to numerous reform movements, religious revivals, and state-supported internal improvement initiatives—state constitutions, whether new or revised, reflected an ever-increasing emphasis on popular governance, a defining characteristic of those years.²

In the South, Virginia's constitution of 1776 and South Carolina's constitutions of 1776 and 1778 had been framed and adopted by revolutionary legislatures. Starting with North Carolina, subsequent southern state constitutions were drafted by conventions whose delegates were elected exclusively for that purpose.³ Some southern constitutions also stipulated that legislatures submit any call for a convention to the electorate, and in 1830 Virginia became the first southern state to mandate voter approval of its newly convention-framed constitution. As this three-stage process evolved in the South—voters first authorizing the conventions, then selecting their delegates, and then approving the newly framed constitutions—the resulting charters became increasingly democratic. Legislative apportionment would remain a divisive issue in a number of southern states, but by the eve of the Civil War, with the notable exception of South Carolina, offices once filled by legislative selection had become elective, and property-holding, taxpaying, and religious qualifications for voting or holding office were also eliminated or reduced. By mid-century, only the Carolinas among the ten states of this study had mandated that certain officials be property owners, and only Arkansas, Mississippi, and North Carolina retained some form of religious qualification for public office. Finally, in 1856, North Carolina, by abolishing both its taxpaying requirement for the franchise and its stipulation that only property holders could vote for state senators, became the last southern state to adopt universal white male suffrage.⁴

Although endorsing the doctrine of separation of powers in principle, during the revolutionary era southern state constitutions mandated legislative supremacy, providing for legislative selection of governors and generally relying on bicameralism exclusively as a check on legislative excess. From 1812 through 1845, however, newer states (Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, and Texas) provided for gubernatorial elections and gave their chief executive a veto, innovations that were gradually incorporated into most of the older southern state constitutions as well. In 1832 Mississippi became the first state in the nation to authorize popular election of state supreme court justices. Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Louisiana, Texas, and Virginia later followed suit, and just before the war lower court judges were

also elected in 11 of the 15 slave states.⁵ Over a 20-year period beginning in the 1830s, this process was mirrored in county and local government as well; as Fehrenbacher notes, by “the eve of the Civil War, local government in nearly all southern states had not only come under popular control but acquired more autonomy as a consequence.”⁶

Most southern states followed Virginia’s 1776 precedent, framing bills of rights and placing them as initial articles in their constitutions at the time of statehood. Georgia, however, did not take this step until 1865, and Louisiana and South Carolina did so only in their Black and Tan conventions.⁷ Although *viva voce* voting continued in legislative elections in both Arkansas and Virginia, by the fall of Fort Sumter, all ten states covered in this study had stipulated a systematic means of legislative reapportionment.⁸ Four states (Alabama, Arkansas, Mississippi, and Texas) apportioned on the basis of enumerations of whites, two (Florida and North Carolina) counted whites and three-fifths of slaves, Georgia counted whites and three-fifths of all blacks, Louisiana based enumerations on aggregate population, and South Carolina reapportioned using a formula involving white population and tax revenues. Finally, in 1851, Virginia arbitrarily gave its Tidewater constituents control of its senate and westerners control of its house, while also mandating creation of a more equitable apportionment mode by 1865—by legislative action if possible and by referendum if not.⁹

While a number of southern constitutions affirmed the importance of education, only Texas and Louisiana, each in its constitution of 1845, actually provided for tax-supported public schools. Except in New Orleans, however, neither state accomplished much in the antebellum era. In contrast to their weak commitment to schooling, the constitutions of six of the ten states of this study (Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Mississippi, Texas, and Virginia) evinced a strong determination to protect slavery, most often by forbidding legislative emancipation. The constitutions of all ten states, of course, prohibited black voting, a privilege denied until an act of Congress in March of 1867. At the conclusion of the Civil War, however, it should be remembered that only six northern states allowed black voting, and efforts to extend the vote to them elsewhere were to meet defeat in Connecticut, Kansas, Minnesota, New York, Ohio, Wisconsin, the Nebraska Territory, and the District of Columbia. In addition, through constitutional provisions similar to those that denied freedmen the vote throughout the South, the franchise was denied to Chinese residents in the western states of California, Nevada, and Oregon.¹⁰

The bills of rights in the Black and Tan constitutions made it abundantly clear that a “mighty revolution” had indeed occurred.¹¹ Ranging in length from Louisiana’s 14 sections to 41 in South Carolina, all of these bills of rights guaranteed the political and civil rights of all citizens, both black and white; declared the national Union to be perpetual; and prohibited religious or property qualifications for voting or holding public office. The bills of rights of several of these constitutions also gave special attention to working men. Louisiana’s, for instance, prohibited legislation fixing the price of manual labor, and Georgia’s gave mechanics and laborers the right to place liens on employers’ property for nonpayment of wages. The bill of

rights of the Texas constitution prohibited the importation of “coolies” and banned any form of peonage whereby the unfortunate could be placed in practical bondage, and Mississippi’s protected the property rights of married women. Alabama, for a fee, released conscientious objectors from military service, while a portion of Florida’s bill of rights provided the formula to be used in apportioning the lower house of the state’s legislature.¹²

Ranging in length from 11 articles in Louisiana to 18 in Florida, the ten new Black and Tan constitutions varied only slightly in overall length.¹³ State residence of six months was required of voters by four of the constitutions; the other six dictated a minimum of a year.¹⁴ The Arkansas constitution required only that voters reside in their respective districts at the time at which they were to vote, whereas Louisiana mandated that electors need have only ten days’ parish residence. In the other eight constitutions local residence requirements, although varied, were more stringent, ranging from 30 thirty days to 6 months.¹⁵ Six constitutions deemed oaths an element of voter registration. Only two (Alabama and Arkansas) required voters to declare a belief in the civil and political equality of all men; the others all focused on purging prospective electorates of disloyal elements (those disenfranchised by act of Congress or provisions of the new state constitutions) and on requiring that voters pledge to support both their state and federal constitutions.¹⁶ Nine constitutions required oaths of all state officers; Georgia’s demanded one only of its legislators. Only in Louisiana and Virginia were state officials required to swear a belief in the civil and political equality of all men; Texas’s office-holders had to swear that they had never engaged in a duel.¹⁷

In looking at legislative articles, it appears that only Florida and Georgia apportioned their respective legislatures through formulas that purposely minimized the consequences of black enfranchisement.¹⁸ Just two (Georgia and Virginia) failed to prescribe a systematic and regular legislative reapportionment; most of the states that did require reapportionment mandated a state census in 1875 and then one every ten years thereafter.¹⁹ All ten constitutions prescribed two-year terms for members of the lower house, and all but South Carolina required that representatives be at least the required voting age of 21.²⁰ Seven set state residence requirements at a year for representatives; Texas required double that, while Alabama and Mississippi each stipulated only six months.²¹ District residence requirements for representatives were more varied, from mere residence in the district in Arkansas to ten days in Louisiana, one month in Mississippi, three months in South Carolina and Virginia, six months in Alabama, Florida, and Georgia, and one year in North Carolina and Texas.²² The Florida and Virginia constitutions allowed all qualified voters to seek senate seats; six others fixed a minimum age of 25 for senators, and Alabama required senators to be at least 27.²³ Local residence requirements for senators varied considerably, from a low of ten days in Louisiana to a year in Alabama, Georgia, North Carolina, and Texas.²⁴ While eight of the constitutions allotted state senators four-year terms, Texas’s senators were to hold office for six years and North Carolina’s for two.²⁵

Five constitutions required that revenue bills originate in the lower legislative chamber; three (Florida, Mississippi, and Virginia) allowed their introduction in the upper house as

well. North Carolina offered no stipulations on this matter, whereas Texas allowed all bills to originate in either house but required those appropriating money or lands to be passed by roll-call vote.²⁶ Alabama and Arkansas required only a majority of both houses to override a gubernatorial veto. Six constitutions dictated a two-thirds majority of each house to override vetoes, and the North Carolina constitution contained no provision for gubernatorial veto.²⁷ In all ten states, amending the constitution required majority approval by the electorate. In seven, this process also called for authorization by two-thirds of the legislature (in a single session in some cases and in two sessions in others). North Carolina required approval by a three-fifths majority during the legislative session initiating a constitutional amendment and a two-thirds majority supporting the amendment during the next consecutive session, whereas Virginia and Arkansas each dictated only majority legislative support for an amendment in back-to-back sessions. In addition, beginning in 1888 (and every 20 years thereafter), Virginia also allowed legislators to ask of voters whether they desired a convention to revise or to amend their state's constitution.²⁸

Alabama and South Carolina governors were to serve two-year terms; in each of the eight other states governors were to hold office for four, but they were ineligible for second consecutive terms in Louisiana and North Carolina.²⁹ In Alabama, Florida, and Louisiana, males of voting age, if meeting certain other requirements, could seek the governorship; Arkansas required its governor to have reached at least age 25; and the remaining six constitutions all set a minimum of 30.³⁰ State residence requirements for the chief executive varied: six months' residence was required in Alabama, a year's in Arkansas, six years' in Georgia, and two or three years' residence was required by each of the other seven constitutions.³¹ Six constitutions—those of Alabama, Arkansas, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, and South Carolina—approved popular election of all executive officials (governor, lieutenant governor, auditor, treasurer, attorney general, etc.).³² Two others—Virginia and Georgia (the only constitutions not providing for a lieutenant governor)—directed that all such executive officers be selected by joint legislative ballot. In Florida, the governor, who, like the lieutenant governor, was elected, was empowered (with senate approval) to appoint all other statewide executive officials. Finally, while the governor of Texas was granted appointive powers in the case of several executive offices, others were to be elective, and the superintendent of public instruction was to be appointed for the initial four-year term of that office and elected popularly thereafter.³³

A plurality of the new constitutions provided for gubernatorial appointment (with senate endorsement) of supreme court judges—for terms of 9 years (Mississippi and Texas), 12 years (Georgia), or life (Florida). Each of these four constitutions designated appointment of circuit court judges as well, although Texas called for a referendum after July 4, 1876, on “whether the mode of election of judges of the supreme and district courts shall be returned to.”³⁴ Alabama and North Carolina specified election of all judges; in Louisiana, district and parish judges were to be elected for terms of two years, while justices of the supreme court were to be

appointed by the governor to eight-year terms.³⁵ South Carolina established a dual circuit court system (one of common pleas for civil cases and one of general sessions for criminal matters); its circuit and supreme court justices were to be elected by the legislature, whereas those at the county level were to be chosen popularly. Virginia provided that its supreme court judges serve 12-year terms and that all judges, including those serving locally, were to be selected legislatively as well. Finally, Arkansas offered an amalgam of features from the judicial articles of several of the other constitutions. The chief justice of its supreme court was to be selected by the governor and serve an eight-year term; his associate justices, however, were to be elected to six-year terms. Lower-level judges were also to be gubernatorially chosen.³⁶

The new regimes often promoted immigration and economic development. The Texas constitution offered homesteads of 160 acres to every head of family and also authorized a bureau of immigration. Several of the other constitutions provided similar agencies: Alabama a commissioner of industrial resources, Arkansas a commissioner of public works and internal improvements (also to serve *ex officio* as commissioner of immigration), Mississippi a commissioner of immigration and agriculture, and Florida a commissioner of immigration.³⁷ In view of later developments and subsequent allegations of widespread financial excess among postwar southern state governments, however, it is also worthy of note that all ten constitutions employed various safeguards on use of public credit. In Florida (by amendment in 1875) and Georgia they tended to be general in nature, stipulating only that state credit be used exclusively for internal improvements. Alabama, South Carolina, and Texas, however, required a two-thirds majority of both houses in their respective legislatures for approval of state-funded internal improvements, and the Texas constitution also allowed the governor the line-item veto on appropriation bills.³⁸ Virginia and Mississippi required that the yeas and nays of individual legislators be recorded on appropriation votes, and Arkansas mandated that no pledge of state credit was to be authorized without a public vote. Louisiana required that the legislature provide specifically the means of meeting any state debt contracted for over \$100,000, and North Carolina authorized a tax (to be implemented after 1880) for relieving the state debt.³⁹

Eight of the constitutions—Louisiana's and Mississippi's being the only exceptions—established homestead exemptions for protection of debtors, and the delegates in Jackson, while not actually incorporating such wording into the Mississippi constitution, mandated that the first legislature under the new constitution, have the power to “pass . . . any and every act deemed necessary for the relief of debtors, subject only to the restrictions imposed by the Constitution of the United States.”⁴⁰ Only in Georgia (in a clause soon annulled by Congress) was relief offered for all debts incurred prior to June 1, 1865. Homestead provisions in other states—which protected debtors' assets up to values of \$1,500 in the Carolinas, \$2,000 in Virginia, and \$3,000 in Georgia and Alabama—were clearly meant to safeguard small farmers, even though such protection could cover up to up to \$7,000 worth of property in Arkansas and \$5,000 worth in Texas.⁴¹ While only Mississippi's constitution alluded to protection

of the property of married women in its bill of rights, eight others (Virginia being the exception) addressed that issue elsewhere. Georgia, for example, stipulated that a wife's property at the time of marriage (or gained by her later) was not to be lost because of the debts of her husband. North Carolina required a wife's signed consent in sale of a homestead, and although unique in its lack of a homestead exemption, the Louisiana constitution charged that the general assembly "provide for the protection of the rights of married women to their dotal and paraphernal property. . . ."⁴²

Given, as Mississippi delegates professed, that "the stability of a republican form of government depends mainly upon the intelligence and virtue of the people," providing and maintaining a system of public education was central to all ten constitutions, although only those of Louisiana and South Carolina stipulated that all schools were to be open without distinction as to race.⁴³ All ten states authorized a state superintendent or commissioner of public education, and all but three (Georgia, Louisiana, and Texas) a board (most commonly from among various state executive officials but of county school commissioners in the case of South Carolina) to assist in the oversight of the system. Generally, schools were to be funded by poll taxes (as in Georgia, for example) and supplemented by various other revenue sources such as land sales, property taxes, liquor taxes, or fees paid by conscientious objectors.⁴⁴ Alabama's constitution stipulated that a fifth of aggregate state revenue be dedicated to public education, and North Carolina funded its schools in part by an irreducible education fund.⁴⁵ While not all constitutions established such criteria, Arkansas directed public schooling for ages 5 through 21, Louisiana for ages 6 through 21 (with exercises in the English language), South Carolina for ages 6 through 16, and North Carolina and Texas for ages 6 through 18. Virginia, which funded its public schools through a "literacy fund" secured by land sales, was alone in mandating that uniform and equal education be achieved in all counties by 1876 and that there be uniformity in the selection of textbooks.⁴⁶

METHODOLOGY, OBJECTIVES, AND GENERALIZATIONS

The constitutions examined in this study were fundamental to the restoration of civilian rule in the ten former Confederate states that had been placed under military rule by act of Congress in March 1867. Despite the obvious importance of this fact, ours is the first systematic examination of all the members of each of the Black and Tan conventions. In undertaking this groundbreaking inquiry, we first identified all 1,018 delegates to the conventions by name and determined the racial mix of the electorates within each of their home districts. Utilizing manuscript returns from 1860 and 1870 census enumerations, we then unearthed additional relevant biographical detail—age, wealth, slaveholdings, profession, etc.—on 839 (82%) of these 1,018 delegates.⁴⁷ For nine of the conventions, we then established Republican support scores (RSSs) for those delegates who cast sufficient numbers of votes on particular issue

scales, which we then used to classify them as radicals, swing voters, conservatives, or, in the case of Florida, moderates.

In undertaking this project, we basically had two objectives in mind. Since there has been to date no detailed and comprehensive overview of all the Black and Tan conventions, the first was obviously to fill this conspicuous void in Reconstruction historiography. Drafted over a 15-month period (stretching from early November 1867 into early February 1869), the constitutions these delegates framed were the imperative first step in returning civilian government to ten of the states of the former Confederacy. The crafting of these documents, then, represented the initial achievement of the South's new Republican party—a coalition of blacks, scalawags, and carpetbaggers—which had only recently, and with startling rapidity, emerged throughout the region. Once these constitutions were framed and ratified and duly constituted new state governments were established, many of these delegates—including many who had only just received their political baptism as members of these conventions—moved on to positions of authority in the new Republican governments that assumed control in nine of the ten states included in this study.⁴⁸ Thus Black and Tan delegates not only framed the constitutions under which the South's new civilian governments operated; they also often gained their initial political experience in the drafting of these documents, before advancing to postconvention public careers—as county or local officials, state legislators, state executive or judicial officers, members of Congress, or holders of other federal positions—in the new regimes that came to power as a consequence of the constitutions they had drafted.⁴⁹

Our second objective has been to move beyond the timeworn clichés of many accounts, both traditional and revisionist, of the South's immediate postwar years. The moment has come, we believe, to transcend both the racist caricature that typified the early-twentieth-century view of Reconstruction and the often too rosy revisionism that developed later in reaction to it. We wish to offer a more detached, dispassionate analysis of the beginnings of Radical Reconstruction, painting our delegate subjects neither as villains nor as heroes but as fairly ordinary men who exhibited a complex array of motives as they confronted a difficult mix of tactical considerations in each of the conventions to which they had been elected. Consequently, our analysis is not based merely on anecdotal evidence—so often selected expressly to bolster ideological positions regarding this turbulent era. Instead, we have gathered biographical detail from a mix of sources (manuscript census returns, local newspapers, and a variety of historical narratives) and perused convention journals exhaustively to determine the voting behavior of the individual delegates in each convention. In so doing, of course, we do not flatter ourselves that we are entirely objective, and we are fully aware that our data—although much more voluminous than those provided in any other studies of these conventions—are sometimes flawed, incomplete, or unavoidably skewed. We have consequently attempted to make readers aware of both the strengths and the weaknesses of our evidence at appropriate points throughout our narrative.⁵⁰

Although charged in common by Congress with the task of drafting new postwar constitutions, each of the Black and Tan conventions was also unique, reflecting the mix of local political, economic, social, and demographic realities within each state. Numbers of delegates ranged from a low of 50 in Florida to a high of 164 in Georgia.⁵¹ In Texas, delegates struggled with extraneous issues, such as whether to divide their state, for more than eight months—comprising two sessions and the intervening recess—before at long last adjourning. In Alabama, by contrast, delegates, dispatched their deliberations quickly, within a month-long period from early November into early December of 1867. While southern whites—including former Confederate major Josiah Parrott in Georgia—presided over six of the conventions, outside whites officiated over the remaining five.⁵² In four—Arkansas, Georgia, North Carolina, and Texas—southern whites accounted for two-thirds to three-quarters of delegate totals. In three others—Mississippi, Alabama, and Virginia—they comprised slightly over half. Contrary to popular belief, then, blacks and delegates of mixed race constituted majorities in only Louisiana and South Carolina, while the raucous Florida convention was apportioned more or less evenly among blacks, southern whites, and outside whites.

While each convention was distinctive with respect to delegate mix and the array of issues its delegates addressed, two of them—those in Florida and South Carolina—were actually aberrant. In Tallahassee, pragmatic Republican moderates used extralegal means to wrest power from their more ideological partisans who had controlled the convention originally. Meeting separately, each of the two groups produced its own constitution before Congress finally intervened, mandating that the more moderate of the two competing documents be submitted to Florida voters for their approval. As a result, the moderate Republican faction triumphed, gaining the adoption of its constitution, securing the election of Governor Harrison Reed, and controlling the state through the conclusion of its reconstruction in 1877. Although many were disaffected by the failure to secure the more radical of the two constitutions, Florida's blacks had little choice but to remain in the state's Republican coalition, even though the party was controlled by relatively moderate whites. Hence, the victors in the convention's internecine partisan struggles generally took the votes of the freedmen for granted, while cooperating with conservative native whites in developing Florida economically. The bitter conflict that emerged within Florida's splintered constitutional convention thus continued throughout the decade, ensuring that Republicans there were to be tormented continually by intraparty strife.⁵³

South Carolina, a state with a long-standing tradition of single-party governance, witnessed the second of the two anomalous conventions. Since delegates there faced no organized conservative opposition, their voting behavior was strikingly different from that seen in any other convention. In a milieu void of well-defined partisan dimensions, voting decisions in South Carolina failed either to scale or produce RSSs, as delegates acted either almost unanimously or more or less independently. Even though the assemblage gathered in Charleston's Club House was probably the most radical of the Black and Tan conventions, the actual voting

choices among its individual members defy systematic measurement. Politically, then, delegates in Charleston behaved in a manner similar to that seen several years earlier among members of the nonpartisan and recently defunct Congress of the Confederate States of America.⁵⁴ During the war, the absence of political parties had crippled the effectiveness of that body, a fact reflected vividly when its meager achievements are contrasted to the considerable accomplishments of the Congress of the United States, in which a Republican majority closed ranks to mobilize wartime resources in the face of constant criticism from a Democratic minority. It is significant, therefore, that the overwhelming numerical majority Republicans enjoyed in the South Carolina convention was then carried over into the state legislature during the decade of Reconstruction. The excesses with which that body is charged—and which are portrayed so disparagingly and vividly in numerous accounts (including cinematographic ones)—may well have been reflective of the problems brought on by one-party governance rather than a consequence of the alleged high jinks of its sizable contingent of black, carpetbagger, and scalawag legislators.⁵⁵

Legend notwithstanding, convention agendas were not generally determined primarily by blacks or carpetbaggers. In seven of the eleven conventions (counting both in Florida), native white southerners actually comprised delegate majorities, a reality mirrored dramatically when the membership of the 201 standing committees in all eleven conventions is examined. Over half of all standing committees (108 of them, or 53.7%) were chaired by southern whites. Outside whites presided over the bulk of the remainder (79, or 39.3%), while blacks secured a scant 13 chairmanships. Even that small total is misleading, however. Six of these were in the radical Florida convention, over which Daniel Richards presided only briefly, and blacks secured only 6 of the combined total of 25 committee chairmanships in South Carolina and Louisiana (3 in each state), the only two conventions in which they actually enjoyed delegate majorities.⁵⁶ They did, however, manage a more equitable share of the 1,264 standing committee membership appointments. Even so, southern whites clearly dominated in that respect as well, occupying over half (726, or 57.4%) of such positions. In total appointments to committees, blacks (with about one-fifth of all committee seats) did much better than in their minuscule 6.5% of committee chairmanships. Their 270 committee memberships (21% of all committee seats) were slightly greater than the 254 (20.1%) garnered by outside whites.

DELEGATE MIX

Since we encountered problems in quantifying delegate voting behavior in two conventions—South Carolina's, which failed to scale, and Florida's, which produced an unconventional scaling result—we have omitted those two conventions from the examination of overall delegate characteristics that follows. The following analysis consequently incorporates biographical and voting data on the remaining eight conventions, for which a total of 766 delegates have been assigned RSSs. Over half (450, or 58.7%) of those so assigned voted as radicals. A quarter

(190, or 24.8%) voted as conservatives; the remainder (126, or 16.4%) behaved as swing voters.⁵⁷

As seen in table 8.1, the relative size of radical, swing, and conservative delegate contingents varied considerably from convention to convention. Proportionately, radicals were most numerous in the North Carolina and Arkansas conventions, where they accounted for over 70% of delegate totals. While radicals comprised over 60% of all delegates in Virginia, Louisiana, Alabama, and Mississippi, they were slightly fewer than half of those in Georgia and fewer than a third of those in Texas. The proportion of swing voters likewise fluctuated from convention to convention. They accounted for over a quarter of delegates in Texas and a fifth of those in Louisiana and Alabama. In contrast, there was only a single swing voter in Virginia. Conservatives were especially numerous in four conventions, accounting for more than two-fifths of all delegates in Texas, over a third of those in Georgia and Virginia, and a quarter of those in Mississippi.

Similar variation is seen once again in table 8.2, which reveals significant differences in the racial/geographic origin classification of radical delegates from convention to convention. In Mississippi, southern whites constituted the smallest component among Republican delegates. In contrast, they accounted for almost two-thirds of North Carolina's sizable radical coalition and for over half of the much smaller one in Texas. Native whites were also a plurality among radicals in two other conventions (Arkansas' and Alabama's) while comprising the second-largest element among the radical coalitions in three others—Georgia's, Virginia's, and Louisiana's. Contrary to popular belief, blacks made up the majority of radicals in only two of these eight conventions (Louisiana's and Georgia's), and they accounted for a plurality of the radicals in only two others—Mississippi's and Virginia's. Given their modest numbers, they were actually the smallest component of the radicals in four of the eight conventions—those in North Carolina, Arkansas, Texas, and Alabama. Finally, while their relatively small overall numbers precluded them from majority or plurality status within the radical coalitions in any convention, outside whites ranked as the second-most numerous radical element in five conventions—those in Arkansas, Alabama, Mississippi, Texas, and North Carolina.

In the eight conventions whose voting could be usefully scaled, there were a total of 174 black delegates to whom we assigned Republican support scores. The overwhelming majority (154 of 174, or 88.5%) voted as radicals. There were no conservative black delegates at all in any of the conventions, and only 20 black delegates fell into the swing category, 5 of whom were in Texas and 13 in Louisiana. At the Texas convention, this anomaly was a consequence of the acrimonious proceedings that splintered delegate factions from issue scale to issue scale. The explanation is much more interesting for the Louisiana convention. Slightly over a quarter of black delegates there (13 of 49, or 26.5%) were swing voters. The overwhelming majority of these delegates (10 of 13) were of mixed race, and most had never been enslaved. Significantly, one among their number, George Kelso, was later among the founders of the Louisiana Unification Movement, a biracial effort mounted in New Orleans in 1873 that attempted

unsuccessfully to oust radical politicians and to place the city under a more moderate home rule.⁵⁸ The two remaining black delegates who voted in the swing category were split between the Alabama and the Georgia conventions. That there were no black conservative delegates in any of the conventions and that black swing voters were present in the conventions of just four states, means, of course, that every one of the 62 black delegates who were assigned RSSs in the other four conventions, those in Arkansas, Mississippi, North Carolina, and Virginia, voted with the radicals.

The 128 outside white delegates to whom we have assigned RSSs gave their support to Republican positions at a level nearly equal to that of black delegates. One hundred and twelve of them (87.5%) voted as radicals, leaving only 16 others, of whom 9 were swing voters and 7 conservatives. In two of the eight conventions—Arkansas' and North Carolina's—all the voting carpetbagger delegates returned radical scores; in two others—Georgia's and Alabama's—radical unanimity was thwarted by the defection of a total between the two conventions of only five outside whites, all of whom acquitted themselves as swing voters. The Mississippi and Texas conventions accounted for the four remaining outside white swing delegates. At these two conventions along with those in Mississippi and Virginia were a total of seven outside whites who actually voted as conservatives. Three of these delegates were at the Louisiana convention, which was also attended by a sizable contingent of swing-voting black delegates. Another two were at the Texas convention, the tumultuous assembly in which black delegates were also divided. The most outspoken, however, was undoubtedly Mississippi's Charles Townsend, who was expelled from that state's convention after physically assaulting none other than Beroth Eggleston, its carpetbagger president.

SOUTHERN WHITE DELEGATES

Had southern whites remained united, they would have constituted the largest voting bloc in seven of the eleven Black and Tan conventions—the only exceptions being those in South Carolina and Louisiana and the two in Florida. That southern white delegates were actually quite polarized, then, was critical. Had they worked in concert (or had they even been substantially united) in defense of the old order, Republicans would have been unable to muster a delegate majority in any of the eight conventions for which we have valid issue scales except Louisiana. Such, however, was not the case. Among these eight conventions, the 456 southern white delegates assigned RSSs divided evenly between radicals and conservatives: 180 (39.5%) generally supported the Republicans, 180 (39.5%) generally voted as conservatives, and the remaining 96 (21.1%) behaved as swing voters.

As shown in table 8.3, though, this fragmentation was hardly uniform from convention to convention. Almost a third (59) of all 180 native white radicals were at the North Carolina convention, where they accounted for over two-thirds of the 85 southern white delegates assigned support scores. The Arkansas convention was the only other in which a majority of

southern whites (22 of 42) voted as radicals. A plurality of southern whites in Alabama (22 of 55) did so, while those in Louisiana split evenly between radicals and conservatives. In contrast, a majority of southern whites in Virginia (31 of 52) and Texas (32 of 62) voted as conservatives, as did half (48 of 96) of those in Georgia and a sizable plurality (18 of 39) in Mississippi. Finally, whereas there was only a single swing delegate among the southern whites in the severely polarized Virginia convention, over a quarter of native whites in Texas, Georgia, and Alabama fell into that category.

Table 8.4 further illustrates significant variations in Republican support among southern white delegates. As seen in the first column of the table, the group of 456 white natives with votes sufficient to be classified politically showed only the slightest overall Republican leaning, returning a median overall RSS of 2.56 out of a possible 5. Such support was by far the strongest in the North Carolina convention, where southern whites compiled an overall RSS of 3.56. Although this was the only instance in which their overall score was above 3, native whites also demonstrated modest Republican leanings in Arkansas, Alabama, and Louisiana (with marks 2.90, 2.69, and 2.60, respectively). In the remaining four conventions, however, southern whites displayed definite conservative tendencies. These were relatively modest in Mississippi and Texas (with overall Republican scores of 2.18 and 2.14, respectively). They were more substantial in Georgia (2.00) and overwhelming in Virginia, where southern whites returned a minuscule overall RSS of only 1.79. It is hardly surprising, then, that the Virginia convention was one of only two (Arkansas being the other) in which the spread between the overall support scores of radical and conservative southern whites was greater than 4 on our 5-point scale.

Table 8.5 presents the voting behavior of radical, swing, and conservative southern whites in specific issue areas. Overall, marks for the 180 southern white radicals were consistently high, ranging from 4.53 in Arkansas to 4.13 in Alabama. Within that range, however, there were three distinct patterns. The first can be seen in Arkansas and Louisiana, the two conventions returning the highest overall Republican support totals for southern white radicals (4.53 and 4.42 respectively), and in Alabama, which returned the lowest (4.13). In these three conventions, radical southern whites were consistent across all issues, never falling below .84 (out of a possible 1.0) on any scale in either Arkansas or Louisiana and rising above .84 on only one scale in Alabama.

In the second model, characteristic of the Texas and Georgia conventions, radical southern whites returned an atypically high or low support score on a particular issue scale. The high overall support score (4.32) assigned southern white radicals in Texas was largely the consequence of their elevated score (.96) on the miscellaneous scale, reflecting their eagerness to divide the state. Similarly, the lower overall support score (4.23) of Georgia's southern white radicals resulted, to a significant degree, from their defections from radical ranks in votes on suffrage, in which they garnered a relatively low average RSS of .71.

The third model—that in which Republican support fluctuated from especially high on

one scale to particularly low on another—was characteristic of native white radicals in the North Carolina, Mississippi, and Virginia conventions. While solid on racial issues (with an average RSS of .95), southern whites radicals in North Carolina wavered on miscellaneous matters (.71), reflecting internal divisions about how best to secure debtor relief and a homestead exemption. In Virginia, while strongly Republican (.97) on miscellaneous matters (such as whether to allow the controversial General Benjamin Butler to address the convention), they faltered on suffrage votes, in which they returned a much lower average RSS (.78). Finally, radical native whites in Mississippi, while solidly Republican (.97) on miscellaneous issues, were clearly much less so (.75) on race.

The average overall support score of the 96 southern white swing delegates (2.54, as seen in table 8.4) suggests their overall Republican leanings, as does the fact that their average support score fell below 2.50 only in Arkansas and Georgia (although coming close to doing so in Texas). Although adhering to the radicals on two scales (economics and race), swing southern whites in Georgia took strong exception to Republican positions on the three remaining scales (miscellaneous, suffrage, and government structure). In two other conventions, racial issues were of singular importance in defining swing voters. Although Alabama's 13 swing southern whites exhibited slight Republican tendencies on all other scales, they returned an overall conservative score (.45) on race, whereas Arkansas' 8 swing southern whites posted an even lower mark (.24) on that scale, of which votes involving interracial marriage were a major component. The very low overall support score of the 15 southern white swing delegates in North Carolina (.21) on miscellaneous divisions (involving debtor relief and homestead exemptions) also contrasted sharply with their otherwise generally strong Republican leanings. A conservative predisposition on the government structure scale helped to position 9 southern whites in Mississippi and 17 southern whites in Texas (where that scale included the hotly debated *ab initio* issue) as swing voters. Except for one scale, suffrage issues, Louisiana's five swing southern whites generally supported the Republicans, as did Virginia's sole swing delegate, who returned a perfect conservative score (0.00) on economics.

RSSs among the 180 southern white conservatives were uniformly low, ranging from an overall high of 1.05 in Texas (where on the racial and miscellaneous scales they demonstrated some support for curbing violence and dividing the state) to a low average of .14 in Virginia. Within that range, however, there were, once again, several distinct patterns. Conservatives were most steadfast in their opposition to Republican initiatives in Arkansas and Virginia, where their average scores never rose above .10 on any issue scale; they were almost as unaccommodating in Mississippi, where the highest average they achieved was .20 on racial votes. In contrast, while very hard-line on race, government structure, and suffrage, North Carolina's conservatives showed a surprising willingness to side with Republicans on miscellaneous votes (with an average RSS of .48 on that scale), which included homestead exemptions and various other safeguards for debtors. Although much less dramatic in their variations, Georgia conservatives were likewise inclined to muster at least some support for Republican

relief measures (as reflected in their collective score of .26 on economic divisions). Conservatives in Alabama showed some Republican support on the election of judges (earning them an average RSS of .30 on the miscellaneous scale), as did those in Louisiana on racial divisions (with an average RSS of .33). In each of these three latter conventions, however, conservative scores fell to levels comparable to those in Virginia on some other issue scales: .08 on race in Alabama, .08 on government structure in Georgia, and .00 on economic divisions in Louisiana.

Table 8.6 shows the racial mix of districts returning radical, swing, and conservative southern whites. In three states—Alabama, North Carolina, and Texas—southern white radicals hailed from districts with fewer blacks proportionately than those returning either swing or conservative native whites.⁵⁹ In three others—Georgia, Louisiana, and Virginia—districts represented by radical native whites were home to more registered blacks proportionately than were those represented by either swing or conservative southern whites.

In Arkansas and Mississippi southern white radical delegates in general represented districts with smaller percentages of black voters than those of swing delegates but with larger numbers of freedmen proportionately than those returning conservatives. Finally, in four conventions—Alabama, Virginia, Georgia, and Mississippi—the spread in the proportion of black voters in districts represented by radical and conservative southern whites was considerable, ranging from some 14% in Mississippi to over 23% in Alabama. In the other four conventions for which RSSs were assigned, however, this contrast was much less dramatic, fluctuating from about 10% in Arkansas to under 5% in Texas, North Carolina, and Louisiana.

As we turn to profession and economic status of the delegates, table 8.7 summarizes key data on the 369 southern white delegates meeting three criteria: having voted frequently enough to have been assigned RSSs, having their property holdings verified in the manuscript returns of the 1870 census, and having known professions.⁶⁰ The figures clearly establish significant overall variation in the material standing and professional status of radical, swing, and conservative southern whites. The median value of the property held by the 140 southern white radicals was \$2,000; their mean property value was a bit over twice that (\$4,749). The 152 southern white conservatives—with median and mean assets of \$4,883 and \$12,855, respectively—were much more affluent. The 77 swing southern whites, with median and mean holdings of \$3,180 and \$8,349, fell between these two extremes.

Table 8.7 then breaks down the mean and median property values of southern white delegates in three professions—farmers, merchants, and lawyers. Among 167 delegates engaged in the most common profession of southern whites—farming—the pattern described above for all native white delegates is repeated, radicals being the most prosperous, conservatives the least, and swing voters falling in the middle. The 72 radical southern white farmers with known 1870 assets owned property with mean and median values of \$3,661 and \$1,650, respectively. The 37 swing southern white farmers were considerably more prosperous, with mean and median 1870 totals of \$8,242 and \$2,000. Once again, however, conserva-

tive farmers were even more affluent. The mean and median 1870 holdings of these 58 delegates (\$10,738 and of \$5,500, respectively) amounted to roughly three times the average and median holdings of radical white farmers. A similar, although not identical, picture emerges among lawyers and merchants, the next most common occupational groupings among southern white delegates. The property holdings—both median and mean—of southern white lawyers and merchants who voted as conservatives were more than double those of southern white lawyers and merchants who voted as radicals.⁶¹

In Louisiana, it has been estimated that only some 200 or so scalawags were active politically from 1863 to 1877. If that estimate is valid, however, scalawags were remarkably numerous in the New Orleans convention, where 10 of the 25 southern whites assigned support scores behaved as radicals. Six of these ten had been wartime Unionists and a seventh a Confederate deserter. In addition, although convention president James G. Taliaferro did not participate in roll-call votes, he too had been an outspoken loyalist and voted against disunion while a delegate to the state's secession convention in 1861. Four of Louisiana's five native white swing voters had also been wartime Unionists, as were a majority (six of ten) of the southern whites who voted as conservatives. Thus, although unsuccessful in marshaling significant numbers of southern whites to the Republican cause, it appears that the longtime military occupation of Louisiana had, for the moment at least, purged the state's most vocal former Confederates from the rolls of the politically active.⁶²

In Alabama, the first convention to complete its work, and one in which wartime loyalists were especially well represented, southern whites made up a majority (55 of 96) of the delegates accorded support scores. All 22 of the radicals among their ranks hailed from the state's northern regions (the Tennessee Valley, the Mountain region, or the Piedmont); almost two-thirds (14) of them had opposed secession; and 6, including Confederate deserter Henry Springfield, had enlisted in the Union army. Nine of Alabama's 15 swing southern whites, including convention president Elisha Peck and wealthy Black Belt planter Charles Hays, had likewise resisted secession; Peck had struggled throughout the war as an outspoken Unionist, while Hays had served as a Confederate officer. Even 7 of Alabama's 18 conservative southern whites, including Unionist Timothy Russell, who had been a delegate to the state's secession convention, had opposed secession; following secession, however, 4 of these 7 conservatives, including Joseph Speed and the outspoken Henry Semple, opted to join the Confederate military.⁶³

In the upper South, southern whites also accounted for the majority (42 of 67) of delegates assigned RSSs in Arkansas. At least 14 of the 22 who voted as radicals there had condemned secession. Seven, including six from the Ozark region in the northwest, were Union veterans, and one of them, Walter Brashear of Pope County, had been captured and then held as a prisoner of war in the very room in which he later found himself seated as a delegate charged with framing a new state constitution.⁶⁴ While not claiming Union veteran status, two of the

other radicals—Miles Langley and John Priddy (respectively from Clark and Montgomery counties in the southwest)—were experienced at framing organic law, both having served as members of the wartime convention that had drafted the state's 1864 constitution. In contrast to the strong Unionism among these radicals, however, the six swing-voting southern whites appeared more varied in their responses to the secession crisis, with one supporting the Union, another serving in the Confederate military, and a third—although a member of the Confederate home guard—claiming to have opposed slavery. Division was evident among the convention's 12 conservative southern whites as well. Jesse Cypert had voted against disunion while a member of the state's secession convention. Charles Walker, whose father had presided over that body, had served in the Confederate army. Two other conservatives, one on each side, were also veterans, and a third, William Hicks, was married to a cousin of the widow of General Stonewall Jackson.⁶⁵

Among all eight conventions considered in this summary, native white radicals were doubtless most influential in North Carolina. In Raleigh, not only did they account for a slight majority (59 of 116, or 50.9%) of all delegates with support scores, but they were also frequently abetted by significant numbers of swing-voting southern white delegates, who, overall, manifested a clear Republican leaning in their voting decisions. Almost three-quarters of the scalawags (42 of 59, or 71%) hailed from Piedmont or Mountain districts, areas in which the antebellum Whig party and, later, the wartime peace movement had flourished. Composed overwhelmingly of farmers (40 of 59), their ranks included only a single lawyer, a modest contingent of professionals, and a smattering of "laborer/mechanics" or small businessmen. Among them, only William Rodman, the sole lawyer, is known to have favored secession, while a minimum of 16, including Isaac Kinney and Spencer Mullican, formerly active in the *Heroes of America*, had opposed it. In marked contrast to the radicals, a majority of the swing southern whites (8 of 15) represented Coastal Plain constituencies. As was the case among the radicals, however, a majority of these delegates (10 of 15) were farmers or farm laborers, and only one, Henry Dowd, is known to have been an enthusiastic secessionist. None of the convention's southern white conservatives was from the mountains, and a majority (6 of 11) were physicians or lawyers. Only one conservative has been identified as a Unionist during the secession crisis; five of them, including both the son of a former governor and a leader of the Ku Klux Klan in Cleveland County, had supported the Confederacy.⁶⁶

Although scalawags dominated in North Carolina, conservatives were the shaping force in Virginia's highly polarized convention, in which there was only a single swing-voting delegate. Conservatives comprised a majority of the southern whites allocated RSSs (31 of 52) in Virginia; at least 6 are known to have favored secession, and almost two-thirds (19 of 31, or 61.3%) had served in the Confederate army, many of them as officers of considerable rank. Overwhelmingly from Piedmont or Mountain constituencies and bent on mustering an indefatigable defense of the old order, they were generally well-educated professionals (lawyers and physicians) or prosperous planters, and their average overall RSS was one of only a

minute .14, much lower than that earned by conservatives in any of the other seven scaled conventions.⁶⁷ Given such intransigence, some 20 scalawags—a group composed preponderantly of Tidewater farmers and skilled laborers that counted 13 wartime Unionists among its ranks—made common cause with black and outside white radicals to fashion a coalition to control the convention and to frame their new constitution. Even so, the doggedly persistent conservatives prevailed. In elections long delayed but finally held in 1869, they successfully stripped the new constitution of several of the key provisions to which they had most strongly objected, elected their gubernatorial candidate, secured control of the newly seated legislature, and aborted, thereby, the reconstruction of Virginia.⁶⁸

In contrast to the persistence shown by anti-reconstructionist delegates in Virginia, half the conservative delegates in Mississippi (9 of 18) resigned their seats while the convention was still in session, generally denouncing the proceedings bitterly as they did so. Such actions (plus the fact that at least four additional conservative southern whites also voted too infrequently to be classified formally as such) account for the most distinctive feature of the Mississippi convention—fewer than three-quarters of its southern white delegates (39 of 54, or 72.2%) voted often enough to be given RSSs.⁶⁹ While a few of these malingerers were radical or nonaligned native whites, most were conservatives, and their actions ensured that Mississippi's convention would be controlled by just over 40 radical delegates, a coalition that lost only 4 of 52 scaled votes.⁷⁰

Once the convention adjourned, however, it was a different story. In what can be considered perhaps a rehearsal for the infamous plan of 1875 to overthrow the Republican regime in Mississippi, conservatives relentlessly assailed the suffrage and office-holding provisions of the new constitution and organized for the pending referendum on its ratification.⁷¹ In a plebiscite that began on June 22, 1868, they were successful in securing the rejection of the new constitution by some 8,000 votes—the only instance in which a Black and Tan constitution lost a ratification vote outright—while the conservative candidate for governor, Benjamin Humphreys defeated the Republican candidate, Beroth B. Eggleston. These outcomes, of course, caused consternation in Washington as Republicans pondered whether to proclaim the constitution ratified (on the grounds of voter intimidation as the cause of its defeat) or to authorize a second ratification election. Once the latter course was chosen, conservatives, using Virginia as a precedent, were successful in obtaining separate votes on several sections of articles dealing with voter and office-holding qualifications. In November of 1869, the Mississippi constitution, minus several restrictive clauses in those areas, was then easily ratified.

Southern whites enjoyed overwhelming majorities in both the Georgia and Texas conventions, and in each their actions were harbingers of future vulnerabilities within fragile Republican coalitions.⁷² In Atlanta, the convention's 22 radical southern whites supported debtor relief (an especially high Republican priority in Georgia) by an overwhelming majority (85 to 7) in five key votes on that issue. Only one (Edwin Higbee) among their ranks, however, later voted against a successful effort to strike the tenth section of the new constitution's franchise

article, which declared all qualified voters eligible to hold public office. Consequently, in September of 1868 Democrats—with the active support of a number of Republican legislators and the passive acquiescence of others—were successful in expelling blacks from both houses of the legislature, maintaining that their enfranchisement alone failed to meet the test of an explicit constitutional guarantee that they were entitled to hold such positions. This expulsion had been made possible when the Georgia convention failed to guarantee the right of blacks to hold office by an overwhelming vote of 126–12. As Eric Foner has noted, such “lack of principle and indifference to black concerns . . . made the early collapse of Georgia Reconstruction all but inevitable.”⁷³

In the Texas convention, the native white delegate majority became embroiled in two divisive issues. The first, the *ab initio* question, involved whether the state’s secessionist constitution had been null and void “from the beginning” and whether statutes passed by the state’s Confederate legislature, including railroad charters and the like, consequently enjoyed any legal standing. The other, whether to divide the state, harked back to the joint congressional resolution of 1845 that had annexed the Lone Star Republic while allowing for the future possibility of creating up to four additional states out of Texas. With few exceptions, the more radical native whites, led by convention president Edmund J. Davis, tended to support both division and the *ab initio* position; led by Andrew J. Hamilton, other Republicans and their nonaligned or conservative fellow delegates did not. Texas Republicans consequently remained divided at their party convention in August of 1868, and Davis only barely defeated Hamilton in the gubernatorial election in December of 1869. The party, however, remained fractionalized, and that victory was short lived. By 1871 Democrats held all of the state’s congressional seats and had gained control of the lower house of the legislature. It was hardly surprising, then, that Governor Davis failed in his bid for a second term in 1873.⁷⁴

BLACK AND OUTSIDE WHITE DELEGATES

The fragmentation so common among native white delegates and seen so vividly in Texas represented the fruit of often bitter internal divisions that had splintered the Confederate home front from at least the onset of the secession crisis and had persisted throughout the years of the bloody but failed attempt at southern independence. Such divisiveness, however, was hardly characteristic of blacks, who accounted for the second-largest delegate faction among the Black and Tan conventions. The recent Black Codes, the bulwark of the self-reconstruction envisioned by President Andrew Johnson, had applied indiscriminately to all blacks: those free prior to the war, those liberated as a consequence of Confederate defeat, those of mixed racial heritage, those who had worn the Union blue, and even those from the North who had only recently appeared in Dixie. Virtually all of them, consequently, were bent on seizing upon the possibilities opened by the onset of Radical Reconstruction. As the first sizable number of African Americans ever elected to public office in the nation’s history, these delegates were

determined that federal intervention in the South secure for the freedmen lasting, meaningful, much-needed, and long-overdue reforms. Consequently, as Eric Foner has noted, “the Republican party—the party of emancipation and black voting rights—became an institution as central to the black community as the church and school.”⁷⁵

As convention delegates, blacks enjoyed three major assets but also had three crucial liabilities. The first of their assets was the political awareness that had surfaced so rapidly among the freedmen during the spring and summer of 1867. The Civil War had not only ended slavery; it had also challenged the credo of white supremacy—just as two twentieth-century world wars would later challenge that credo to the benefit of colonial peoples around the world. Hence, although black delegates might be influenced by more politically experienced whites, the climate of opinion of the moment—shaped by the profound psychological changes that had accompanied emancipation and enfranchisement—ensured that they would not, contrary to legend, behave as mere pawns at the bidding of scalawags or carpetbaggers.

Their other two strengths were numbers and political unity. Among the eight conventions summarized here, blacks comprised the largest delegate bloc in Louisiana and accounted for especially sizable segments of the radical ranks in states such as Virginia and Georgia. In seven of the eight (the exception being the splintered Texas convention, in which blacks were but a small minority of delegates in any case), they were also unified politically, frequently accounting for a plurality, or even a majority, of the radical vote total on particular issues. Thus, in a rare firsthand account by a freedman who served as a Black and Tan delegate, Virginian George Teamoh noted with considerable satisfaction that “we did not have a colored member who could off set a speech of any great length coming from the other side but we have invariably voted right on the proposition from which the arguments were drawn, independent of the many stages of amendments &c through which it may have had to pass.”⁷⁶

The first liability of black delegates was the divide between them and their constituents. As the conventions assembled, New York City lawyer George Templeton Strong noted approvingly that the black delegates were helping “to reconstruct the chivalric South with a degree of sense and moderation I did not expect.”⁷⁷ Although the genteel Strong justly found comfort in that observation, his comment also reveals why black delegates, who were hardly a cross section of the constituents who elected them, were generally much more interested in issues of legal equality or the franchise than in land reform, which remained a major concern of the black electorate. Their second liability was their lack of power. Although they comprised 21% of delegates in the eight conventions here surveyed, they chaired only 2% of their standing committees (3 of 146), and all of these were in Louisiana, where they comprised a delegate majority but chaired only 3 out of 14 committees.⁷⁸ The paucity of committee chairmanships, of course, only compounded the third of their major liabilities: their lack of political experience.

Acutely aware of their extraordinary stake in the outcome of Reconstruction, however, blacks persevered. The most persistent of all delegates in attending the daily sessions of their

respective conventions, they demonstrated particularly strong internal cohesion in four major issue areas—suffrage and office holding, equal justice, public education, and race relations. In the eight conventions summarized in this overview, they were successful (except in Georgia) in achieving their major objective: securing the right of freedmen to vote and to hold public office. They also succeeded in allowing the admission of testimony of freedmen, an essential reform for establishing a racially equitable civil court system in the South. Vocal advocates of public funding for education, they achieved that object as well, albeit on a segregated basis. Still, although accepting segregation as part of a pragmatic post-Appomattox compromise with whites, black delegates also opposed successfully all efforts to mandate racial segregation constitutionally and thus preserved hope for a brighter future. This limited optimism was perhaps best expressed by Arkansas delegate William H. Grey, when he asserted that “hereafter, as in the past, I propose that this shall remain a white man’s government. Gentlemen seem to be afraid that it is not to be so. I want them to legislate, and to carry on the machinery of the government. I admit that they have the talent and the wealth of the country; at the same time, I wish to hold up before them the scales of justice—and like the ancient statue of Justice, let them be blind—let them know no man’s color or previous position.”⁷⁹

We have determined the approximate time during which 81 of the 136 outside white delegates at the eight conventions covered by this overview arrived in the locales they represented. An overwhelming majority (75 of the 81) had made this move prior to 1867 (the year of the passage of the first two Reconstruction Acts), with a plurality (34) having established their new residence in 1865.⁸⁰ At least 72 of these 136 delegates had served in the Union army, most of them as officers. Twelve had reached the rank of general, and at least 14 had served with black regiments. Ten more outside whites had been Freedmen’s Bureau agents, another was a former clerk at a navy yard, and two others had come south as treasury or revenue agents. Given this collective wartime experience, it is hardly surprising that an overwhelming majority of the outside whites assigned RSSs (112 of 128, or 87.5%) voted as radicals. In that respect, as William C. Harris observed in his study of Mississippi carpetbaggers, their ideology “was a product of the intense republican idealism that swept the North during the Civil War era, finding its most profound expression in the minds of young, educated officers in the Union army.”⁸¹

Although black delegates advanced their racial justice agenda effectively, carpetbaggers were clearly more powerful, at least in terms of leadership positions. They presided over three of the eight conventions (Arkansas, Mississippi, and Virginia) summarized here, and they chaired more than 40% (20 of 48) of the six most important committees in each of these eight conventions.⁸² Wielding such power, they aspired to preserve the fruits of military victory, to ferret out all remnants of secession and slavery (which they associated with the South’s discredited Democratic antebellum leadership), to protect their own lives and property, and to introduce into their new homeland the progressive free-labor ideology of the North. Central

to achieving these goals, of course, was the extension of political democracy. Loyalists, black and white, were to acquire a political voice, thereby enabling Republicans to secure political control and advance their reform agendas. Central to that program was tax-supported public education, which they believed could achieve the dual objectives of reducing racial prejudice among whites and elevating the freedmen. Important as well was rejuvenating the South's economy, not by a radical program of land redistribution or confiscation, but by the infusion of capital, immigration, and a free-labor ideology. Finally, these achievements were to be secured by stable, inclusive governments, which were to instill law and order in a land that outside whites believed had been too often victimized by its fire-eaters, secessionists, and slave-holding aristocracy.

THE LEGACY

As seen in table 8.8, four of the ten states encompassed in this study saw their Black and Tan constitutions discarded almost immediately as their Republican administrations were displaced by the so-called redeemer regimes.⁸³ Alabama, "redeemed" in 1874, enacted its new constitution the following year; Arkansas and Louisiana ratified their new constitutions the very year in which they were redeemed (1874 and 1877, respectively); and Texas, redeemed in 1873, had a new constitution by 1876. In the next three states this process took only a bit longer, six to eight years. Georgia, redeemed in 1871, was under a new constitution by 1877; North Carolina, redeemed in 1870, had its new constitution by 1876; and Florida, redeemed in 1877, enacted its by 1885. In the three remaining states, however, this denouement was not played out so quickly. In Mississippi, where Republican rule had been terminated by the force and violence of the "Mississippi Plan" of 1875, a second Mississippi Plan then achieved virtually universal black disenfranchisement through a new state constitution in 1890. An "understanding clause" crafted for that document, which allowed an illiterate citizen to register and to vote if able to comprehend articles from the Mississippi constitution when read to him, was then placed wholesale into the next South Carolina constitution (1895).⁸⁴ Finally, in Virginia, the last surviving Black and Tan constitution was not supplanted until 1902, after having weathered challenges from both the Readjusters during the 1870s and the Populists in the 1890s.⁸⁵

In retrospect, however, almost as soon as the new southern Republican regimes had been inaugurated under their respective Black and Tan constitutions, their days were numbered. In March of 1869, only a month after the last of the Black and Tan conventions had adjourned in Austin, a House select committee under the chairmanship of Congressman James Garfield of Ohio began work on a formula for allowing data from the 1870 census enumeration—the most important single source for this study—to implement section 2 of the Fourteenth Amendment, which provided a proportionate reduction of congressional representation for any states

guilty of abridging the rights of their qualified voters.⁸⁶ That plan was stillborn, however, and even though Congress would later approve several enforcement acts aimed at curtailing violence and fraud in the South, the die had been cast.

Increasingly weakened at home by internecine Republican factionalism, as well as by the unyielding and often violent opposition of conservative whites, the new southern state governments were also soon fated to become irrelevant to growing numbers of northerners. Although support from the North remained essential for the survival of the new order, it was not to be forthcoming. Suspecting that the freedmen were not really capable of self-government after all, and disillusioned by tales of blatant corruption and endless violence throughout the region, northerners soon turned their attention away from the South. They had problems of their own to address, especially in light of the Panic of 1873 and the widespread labor turbulence that followed during the Great Strike of 1877.⁸⁷

Perhaps, as James McPherson has observed, the “wonder is not that the Southern Republicans were ousted from power after only a few years, but that they ever held power at all.”⁸⁸ The Republican delegations seated in the ten constitutional conventions authorized by Congress in March of 1867 were diverse; they represented a mix of geographic regions within their respective states, and their members often expressed differing or at times even conflicting views about the social, economic, racial, and political policies that the new governments they were creating would address. Even so, the Black and Tan conventions convened initially amid an atmosphere of renewal, optimism, hope, and promise. From Richmond to Austin, Republican delegates and those who had supported them professed their party’s “commitment to civil and political equality, and its self-image as a ‘party of progress, and civilization’ that would infuse the region with new social ideas and open ‘the avenues to success and promotion’ to black and white, rich and poor.”⁸⁹ Such pronouncements, as we now know, proved premature. Yet, well over a century ago, these Black and Tan delegates, or at least a sizable majority of them, made an earnest attempt to bring this nation closer to its professed political creed. That has probably not been attempted often enough. That is both why this book has been written and why they deserve to be remembered.

Data Tables for Summary and Conclusions

TABLE 8.1. RADICAL, SWING, AND CONSERVATIVE VOTERS IN EIGHT CONVENTIONS

<i>Convention</i>	<i>Radicals</i>		<i>Swing voters</i>		<i>Conservatives</i>		<i>Total no.</i>
	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	
Alabama	58	60.4	20	20.8	18	18.8	96
Arkansas	47	70.1	8	11.9	12	17.9	67
Georgia	66	46.5	28	19.7	48	33.8	142
Louisiana	55	62.5	19	21.6	14	15.9	88
Mississippi	47	60.3	12	15.4	19	24.4	78
North Carolina	90	77.6	15	12.9	11	9.5	116
Texas	24	28.9	23	27.7	36	43.4	83
Virginia	63	65.6	1	1.0	32	33.3	96
Total/overall %	450	58.7	126	16.4	190	24.8	766

TABLE 8.2. RACIAL/REGIONAL ORIGIN COMPOSITION OF RADICAL BLOCS
IN EIGHT CONVENTIONS

<i>Convention</i>	<i>Southern whites</i>		<i>Blacks</i>		<i>Outside whites</i>		<i>Unclassified whites</i>		<i>Total no.</i>
	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	
Alabama	22	37.9	16	27.6	18	31.0	2	3.4	58
Arkansas	22	46.8	8	17.0	17	36.2	0	0.0	47
Georgia	22	33.3	35	53.0	9	13.6	0	0.0	66
Louisiana	10	18.2	36	65.5	9	16.4	0	0.0	55
Mississippi	12	25.5	17	36.2	16	34.0	2	4.3	47
North Carolina	59	65.6	13	14.4	18	20.0	0	0.0	90
Texas	13	54.2	5	20.8	6	25.0	0	0.0	24
Virginia	20	31.7	24	38.1	19	30.2	0	0.0	63
Total/overall %	180	40.0	154	34.2	112	24.9	4	0.9	450

TABLE 8.3. NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF SOUTHERN WHITE RADICALS, SWING VOTERS, AND CONSERVATIVES BY STATE

<i>Convention</i>	<i>Radicals</i>		<i>Swing voters</i>		<i>Conservatives</i>		<i>Total no.</i>
	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	
Alabama	22	40.0	15	27.3	18	32.7	55
Arkansas	22	52.4	8	19.0	12	28.6	42
Georgia	22	22.9	26	27.1	48	50.0	96
Louisiana	10	40.0	5	20.0	10	40.0	25
Mississippi	12	30.8	9	23.1	18	46.1	39
North Carolina	59	69.4	15	17.6	11	12.9	85
Texas	13	21.0	17	27.4	32	51.6	62
Virginia	20	38.5	1	1.9	31	59.6	52
Total/overall %	180	39.5	96	21.1	180	39.5	456

TABLE 8.4. MEAN AVERAGE RSS OF SOUTHERN WHITE RADICALS, SWING VOTERS, AND CONSERVATIVES

<i>Convention</i>	<i>Overall</i>	<i>Radicals</i>	<i>Swing voters</i>	<i>Conservatives</i>	<i>Spread</i>
Alabama	2.69	4.13	2.64	0.98	3.15
Arkansas	2.90	4.53	2.36	0.27	4.26
Georgia	2.00	4.23	2.31	0.82	3.41
Louisiana	2.60	4.42	2.86	0.65	3.77
Mississippi	2.18	4.26	2.52	0.63	3.63
North Carolina	3.56	4.26	2.87	0.70	3.56
Texas	2.14	4.32	2.51	1.05	3.27
Virginia	1.79	4.30	2.70	0.14	4.16
Overall mean	2.50	4.29	2.54	0.69	3.60
Overall median	2.56	4.31	2.56	0.67	3.64

Note: Averages for each group and overall for each state are mean averages. "Spread" is the difference between the highest and lowest group average for each state and overall. Overall mean and median figures in bottom rows are for all southern white delegates collectively, not the means and medians of the averages given here for each convention.

Summary and Conclusions

TABLE 8.5. AVERAGE RSS OF SOUTHERN WHITE RADICALS,
SWING VOTERS, AND CONSERVATIVES BY ISSUE AREA

Issue area	Gov. structure	Suffrage	Race	Misc.	Econ.	Overall
<i>Alabama</i>						
Radicals	.79	.83	.80	.89	—	4.13
Swing voters	.58	.57	.45	.54	—	2.64
Conservatives	.22	.19	.08	.30	—	.98
<i>Arkansas</i>						
Radicals	.98	.94	.91	.84	.88	4.53
Swing voters	.49	.77	.24	.54	.28	2.36
Conservatives	.04	.10	.08	.05	.00	.27
<i>Georgia</i>						
Radicals	.82	.71	.94	.92	.83	4.23
Swing voters	.31	.35	.52	.37	.72	2.31
Conservatives	.08	.17	.17	.13	.26	.82
<i>Louisiana</i>						
Radicals	.89	.89	.88	.84	.94	4.42
Swing voters	.51	.39	.55	.52	.80	2.86
Conservatives	.16	.18	.33	.04	.00	.65
<i>Mississippi</i>						
Radicals	.87	.86	.75	.97	.85	4.26
Swing voters	.41	.50	.59	.54	.53	2.52
Conservatives	.09	.11	.20	.08	.15	.63
<i>North Carolina</i>						
Radicals	.90	.88	.95	.71	.81	4.26
Swing voters	.75	.73	.79	.21	.46	2.87
Conservatives	.04	.01	.01	.48	.23	.70
<i>Texas</i>						
Radicals	.81	.88	.86	.96	—	4.32
Swing voters	.33	.61	.48	.60	—	2.51
Conservatives	.18	.12	.29	.24	—	1.05
<i>Virginia</i>						
Radicals	.89	.78	.84	.97	.81	4.30
Swing voters	.80	.69	.67	—	.00	2.70
Conservatives	.01	.01	.03	.02	.05	.14

TABLE 8.6. PROPORTION OF BLACK VOTERS IN ELECTORAL DISTRICTS REPRESENTED BY SOUTHERN WHITE RADICAL, SWING, AND CONSERVATIVE DELEGATES

<i>Convention</i>	<i>Radicals</i>		<i>Swing voters</i>		<i>Conservatives</i>	
	<i>Number</i>	<i>% Blacks</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>% Blacks</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>% Blacks</i>
Alabama	22	33.1	15	45.5	18	56.5
Arkansas	22	24.0	8	38.6	12	14.1
Georgia	22	54.1	26	46.1	48	38.2
Louisiana	10	64.7	5	60.2	10	61.1
Mississippi	12	56.3	9	59.4	18	42.0
North Carolina	59	34.5	15	38.9	11	39.1
Texas	13	40.0	17	44.6	32	44.6
Virginia	20	51.1	1	26.8	31	33.0
Total/overall %	180	40.8	96	45.8	180	40.4

TABLE 8.7. AVERAGE PROPERTY HOLDINGS OF SOUTHERN WHITE RADICALS, SWING VOTERS, AND CONSERVATIVES, OVERALL AND IN SELECTED PROFESSIONS (\$)

	<i>Radicals</i> <i>(n = 140)</i>	<i>Swing voters</i> <i>(n = 77)</i>	<i>Conservatives</i> <i>(n = 152)</i>
<i>Southern white delegates (369)</i>			
Mean (\$)	4,749	8,349	12,855
Median (\$)	2,000	3,180	4,883
<i>Southern white farmers (167)</i>			
No. in sample	72	37	58
Mean (\$)	3,661	8,242	10,738
Median (\$)	1,650	2,000	5,500
<i>Southern white merchants (47)</i>			
No. in sample	16	12	19
Mean (\$)	7,281	4,907	19,316
Median (\$)	1,010	2,950	2,160
<i>Southern white lawyers (52)</i>			
No. in sample	9	6	37
Mean (\$)	7,752	20,333	19,922
Median (\$)	2,670	3,000	6,000

Summary and Conclusions

TABLE 8.8. LIFE SPANS OF THE BLACK AND TAN CONSTITUTIONS

<i>State</i>	<i>Black and Tan convention assembled</i>	<i>State readmitted to Union</i>	<i>Next constitutional convention assembled</i>
Alabama	November 5, 1867	June 25, 1868	September 6, 1875
Arkansas	January 7, 1868	June 22, 1868	July 14, 1874
Florida	January 20, 1868	June 25, 1868	June 9, 1885
Georgia	December 9, 1867	June 25, 1868 ^a	July 11, 1877
Louisiana	November 23, 1867	June 25, 1868	April 21, 1879
Mississippi	January 7, 1868	February 23, 1870	August 12, 1890
North Carolina	January 14, 1868	June 25, 1868	September 6, 1875
South Carolina	January 14, 1868	June 25, 1868	September 10, 1895
Texas	June 1, 1868	March 30, 1870	September 6, 1875
Virginia	December 3, 1867	January 26, 1870	June 21, 1901

^aThen readmitted again July 15, 1870—after Georgia underwent a second military reconstruction after expelling blacks from its legislature.

No Photo Available

Photo Not Available

Thomas M. Bowen, president of the Arkansas convention
Harper's Weekly 27 (February 10, 1883): 84. Courtesy University of Arkansas Libraries.

Photo Not Available

Conservative delegates to the Virginia convention
Virginia State Library and Archives / Cook Collection, Valentine Richmond History Center.
Reproduced by permission of VRHC.

Photo Not Available

Photo Not Available

Photo Not Available

Rufus Bullock, Republican leader in the Georgia convention

Courtesy Georgia Department of Archives and History

Photo Not Available

James G. Taliaferro, president of the Louisiana convention

National Cyclopedia of American Biography (New York, 1892), 11:518. Courtesy Catahoula Parish Library.

Photo Not Available

Albert G. Mackey, president of the South Carolina convention

Reproduced by permission of South Caroliniana Library, University of South Carolina

Photo Not Available

Daniel Richards, president of the radical Florida convention

From William M. Davis, History of Whiteside County, Illinois (Chicago: Pioneer Publishing Co., 1908), 2:1, 102.

Courtesy Abraham Lincoln Presidential Library.

Photo Not Available

Photo Not Available

APPENDIX A

METHODOLOGICAL PROCEDURES

Delegate Information and Selection and Analysis of Votes

DELEGATE INFORMATION

We obtained the names of the 1,018 delegates who sat in the ten Black and Tan conventions from a mix of sources, the most important of which were House Executive Document 342, 40th Cong., 2d sess. (*General Orders—Reconstruction*) and the convention journals themselves. We then systematically gathered biographical data on each delegate, initially from the manuscript returns of the 1870 census. In addition, we examined manuscript returns of the 1860 census to determine the prewar slave and property holdings of southern whites and to secure essential data on southern whites who could not be found in the 1870 census. We then combined census findings with delegate biographical information gleaned from printed sources: government documents, newspapers, and scholarly works (journal articles, monographs, and dissertations). While these sources were especially useful in yielding information about post-convention political offices held by a few prominent delegates, they revealed little additional detail on the more obscure delegates. A notable exception, however, was Eric Foner's *Freedom's Lawmakers: A Directory of Black Officeholders during Reconstruction*, which was invaluable in helping to determine whether black delegates had been free before the outbreak of the Civil War.¹

Paul R. Hagner, a former colleague now at Albion College in Michigan, assisted us with the statistical analysis of voting behavior. Census-based data include age, native state, profession, property holdings (real, personal, and number of slaves owned) of southern whites in 1860, property holdings (real and personal) of delegates in 1870, and the literacy (as of 1870) of black delegates. Noncensus data, both in appendix C (a biographical directory) and in individual chapters, include intrastate geographical regions, districts from which individual delegates were elected, and percentages of blacks among the electorates in these regions and districts. This latter information, which offers particularly valuable detail on the racial composition of state, district, and regional electorates throughout the South, was secured from a variety of sources, including *The American Annual Cyclopaedia and Register of Important Events*, government documents, military records, convention journals, and manuscript collections.²

SELECTION OF VOTES

To determine which votes would be most revealing about each convention, we first went through contemporary newspapers, appropriate historical works, and—most important—each of the convention journals. Some of these journals, such as that of the Arkansas convention, were quite complete; others, such as Florida's, were fragmentary at best, as were newspaper accounts of that assembly. In contrast, newspaper coverage of debates in a number of other conventions—those in Virginia and North Carolina, for example—was quite extensive.

Very few roll-call votes were recorded in some conventions. In South Carolina, the most extreme case, there were only 22. In over half the conventions, however, such a large number of roll calls were taken that we were able to include only a fraction of them in our delegate voting database. In such instances, excluded votes were either repetitive or the debates preceding them recorded so fragmentarily as to make it impossible to determine precisely the points at issue. Votes with unanimous or near-unanimous support or opposition were also eliminated; they would have contributed only marginally to the analyses presented for each convention. Overall, then, we eventually chose to examine roll-call votes on the basis of our understanding of the dynamics of each convention and attempted to analyze the most significant and revealing of those votes.³

This selective procedure eliminated a large number of repetitive votes from our analysis of several of the conventions, most notably that of Texas. Other conventions, conspicuously those in Alabama and Florida, presented different and potentially even more serious problems. In these conventions fewer roll calls were recorded, and some important issues were either ignored or addressed only fleetingly, making it impossible to construct meaningful voting analysis scales for all issue categories. Indeed in all of the conventions some votes, even on significant matters, were recorded only numerically, without delegate names, and could consequently not be used in determining delegate voting patterns. Clearly, then, the selection of roll calls for our analysis was based in part on practical considerations (especially for conventions with the largest numbers of votes) and by limitations in sources (particularly for assemblies with few roll calls or on which reporting was fragmentary). Despite such qualifications, this study still offers by far the most systematic and comprehensive examination to date of the voting patterns of the 1,018 delegates to all of the Black and Tan conventions.

In the second stage of roll-call analysis, votes were divided into four subject categories of long-standing interest to historians: (1) economics (funding of the conventions, aid to railroads, and remuneration of delegates); (2) government structure (organization of the three branches of the new state governments, legislative apportionment, and definition of the number and the specific powers of executive, legislative, and judicial officials); (3) racial issues (integration/segregation in state and local institutions, especially public schools); and (4) suffrage (whether to restrict the voting rights of certain whites and/or to enfranchise blacks).⁴ Finally, a fifth miscellaneous category covers issues of special concern in a particular conven-

tions, as, for example, in Texas, where delegates engaged in lengthy discussions about whether their state should be divided into separate states.

ANALYSIS OF VOTING PATTERNS

Reliability analyses were performed on voting data for each issue area within each convention to certify that our vote groupings combined selected votes in a consistent manner. Basically, this procedure measured the level of internal consistency within each issue area. Put another way, it indicated the likelihood that individual scale items consistently measured the same thing.⁵

Three statistics are most useful in assessing the contribution of an individual vote to the issue-area voting scales we formed for our individual state analyses. The first, the *item-total correlation*, represents the degree to which an item correlates with its scale and with the other votes in that scale. This correlation can range from -1.00 (a perfect negative correlation) through 0 (where no relationship is obtained) up to $+1.00$ (a perfect positive correlation). Since all our votes are coded in the same direction (" 1 " always indicates a vote for the Republican position), we expect usually to find positive item-total correlations that are closer to $+1.00$ than to 0 .

Second, the *average inter-item correlation* represents the average relationship among all the votes in an issue-area scale. This measure has the same range as the item-total correlation (-1.00 to $+1.00$). The more internally consistent the scale, the closer the average inter-item correlation should be to $+1.00$.

Finally, the measure *Cronbach's alpha* (usually referred to simply as "alpha") is a summary measure of the reliability of a scale. Unlike the two aforementioned measures, the alpha measure ranges from 0 to $+1.00$ and "indicates the degree to which the items in an index are measuring the same thing."⁶ An alpha of 0 indicates that no items have anything in common, while an alpha of $+1.00$ indicates that the items are basically identical (meaning, in our case, the same delegates voted exactly the same way on all scaled votes). While there is no hard-and-fast delimiter of what alpha level must be obtained to pronounce a scale reliable, a common practice is to use $.71$ as a minimum alpha to consider a scale reliable. Scales with alpha values below this have more unique variation than common variation; their items are consequently less likely to be measuring the same thing.

The computational procedure that generates an alpha for a scale can also reveal the alpha level of a scale if each individual item were, in turn, removed from it, allowing us to eliminate, in some instances, those votes that lessened the reliability of issue-area scales and to maximize their internal integrity. These procedures were used for the issue-area scales (the construction of which is detailed below) for each state. With very few exceptions (most notably, all of the issue-area scales for South Carolina), highly reliable scales were subsequently established for each issue area within each state.

With the internal integrity of each issue scale established, we next developed a measure representing the support of each delegate for Republican positions in each issue area in each convention. The resulting Republican support score (RSS) reflects the percentage of votes each delegate cast with Republicans on a series of votes in each issue category. Its calculation was straightforward. We simply counted the number of pro-Republican votes (coded “1”) a delegate cast within each issue grouping and then divided the resulting number by the total votes within that area. For example, in a convention in which there were ten votes on economic matters, a delegate voting on the Republican side on seven of them would receive an RSS of .7 (or 70% support of Republican positions) in economics. For each issue area, then, the RSS would range from 0 (opposition to the Republican position on every vote) to 1.00 (support for the Republican position on every vote).

Of course, not every delegate voted on every issue. To include as many delegates as possible in roll-call analyses, we consequently established a simple rule. If a delegate participated in at least half of the votes in an issue area, we calculated an RSS for him by counting the number of pro-Republican votes divided by the number of issue-area votes in which he participated. Thus a delegate participating in eight of ten economic votes and supporting the Republican position in six of them would obtain an RSS of .75. The RSS produced by this method is then interpretable in the same way as that of a delegate who voted in all divisions in a particular scale. If, however, a delegate did not vote in at least half of the roll calls in an issue area, he was not assigned an RSS for that issue area.

While this process allowed us to measure delegate support for Republican positions within each issue area, we also wished to obtain an overall measure of each delegate’s support for Republican positions across all issue areas. For most delegates, to do so simply required totaling their RSSs for each of the individual issue areas. For example, a delegate with an RSS of .75 for the government structure issue area, .80 for racial issues, .90 on suffrage-related votes, .70 on economic issues, and .80 on miscellaneous issues would receive an overall RSS of 3.95. The overall RSS would range from 0 (opposition to Republican positions on every vote in every issue area) to 5.00 (support of Republican positions on every vote in every issue area).

As noted above, however, delegates who did not vote at least half the time in an issue area were not assigned RSSs in that area. Again, we decided to incorporate as many individuals as possible in our analyses, in this case by calculating an overall RSS for any delegate with an RSS for at least half of the issue areas. If, as in most conventions, there were five such issue groupings, delegates would need to register RSSs for at least three of them in order to be assigned an overall RSS. Delegates to conventions at which only four issue areas scaled would require RSSs for at least two areas to receive an overall RSS. When a delegate was assigned an RSS in at least half the issue areas for his convention but not in all of them, the issue-area RSSs he was assigned were averaged and then multiplied by five in order to generate comparable overall RSSs among delegates who voted sufficiently often to receive RSSs in all areas and those who did not.⁷

The overall RSS allowed ranking almost all delegates in each convention on the basis of their support of Republican positions. However, we also wished to group delegates with similar RSSs at each convention in order to perform summary tabular analyses. For most states, such groupings are of little use in analysis of black and outside white delegates, who generally showed strong and consistent support for Republican positions. Segmenting southern white delegates, in contrast, allowed us to examine more closely the characteristics of native white delegates who were most steadfast in either support of or opposition to Republican policies. We therefore divided the southern whites at each convention (except South Carolina, where the votes did not scale, and Florida, where there were no delegates in the middle category) into three groups based on their overall RSSs. We labeled those in the lower third (with overall RSSs equal to or less than $1.6\bar{6}$) “conservatives” (or, in the case of Florida, “moderates”) and those in the upper third (with RSSs greater than $3.3\bar{3}$) as “radicals.” We designated the middle group (with RSSs between $1.6\bar{6}$ and $3.3\bar{3}$) as “swing voters”; their voting patterns demonstrated more of a mix of positions in reaction to Republican policies.⁸

Given an inevitable degree of arbitrariness in arriving at these figures, one should be wary of making too much of the radical, swing, and conservative designations that we have assigned delegates based on their RSSs. For example, from a modern point of view votes on racial issues would probably seem a much more important indicator of radicalism than votes on miscellaneous or suffrage issues, but in assessing delegates’ RSSs we have assigned them equal weights. Thus a delegate could in theory score a perfect 0 in support for Republican positions on racial issues and yet be classified not only as radical but strongly so. In addition, in some states, Georgia for example, the Republican leadership was relatively conservative, and the issues brought before the delegates had a decidedly less radical cast than those in, say, North Carolina. One cannot assume, therefore, that any two delegates, one from each of these states, with identical RSSs were of identical political stripe; the radical Georgian might well have been a conservative at the North Carolina convention.

That having been said, we are confident that the RSS, used judiciously, can provide a valid and historically accurate portrait of the political divisions and alliances within the various Black and Tan conventions. Using the RSS measure, we have shown in this volume how the average degree of Republican support varied with the age, personal wealth, race and regional origin (being black or a southern or outside white), profession, and percentage of blacks registered to vote within a delegate’s electoral district. Our scatterplots, based on RSSs, vividly portray the relation of individual southern whites’, blacks’, and outside whites’ Republican support to the percentage of their home district’s registered voters who were black. The dramatic polarity of the Virginia convention, for example, and the anomalous relation between black voters and delegate Republican support generally, are dramatically illustrated in these charts. All in all, we believe that the RSS measure is an invaluable tool for analyzing the dynamic political structures of these conventions.

APPENDIX B

Delegate Republican Support Scores by State

Delegate Republican support scores (RSSs) for each issue area and overall are listed below in rank order from highest to lowest overall RSS by state. Counties represented are given parenthetically as needed for clarity in the left column for delegates at a convention sharing the same last name.

A dash in the issue-area columns indicates the delegate did not vote on at least half the selected roll-call votes in that area and therefore was not assigned an RSS for that issue. Delegates failing to be assigned RSSs in at least half of the issue areas for their state were not assigned overall RSSs and are listed under “Too few votes to count” at the end of their state’s section.

Dashes in the “Bloc” column denote unclassified white delegates, i.e., those who may have been either native or outsiders.

Florida and South Carolina delegates are not listed here. Even though Florida delegate votes scaled, certain aberrancies in the convention render the scales suspect or at any rate incommensurate with the scales for other conventions. South Carolina votes failed all standard tests of reliability.

ALABAMA DELEGATES

<i>Name</i>	<i>Gov. structure</i>	<i>Suffrage</i>	<i>Race</i>	<i>Misc.</i>	<i>Overall</i>	<i>Bloc</i>
<i>Radicals</i>						
Springfield, Henry	0.86	1.00	1.00	1.00	4.82	S. White
Haughey, Thomas	1.00	0.85	1.00	1.00	4.81	S. White
Kenamer, Seaborn	1.00	0.85	1.00	1.00	4.81	S. White
Brainard, Mark	0.83	1.00	1.00	—	4.72	O. White
Finley, Peyton	0.83	1.00	1.00	—	4.72	Black
Applegate, Andrew	1.00	0.77	1.00	1.00	4.71	O. White
Garrison, William	0.86	0.90	1.00	1.00	4.70	S. White
Peters, Thomas	0.80	0.92	1.00	1.00	4.65	S. White
Inge, Benjamin	1.00	0.92	1.00	0.75	4.59	Black
Strother, Alfred	1.00	0.92	1.00	0.75	4.58	Black
McGown, Hugh	0.71	0.92	1.00	1.00	4.54	—

ALABAMA DELEGATES (*continued*)

<i>Name</i>	<i>Gov. structure</i>	<i>Suffrage</i>	<i>Race</i>	<i>Misc.</i>	<i>Overall</i>	<i>Bloc</i>
Buckley, William (Lowndes)	1.00	0.82	0.80	1.00	4.52	O. White
Johnson, Washington (Russell)	0.86	1.00	1.00	0.75	4.51	Black
Jones, Columbus (Madison)	1.00	0.92	0.67	1.00	4.49	Black
Green, James	1.00	0.82	0.75	1.00	4.46	Black
Carraway, John	1.00	0.90	0.67	1.00	4.46	Black
Buckley, Charles (Montgomery)	0.83	0.73	1.00	1.00	4.45	O. White
Alexander, Benjamin (Greene)	0.86	1.00	1.00	0.67	4.40	Black
Walker, James (Shelby)	0.83	1.00	0.67	1.00	4.38	S. White
Gregory, Ovid	1.00	0.91	0.83	0.75	4.37	Black
Russell, Henry (Barbour)	0.57	0.88	1.00	1.00	4.31	S. White
Steed, Calvin	1.00	0.85	0.60	1.00	4.31	S. White
Morton, John	0.67	0.77	1.00	1.00	4.29	S. White
Adams, Thomas	0.86	0.90	0.67	1.00	4.28	S. White
Diggs, Thomas	1.00	0.92	1.00	0.50	4.28	Black
Hatcher, Jordan	1.00	0.92	1.00	0.50	4.28	Black
Norris, Benjamin	0.57	0.85	1.00	1.00	4.27	O. White
Burdick, J. H.	—	0.56	1.00	1.00	4.26	O. White
Morgan, Albion	0.83	0.54	1.00	1.00	4.21	O. White
Moore, Stephen	0.57	0.77	1.00	1.00	4.18	S. White
Royal, Benjamin	1.00	1.00	0.83	0.50	4.17	Black
Johnson, R. M. (Henry)	0.75	0.89	—	—	4.10	O. White
Ewing, William	0.67	0.58	1.00	1.00	4.06	S. White
Dykes, George	0.83	0.67	0.67	1.00	3.96	S. White
Whitney, Charles	0.67	0.83	0.67	1.00	3.96	—
Skinner, William	0.67	0.82	0.67	1.00	3.94	S. White
Silsby, John	—	0.85	1.00	0.50	3.91	O. White
Robinson, Lafayette	1.00	0.77	0.60	0.75	3.90	Black
Autrey, James	0.71	1.00	0.33	1.00	3.81	S. White
Coon, Dantus	1.00	0.75	1.00	0.25	3.75	O. White
Gardner, Samuel	0.83	0.92	1.00	0.25	3.75	O. White
Simmons, Calvin	0.67	0.73	0.60	1.00	3.74	S. White
Bingham, Arthur (Talladega)	0.83	0.91	1.00	0.25	3.74	S. White
Lore, David	0.86	0.80	1.00	0.33	3.74	S. White
Miller, Charles	0.83	0.64	1.00	0.50	3.71	O. White
Rapier, James	0.83	0.75	0.60	0.75	3.67	Black
Keffer, John	0.83	0.85	1.00	0.25	3.66	O. White

ALABAMA DELEGATES (*continued*)

<i>Name</i>	<i>Gov. structure</i>	<i>Suffrage</i>	<i>Race</i>	<i>Misc.</i>	<i>Overall</i>	<i>Bloc</i>
Davis, Joseph	0.83	0.83	0.25	1.00	3.65	S. White
Lee, Thomas	0.50	0.92	1.00	0.50	3.65	Black
Blandon, Samuel	0.57	1.00	1.00	0.33	3.63	Black
Brunson, Simeon	0.50	0.60	0.80	1.00	3.63	S. White
Walker, W. A. (Jefferson)	0.71	0.77	0.40	1.00	3.60	S. White
Rolfe, Benjamin	0.67	0.55	1.00	0.67	3.60	O. White
Ely, George	0.86	1.00	1.00	0.00	3.57	O. White
Bingham, Daniel (Limestone)	1.00	0.85	1.00	0.00	3.56	S. White
Yordy, Benjamin	0.75	0.83	1.00	0.25	3.54	O. White
Griffin, Albert	0.86	0.92	1.00	0.00	3.48	O. White
Buck, Alfred	0.71	1.00	1.00	0.00	3.39	O. White
<i>Swing voters</i>						
Plowman, George	0.80	0.73	1.00	0.00	3.16	S. White
Wilhite, J. W.	0.83	0.69	0.00	1.00	3.16	S. White
Mahan, Jesse	0.71	0.67	0.80	0.33	3.14	S. White
Horton, Gustavus	0.50	1.00	1.00	0.00	3.13	S. White
Peck, Elisha	0.33	0.91	1.00	0.25	3.12	S. White
McLeod, J. Wright	0.43	0.92	0.80	0.33	3.11	Black
Austin, William	0.57	0.50	0.60	0.75	3.03	S. White
Burton, Pierce	0.67	0.46	1.00	0.25	2.97	O. White
Saffold, Benjamin	0.86	0.50	0.75	0.25	2.95	S. White
Smith, Luther	0.57	0.42	1.00	0.33	2.90	O. White
Masterson, Byron O.	0.57	0.46	0.25	1.00	2.85	S. White
Black, William	0.40	0.67	0.75	0.33	2.69	O. White
Blackford, William	0.71	0.58	0.83	0.00	2.66	S. White
Collins, Alfred	0.71	0.62	0.00	0.75	2.60	S. White
Dustan, Charles	0.60	0.50	0.75	0.00	2.31	O. White
Deal, H. Ransom	0.33	0.38	0.00	1.00	2.14	S. White
Jones, Augustus (Conecuh)	0.57	0.62	0.00	0.50	2.11	S. White
Latham, Samuel	0.50	0.10	0.00	1.00	2.00	S. White
Towles, Toliver	0.33	0.43	0.00	0.67	1.79	S. White
Hayes, Charles	0.29	0.42	—	—	1.76	S. White
<i>Conservatives</i>						
Russell, Timothy (Tallapoosa)	0.00	0.00	—	1.00	1.67	S. White
Jolly, John	0.17	0.40	0.00	0.75	1.65	S. White
Martin, John	0.14	0.46	0.17	0.50	1.59	S. White

ALABAMA DELEGATES (*continued*)

<i>Name</i>	<i>Gov. structure</i>	<i>Suffrage</i>	<i>Race</i>	<i>Misc.</i>	<i>Overall</i>	<i>Bloc</i>
Hurst, James	0.17	0.55	0.00	0.50	1.52	S. White
Jackson, James	0.60	0.56	0.00	0.00	1.44	S. White
Strange, Littleberry	0.80	0.15	0.17	0.00	1.40	S. White
Howard, James	0.00	0.00	—	0.67	1.11	S. White
Stewart, James	0.50	0.10	0.00	0.25	1.06	S. White
Greathouse, Early	0.00	0.17	0.00	0.67	1.04	S. White
Stow, James	0.50	0.25	0.00	0.00	0.94	S. White
Speed, Joseph	0.25	0.22	0.00	0.25	0.90	S. White
Graves, George	0.17	0.27	0.17	0.00	0.76	S. White
Folmar, James	0.00	0.08	0.20	0.25	0.67	S. White
Alexander, John (Autauga)	0.00	0.08	0.17	0.25	0.62	S. White
Wheelan, Benjamin	—	0.00	0.33	0.00	0.56	S. White
Cabot, Charles	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.33	0.42	S. White
Semple, Henry	0.20	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.25	S. White
Meadors, John	—	—	0.00	0.00	0.00	S. White
<i>Too few votes to count</i>						
Jones, William (Covington)	—	—	—	—	—	S. White
Reynolds, Robert	—	—	—	—	—	O. White
Stanwood, Nathan	—	0.86	—	—	—	O. White

ARKANSAS DELEGATES

<i>Name</i>	<i>Misc.</i>	<i>Suff.</i>	<i>Econ.</i>	<i>Gov. structure</i>	<i>Race</i>	<i>Overall</i>	<i>Bloc</i>
<i>Radicals</i>							
Belden, Solomon	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	5.00	S. White
Brashear, Walter	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	5.00	S. White
Brooks, Joseph	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	5.00	O. White
Dale, George	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	5.00	O. White
Gray, James (Jefferson)	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	5.00	O. White
Hinds, James	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	5.00	O. White
Hodges, James (Pulaski)	1.00	1.00	—	1.00	1.00	5.00	O. White
Hutchinson, John	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	5.00	O. White
Johnson, Thomas	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	5.00	Black
Mallory, Samuel	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	5.00	O. White
McClure, John	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	5.00	O. White
Montgomery, John	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	5.00	O. White

ARKANSAS DELEGATES (*continued*)

<i>Name</i>	<i>Misc.</i>	<i>Suff.</i>	<i>Econ.</i>	<i>Gov. structure</i>	<i>Race</i>	<i>Overall</i>	<i>Bloc</i>
Murphy, William	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	5.00	Black
Sams, Francis	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	5.00	S. White
Scott, George	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	5.00	O. White
Williams, Parley	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	5.00	S. White
Hawkins, Monroe	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	0.90	4.90	Black
Oliver, Charles	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	0.90	4.90	S. White
Hinkle, Anthony	0.86	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	4.86	S. White
Bell, Moses	0.83	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	4.83	S. White
Bowen, Thomas	0.80	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	4.80	O. White
Smith, Thomas	1.00	1.00	0.80	1.00	1.00	4.80	O. White
Millsaps, Jesse	0.86	1.00	1.00	1.00	0.90	4.76	S. White
Samuels, Richard	0.86	1.00	1.00	1.00	0.90	4.76	Black
Rector, Henry	1.00	0.75	1.00	1.00	1.00	4.75	Black
Snyder, O. P.	1.00	0.75	1.00	1.00	1.00	4.75	S. White
Wyatt, William	1.00	1.00	0.75	1.00	1.00	4.75	S. White
Hatfield, Robert	0.83	1.00	1.00	1.00	0.90	4.73	S. White
Langley, Miles	0.83	1.00	1.00	1.00	0.90	4.73	S. White
Coates, Daniel	1.00	1.00	0.80	1.00	0.88	4.68	O. White
Sarber, John	1.00	0.67	1.00	1.00	1.00	4.67	O. White
Exon, Solomon	0.71	1.00	1.00	1.00	0.90	4.61	S. White
White, James	0.86	1.00	0.75	1.00	1.00	4.61	Black
Priddy, John	0.67	1.00	1.00	1.00	0.88	4.54	S. White
Houghton, Jiffr	0.83	0.75	1.00	0.88	1.00	4.46	S. White
Rawlings, Nathan	0.80	1.00	0.60	1.00	1.00	4.40	S. White
Misner, Peter	1.00	1.00	0.60	1.00	0.70	4.30	S. White
Poole, Frederick	1.00	1.00	1.00	0.86	0.43	4.29	O. White
Grey, William (Phillips)	0.83	1.00	0.33	1.00	1.00	4.17	Black
Rounsaville, Franklin	0.75	0.75	1.00	0.83	0.80	4.13	S. White
Merrick, Alfred	—	0.67	0.67	1.00	0.90	4.04	S. White
Hollis, William	0.75	0.75	0.50	1.00	—	3.75	S. White
Harrison, John	0.57	1.00	0.80	0.83	0.43	3.63	S. White
Evans, Amos	1.00	0.50	0.60	0.71	0.80	3.61	O. White
Mason, James	0.83	0.67	0.25	1.00	0.80	3.55	Black
Simms, Clifford	0.71	0.50	0.67	0.83	0.80	3.51	O. White
Hodges, Asa (Crittenden)	0.43	1.00	0.33	1.00	—	3.45	S. White

ARKANSAS DELEGATES (*continued*)

<i>Name</i>	<i>Misc.</i>	<i>Suff.</i>	<i>Econ.</i>	<i>Gov. structure</i>	<i>Race</i>	<i>Overall</i>	<i>Bloc</i>
<i>Swing voters</i>							
Portis, James	0.40	1.00	0.40	0.63	0.44	2.87	S. White
Kyle, Gayle	0.71	0.75	0.20	0.63	0.30	2.59	S. White
McGowan, George	0.40	0.50	—	0.83	0.25	2.48	S. White
Wilson, Ira	0.71	0.75	0.25	0.50	0.20	2.41	S. White
Corbell, Joseph	0.50	0.67	0.60	0.43	0.14	2.34	S. White
VanHook, R. C.	0.71	0.75	0.20	0.25	0.29	2.20	S. White
Beasley, William	0.40	0.75	—	0.38	0.20	2.16	S. White
Puntney, R. G.	0.50	1.00	0.00	0.25	0.10	1.85	S. White
<i>Conservatives</i>							
Bradley, John	0.40	0.50	0.00	0.33	0.00	1.23	S. White
Matthews, Samuel	0.17	0.75	0.00	0.13	0.11	1.15	S. White
Hicks, William	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.25	0.25	S. White
Owen, Thomas	0.00	0.00	—	0.00	0.11	0.14	S. White
Duval, Bouldin	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.13	0.13	S. White
Gantt, Robert	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.13	0.13	S. White
Reynolds, W. W.	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.10	0.10	S. White
Walker, Charles	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.10	0.10	S. White
Cypert, J. N.	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	S. White
Hoge, James	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	S. White
Shoppach, James	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	S. White
Wright, Joseph	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	S. White
<i>Too few votes to count</i>							
Adams, W. W.	—	—	—	—	—	—	S. White
Kelly, Elijah	—	—	—	—	—	—	S. White
Moore, W. D.	—	—	—	0.00	0.00	—	S. White
Norman, George	—	—	—	0.00	0.10	—	S. White
Pickett, W. H.	—	—	—	—	—	—	S. White
Ratcliffe, H. W.	—	—	—	—	—	—	S. White

GEORGIA DELEGATES

<i>Name</i>	<i>Econ.</i>	<i>Misc.</i>	<i>Suff.</i>	<i>Gov. structure</i>	<i>Race</i>	<i>Overall</i>	<i>Bloc</i>
<i>Radicals</i>							
Bullock, Rufus	1.00	1.00	—	—	1.00	5.00	S. White
Sherman, Josiah	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	5.00	O. White
Joiner, Philip	1.00	1.00	0.88	1.00	1.00	4.88	Black
Noble, William	1.00	1.00	0.88	1.00	1.00	4.88	Black
Reynolds, W. H. D.	1.00	1.00	0.88	1.00	1.00	4.88	Black
Strickland, Henry	1.00	1.00	0.88	1.00	1.00	4.88	Black
Whitaker, John	1.00	1.00	0.88	1.00	1.00	4.88	Black
Jones, Van	1.00	1.00	0.86	1.00	1.00	4.86	Black
Sikes, Benjamin	1.00	1.00	1.00	0.86	1.00	4.86	Black
Prince, Charles	1.00	1.00	0.83	1.00	1.00	4.83	O. White
Catching, John	1.00	1.00	0.86	1.00	—	4.82	S. White
Blodgett, Foster	1.00	1.00	0.80	1.00	1.00	4.80	S. White
Crayton, Thomas	0.90	1.00	0.88	1.00	1.00	4.78	Black
Cobb, Samuel (Houston)	0.89	1.00	0.88	1.00	1.00	4.76	Black
Pope, Lewis	0.89	1.00	0.88	1.00	1.00	4.76	Black
Seeley, Isaac	0.89	1.00	0.88	1.00	1.00	4.76	O. White
Beard, Simeon	0.90	1.00	0.86	1.00	1.00	4.76	Black
Golding, William	0.90	1.00	0.86	1.00	1.00	4.76	Black
Casey, James	1.00	1.00	0.75	1.00	1.00	4.75	Black
Dinkins, Jesse	1.00	1.00	0.75	1.00	1.00	4.75	Black
Walton, Overton	1.00	1.00	0.75	1.00	1.00	4.75	S. White
Murphy, John	0.90	1.00	0.83	1.00	1.00	4.73	O. White
Jackson, James	1.00	1.00	0.88	0.83	1.00	4.71	Black
Bryant, John	0.70	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	4.70	O. White
Madden, J.	0.80	1.00	0.88	1.00	1.00	4.68	O. White
Stone, Alexander	0.80	1.00	0.88	1.00	1.00	4.68	Black
Clift, Walter	0.67	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	4.67	O. White
Edwards, William	—	1.00	0.80	1.00	—	4.67	S. White
Harrison, William (Hancock)	0.78	1.00	0.88	1.00	1.00	4.65	Black
Supple, William	0.78	1.00	0.86	1.00	1.00	4.63	S. White
Lumpkin, Robert	1.00	1.00	0.63	1.00	1.00	4.63	Black
Moore, Romulus (Columbia)	0.88	1.00	0.75	1.00	1.00	4.63	Black
Alexander, Robert	1.00	1.00	0.75	0.86	1.00	4.61	Black
Whitehead, Robert (Burke)	0.88	1.00	0.88	0.86	1.00	4.61	Black
Chatters, George	1.00	1.00	0.57	1.00	1.00	4.57	Black

GEORGIA DELEGATES (*continued*)

<i>Name</i>	<i>Econ.</i>	<i>Misc.</i>	<i>Suff.</i>	<i>Gov. structure</i>	<i>Race</i>	<i>Overall</i>	<i>Bloc</i>
Maull, James	1.00	1.00	0.75	0.80	1.00	4.55	S. White
Palmer, Daniel	0.80	1.00	0.75	1.00	1.00	4.55	Black
Stewart, James	0.86	1.00	0.67	1.00	1.00	4.52	Black
Costin, John	0.80	1.00	0.88	0.83	1.00	4.51	Black
Campbell, Tunis	0.88	1.00	0.63	1.00	1.00	4.50	Black
Linder, George	0.88	1.00	0.63	1.00	1.00	4.50	Black
Anderson, Isaac	1.00	1.00	0.57	0.86	1.00	4.43	Black
Rozar, W. H.	0.75	0.90	0.75	1.00	1.00	4.40	S. White
Whitehead, W. H. (Butts)	0.80	0.83	—	1.00	—	4.39	S. White
Hopkins, Cormac	1.00	1.00	0.57	0.80	1.00	4.37	S. White
Guilford, William	0.63	1.00	0.86	0.86	1.00	4.34	Black
Bedford, Peter	0.88	0.70	1.00	0.75	1.00	4.33	S. White
Rice, J.	0.89	0.89	0.63	0.86	1.00	4.26	O. White
Bell, John (Oglethorpe)	0.75	0.70	0.75	1.00	1.00	4.20	Black
Wallace, George	0.44	1.00	0.75	1.00	1.00	4.19	Black
Ashburn, George	0.70	1.00	0.63	0.86	1.00	4.18	S. White
Bradley, Aaron	1.00	1.00	0.50	—	—	4.17	Black
Chambers, Peter	1.00	1.00	0.63	0.71	0.80	4.14	S. White
Conley, Benjamin	1.00	0.89	0.67	0.57	1.00	4.13	S. White
Williams, Samuel	0.50	1.00	0.71	0.86	1.00	4.07	Black
Baldwin, D.	0.25	1.00	1.00	—	1.00	4.06	O. White
Caldwell, John	1.00	0.86	0.57	—	—	4.05	S. White
Minor, Samuel	0.75	0.89	0.63	0.86	0.80	3.92	S. White
Dailey, Samuel	0.33	1.00	1.00	—	—	3.89	S. White
Adkins, Joseph	0.50	1.00	0.57	0.80	1.00	3.87	S. White
Welch, F. O.	1.00	0.89	0.50	0.60	0.80	3.79	S. White
Clairborne, Malcomb	0.88	1.00	0.50	0.40	1.00	3.78	Black
Turner, Henry	0.70	0.89	0.57	0.80	0.75	3.71	Black
Gilbert, Thomas	1.00	0.80	0.63	0.33	0.80	3.56	S. White
Higbee, Edwin	0.11	0.90	0.88	0.86	0.80	3.54	S. White
Davis, Charles	0.90	0.50	0.38	0.60	1.00	3.38	S. White
<i>Swing voters</i>							
Cotting, David	0.60	0.89	0.50	—	0.67	3.32	S. White
Whiteley, Richard	1.00	0.20	0.50	0.71	0.80	3.21	S. White
Potts, Moses	1.00	0.67	0.50	0.60	0.33	3.10	S. White
Dunning, James	0.40	0.50	0.63	0.57	0.80	2.90	S. White

GEORGIA DELEGATES (*continued*)

<i>Name</i>	<i>Econ.</i>	<i>Misc.</i>	<i>Suff.</i>	<i>Gov. structure</i>	<i>Race</i>	<i>Overall</i>	<i>Bloc</i>
Carson, William	1.00	0.22	0.38	0.43	0.80	2.83	O. White
Crumley, Robert	0.00	1.00	0.50	0.80	0.50	2.80	Black
Goodwin, William	1.00	0.63	0.20	0.40	—	2.78	S. White
Harris, John (Newton)	1.00	0.30	0.33	—	—	2.72	S. White
McWhorter, Joseph	0.90	0.22	—	0.50	—	2.70	S. White
Bracewell, James	0.67	0.60	0.50	0.00	0.80	2.57	S. White
Smith, F. M. (Charlton)	1.00	0.29	0.43	—	0.25	2.46	S. White
Shields, James	0.00	0.89	0.67	0.40	—	2.44	S. White
Bowden, John (Campbell)	1.00	0.29	0.17	0.40	—	2.32	S. White
Jordan, William	0.88	0.11	0.43	0.50	0.40	2.31	S. White
Hotchkiss, N. P.	0.90	0.22	0.38	0.29	0.50	2.28	S. White
McCay, Henry	0.80	0.22	0.17	0.33	0.75	2.27	S. White
Dunnegan, Benjamin	0.00	0.40	0.75	0.14	0.80	2.09	S. White
Ellington, Coke	0.13	0.70	0.63	0.00	0.60	2.05	S. White
Brown, Shadrack	1.00	0.30	0.33	0.00	0.33	1.97	S. White
Bowers, William	0.00	0.29	0.50	0.17	1.00	1.95	S. White
Blount, Joseph	0.78	0.11	0.43	0.33	0.25	1.90	S. White
Speer, Thomas	0.90	0.20	0.14	0.40	0.25	1.89	S. White
Knox, James	0.40	0.56	0.25	0.29	0.40	1.89	S. White
Traywick, James	1.00	0.10	0.13	0.14	0.50	1.87	S. White
Lee, W. C.	0.88	0.56	0.00	0.00	0.40	1.83	S. White
Smith, W. C. (Coweta)	0.83	0.11	0.25	0.17	0.40	1.76	S. White
Gove, Samuel	0.80	0.20	0.00	0.50	0.25	1.75	S. White
Christian, Isaac (Newton)	0.86	0.17	0.00	—	—	1.71	S. White
<i>Conservatives</i>							
Shumate, Benjamin	1.00	0.10	0.00	0.17	0.40	1.67	S. White
Fort, William	0.89	0.11	0.00	—	0.33	1.67	S. White
Cobb, E. S. (Madison)	—	0.13	0.20	—	0.67	1.65	S. White
McHan, Wilkey	0.00	0.80	0.50	0.00	—	1.63	S. White
Howe, William	1.00	0.10	0.25	0.17	0.00	1.52	S. White
Maddox, Posey	0.00	0.60	0.25	0.14	0.40	1.39	S. White
Burnett, George	1.00	0.38	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.38	S. White
Cooper, Martin	1.00	0.00	0.14	0.00	0.20	1.34	S. White
Higdon, John	0.30	0.20	0.50	0.14	0.20	1.34	S. White
Dews[e], William	0.80	0.00	0.00	0.25	—	1.31	S. White
Crane, William	0.00	0.38	0.71	0.20	0.00	1.29	S. White

GEORGIA DELEGATES (*continued*)

<i>Name</i>	<i>Econ.</i>	<i>Misc.</i>	<i>Suff.</i>	<i>Gov. structure</i>	<i>Race</i>	<i>Overall</i>	<i>Bloc</i>
Bryson, John	0.00	0.30	0.63	0.14	0.20	1.27	S. White
Bowden, Alfred (Monroe)	1.00	0.00	0.00	0.20	0.00	1.20	S. White
Matthews, Johnson	0.11	0.25	0.33	0.00	0.50	1.19	S. White
Key, J. M.	0.86	0.00	0.13	0.00	0.20	1.18	S. White
Hooks, Charles	0.86	0.00	0.00	0.25	0.00	1.11	S. White
Woodey, John	0.00	0.40	0.50	0.00	0.20	1.10	S. White
Salter, S. F.	—	0.25	0.00	—	0.40	1.08	S. White
Crawford, Stephen	0.00	0.10	0.38	0.00	0.60	1.08	S. White
Cole, Henry	—	0.00	0.29	—	0.33	1.03	S. White
Akerman, Amos	0.00	0.11	0.20	0.20	0.50	1.01	S. White
Moore, Milton (White)	0.10	0.20	0.50	0.00	0.20	1.00	S. White
Stanley, Simon	0.13	0.25	0.14	—	0.25	0.96	S. White
Smith, M. C. (Thomas)	0.10	0.11	0.13	0.14	0.40	0.88	S. White
Griffin, William	0.67	0.00	0.00	0.20	0.00	0.87	S. White
Miller, Homer	0.33	0.00	0.29	0.00	0.20	0.82	S. White
Angier, Nedon	0.00	0.22	0.40	0.17	0.00	0.79	S. White
Hudson, Jno.	0.25	0.00	0.13	0.17	0.20	0.74	S. White
Martin, Philip (Habersham)	0.00	0.10	0.38	0.00	0.20	0.68	S. White
Harlan, George	0.20	0.25	0.00	—	0.00	0.56	S. White
Cameron, Andrew	0.00	0.40	0.00	0.14	0.00	0.54	S. White
Saffold, Thomas	0.00	0.10	0.00	0.17	0.25	0.52	S. White
Lott, John	0.00	0.13	0.38	0.00	0.00	0.50	S. White
Martin, E. B. (Carroll)	0.00	0.00	0.25	0.00	0.20	0.45	S. White
Hutcheson, Robert	0.10	0.10	0.00	0.00	0.20	0.40	S. White
Bell, Madison (Banks)	0.10	0.00	0.13	0.17	0.00	0.39	S. White
Foster, Thomas (Paulding)	0.29	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.29	S. White
Houston, Samuel	0.00	0.00	0.25	0.00	0.00	0.25	S. White
Flynn, John	0.17	0.00	0.00	—	0.00	0.21	S. White
Shopshire, Wesley	0.13	0.00	—	0.00	—	0.21	S. White
Martin, Charles (Calhoun)	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.20	0.00	0.20	S. White
Stanford, Lycurgus	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.20	0.20	S. White
Trammell, Leander	0.20	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.20	S. White
Holcombe, A. W.	0.00	0.00	0.17	0.00	0.00	0.17	S. White
Christian, Hope (Early)	0.00	0.00	0.00	—	—	0.00	S. White
Harrison, Abel (Carroll)	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	S. White
King, Ino.	0.00	0.00	0.00	—	0.00	0.00	S. White

GEORGIA DELEGATES (*continued*)

<i>Name</i>	<i>Econ.</i>	<i>Misc.</i>	<i>Suff.</i>	<i>Gov. structure</i>	<i>Race</i>	<i>Overall</i>	<i>Bloc</i>
Waddell, James	0.00	0.00	0.00	—	0.00	0.00	S. White
<i>Too few votes to count</i>							
Barton, James	—	—	—	—	—	—	S. White
Bentley, Moses	—	1.00	—	1.00	—	—	Black
Bigby, John	0.17	0.00	—	—	—	—	S. White
Buchan, James	1.00	0.29	—	—	—	—	S. White
Fields, Samuel	0.00	0.00	—	—	—	—	S. White
Foster, Albert (Morgan)	—	0.00	—	—	—	—	S. White
Gibson, Thomas	1.00	0.43	—	—	—	—	S. White
Glover, Henry	—	—	—	—	—	—	S. White
Hall, John	—	—	—	—	—	—	S. White
Harris, Asa (Chatham)	1.00	—	—	—	—	—	O. White
Lane, Edward	—	—	—	—	—	—	S. White
Marler, W. L.	0.00	0.00	—	—	—	—	S. White
Neal, John	0.20	0.75	—	—	—	—	S. White
Parrott, Josiah	—	—	—	—	—	—	S. White
Powell, Benjamin	—	0.40	—	—	—	—	S. White
Richardson, C. C.	—	1.00	—	—	—	—	O. White
Roberts, Lewis	0.83	—	0.50	—	—	—	S. White
Robertson, Robert	0.90	0.30	—	—	—	—	S. White
Wilbur, George	—	—	—	—	—	—	S. White
Wooten, Floyd	—	—	—	—	—	—	S. White
Yates, Pressly	—	0.86	—	—	—	—	S. White

LOUISIANA DELEGATES

<i>Name</i>	<i>Econ.</i>	<i>Misc.</i>	<i>Race</i>	<i>Gov. structure</i>	<i>Suff.</i>	<i>Overall</i>	<i>Bloc</i>
<i>Radicals</i>							
Gardner, R. G.	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	5.00	Black
Ingrahm, James	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	5.00	Black
Jones, Simeon	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	5.00	S. White
Meadows, William	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	5.00	Black
Newsham, Joseph	1.00	1.00	—	1.00	1.00	5.00	O. White
Snaer, Sosthene	1.00	1.00	—	—	1.00	5.00	Black
Pierce, John	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	0.91	4.91	Black
Pollard, Curtis	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	0.91	4.91	Black

LOUISIANA DELEGATES (*continued*)

<i>Name</i>	<i>Econ.</i>	<i>Misc.</i>	<i>Race</i>	<i>Gov. structure</i>	<i>Suff.</i>	<i>Overall</i>	<i>Bloc</i>
Lange, Victor	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	0.90	4.90	Black
Morris, Milton	1.00	1.00	1.00	0.88	1.00	4.88	Black
Wilson, David	1.00	1.00	1.00	0.88	1.00	4.88	Black
Wickliffe, George	1.00	1.00	0.86	1.00	1.00	4.86	S. White
McLeran, Benjamin	1.00	—	1.00	1.00	0.86	4.82	S. White
Murrell, William	1.00	0.80	1.00	1.00	1.00	4.80	Black
Moses, Solomon	1.00	1.00	1.00	0.88	0.91	4.78	Black
Vidal, Michel	—	1.00	1.00	1.00	0.80	4.75	S. White
Cromwell, Robert	1.00	0.83	1.00	1.00	0.90	4.73	Black
Francois, Louis	1.00	0.83	1.00	1.00	0.90	4.73	Black
Leroy, Charles	1.00	1.00	0.86	0.86	1.00	4.71	Black
Marie, Frederique “Fred”	1.00	1.00	1.00	0.86	0.86	4.71	S. White
Dupart, Ulger	1.00	1.00	1.00	0.88	0.71	4.59	Black
Scott, John	1.00	—	1.00	0.75	—	4.58	Black
Valfroist, P. F.	1.00	0.83	1.00	0.83	0.91	4.58	Black
Massicot, Jules	1.00	1.00	0.60	1.00	0.89	4.49	Black
Beldon, Simeon	1.00	1.00	1.00	0.86	0.60	4.46	S. White
Burrell, Dennis	1.00	1.00	1.00	0.60	0.82	4.42	Black
Lewis, Richard	1.00	1.00	0.83	0.80	0.71	4.35	Black
Hempstead, Orlando	1.00	1.00	0.50	0.83	1.00	4.33	O. White
Oliver, Joseph	1.00	0.60	1.00	0.86	—	4.32	Black
Landers, James	—	0.80	1.00	0.80	0.83	4.29	O. White
Schwab, Nathan	0.50	0.75	1.00	1.00	1.00	4.25	S. White
Reagan, George	1.00	0.60	0.88	0.86	0.91	4.24	O. White
Antoine, Ceaser	1.00	0.67	0.86	1.00	0.70	4.22	Black
Harris, John	1.00	0.60	1.00	0.71	0.90	4.21	O. White
Donato, Auguste, Jr.	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	0.20	4.20	Black
Bonseigneur, Henry	1.00	—	1.00	0.50	—	4.17	Black
Harper, Peter	1.00	1.00	0.43	0.63	1.00	4.05	O. White
Isabelle, Robert	0.50	0.67	1.00	0.88	1.00	4.04	Black
Williams, Henderson	0.50	0.83	1.00	0.88	0.82	4.03	Black
Jackson, George	1.00	0.67	1.00	0.50	—	3.96	Black
Tinchaut, Edward	1.00	1.00	1.00	0.40	0.56	3.96	Black
Baker, L. W.	1.00	0.80	0.50	0.80	0.83	3.93	S. White
Poindexter, Robert	1.00	0.60	1.00	0.40	0.90	3.90	Black
Cuney, Samuel	1.00	1.00	—	0.75	0.33	3.85	Black

LOUISIANA DELEGATES (*continued*)

<i>Name</i>	<i>Econ.</i>	<i>Misc.</i>	<i>Race</i>	<i>Gov. structure</i>	<i>Suff.</i>	<i>Overall</i>	<i>Bloc</i>
Pinchback, Pickney	1.00	0.67	0.83	0.83	0.50	3.83	Black
Underwood, Napoleon	—	0.25	1.00	—	1.00	3.75	S. White
Blackburn, W. Jasper	1.00	0.80	0.40	0.50	1.00	3.70	S. White
Blandin, Ovide	1.00	0.33	1.00	0.67	0.67	3.67	Black
Reese, Daniel	1.00	0.80	0.40	0.71	0.71	3.63	O. White
Deslonde, Pierre	0.50	0.75	1.00	—	0.64	3.61	Black
Packard, Stephen	0.00	0.83	0.88	0.88	1.00	3.58	O. White
Twitchell, Marshall	1.00	0.33	0.50	—	1.00	3.54	O. White
Gair, John	1.00	0.50	0.71	0.60	—	3.52	Black
Martin, Thomas	0.50	0.60	1.00	—	0.67	3.46	Black
Esnard, John	1.00	0.50	0.88	0.33	0.70	3.41	Black
<i>Swing voters</i>							
Duplessis, Charles	1.00	0.50	0.71	0.63	0.40	3.24	S. White
Demarest, Andrew	1.00	0.40	0.75	0.33	—	3.10	S. White
Guichard, Leopold	0.50	0.25	1.00	—	0.71	3.08	Black
Thibaut, Charles	0.00	—	0.83	1.00	0.56	2.99	Black
Riggs, Daniel	0.00	0.50	0.86	0.83	0.64	2.83	Black
Smith, Charles	1.00	0.50	—	0.33	0.38	2.76	S. White
Snider, Gelderoy	1.00	0.67	0.00	0.50	—	2.71	S. White
Douglas, David	0.00	0.40	0.71	1.00	0.56	2.67	—
Riard, Fortune	0.50	0.20	1.00	0.57	0.30	2.57	Black
Vandergriff, John	0.00	—	0.75	0.75	—	2.50	S. White
Bertonneau Arnold	0.00	0.33	0.88	0.71	0.55	2.47	Black
Durpart, Gustave	0.00	0.50	1.00	0.33	0.50	2.33	Black
Butler, William	0.00	0.33	0.71	0.50	0.75	2.30	Black
Rodriguez, Lazard	0.00	0.33	1.00	0.43	0.50	2.26	Black
Kelso, George	0.00	0.50	0.80	0.50	0.44	2.24	Black
Bonnefoi, Emile	0.50	0.17	0.67	0.43	0.20	1.96	Black
Mahier, Theophile	0.00	0.40	0.86	0.40	0.29	1.94	Black
Brown, William	0.00	—	0.50	0.33	0.63	1.82	Black
Isabelle, Thomas	0.00	0.17	0.88	0.43	0.22	1.69	Black
<i>Conservatives</i>							
Depasseau, Charles	0.00	—	1.00	0.00	—	1.67	S. White
Gould, Abram	0.00	0.50	0.50	—	—	1.67	O. White
Mushaway, James	0.00	0.00	1.00	0.25	0.09	1.34	S. White
Crane, William	0.00	0.00	0.71	0.25	0.18	1.15	S. White

LOUISIANA DELEGATES (*continued*)

<i>Name</i>	<i>Econ.</i>	<i>Misc.</i>	<i>Race</i>	<i>Gov. structure</i>	<i>Suff.</i>	<i>Overall</i>	<i>Bloc</i>
McMillan, William	0.00	0.33	0.00	0.50	0.29	1.12	O. White
Waples, Rufus	0.00	0.00	0.25	0.14	0.70	1.09	S. White
Steele, Hiram	0.00	0.25	0.00	—	0.50	0.94	O. White
Dearing, George	0.00	0.40	0.00	0.50	0.00	0.90	S. White
Harrison, Thomas	0.00	0.00	—	—	0.17	0.28	S. White
Ferguson, George	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.20	0.00	0.20	—
Crawford, Thomas	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.09	0.09	S. White
Barrett, John	0.00	0.00	0.00	—	—	0.00	S. White
Cooley, William	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	S. White
Ludeling, John	0.00	0.00	0.00	—	—	0.00	S. White
<i>Too few votes to count</i>							
Deslonde, Joseph	—	—	—	—	—	—	S. White
Drinkard, John	—	—	—	—	—	—	S. White
Edwards, Fielding	—	—	—	—	—	—	S. White
Fuller, Henry	0.00	0.00	—	—	—	—	O. White
Hiestand, W. H.	1.00	1.00	—	—	—	—	S. White
Lewis, James B.	1.00	—	—	0.75	—	—	S. White
Lynch, John	0.00	0.00	—	—	—	—	O. White
Roberts, J. H. A.	0.50	0.25	—	—	—	—	Black
Taliaferro, James	—	—	—	—	—	—	S. White

MISSISSIPPI DELEGATES

<i>Name</i>	<i>Gov. structure</i>	<i>Race</i>	<i>Misc.</i>	<i>Suff.</i>	<i>Econ.</i>	<i>Overall</i>	<i>Bloc</i>
<i>Radicals</i>							
Holland, George H.	1.00	—	1.00	—	1.00	5.00	S. White
Moore, J. Aaron	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	5.00	Black
Stewart, Isham	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	5.00	Black
Stringer, Thomas	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	5.00	Black
Caldwell, Charles	1.00	0.94	1.00	1.00	1.00	4.94	Black
Toy, Henry P.	1.00	0.93	1.00	1.00	1.00	4.93	O. White
Leonard, William	1.00	0.92	1.00	1.00	1.00	4.92	Black
Castello, Edward J.	1.00	1.00	1.00	0.91	1.00	4.91	O. White
Handy, Emanuel	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	0.86	4.86	Black
Mygatt, Alston	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	0.86	4.86	S. White
Woodmansee, Joe	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	0.86	4.86	O. White

MISSISSIPPI DELEGATES (*continued*)

<i>Name</i>	<i>Gov. structure</i>	<i>Race</i>	<i>Misc.</i>	<i>Suff.</i>	<i>Econ.</i>	<i>Overall</i>	<i>Bloc</i>
Jacobs, Henry P.	1.00	1.00	1.00	0.85	1.00	4.85	Black
Draine, Amos	1.00	1.00	1.00	0.82	1.00	4.82	Black
Clarke, Charles W.	1.00	0.93	1.00	1.00	0.88	4.81	O. White
Johnson, Albert (Warren)	1.00	1.00	0.80	1.00	1.00	4.80	Black
Lawson, Wesley	0.86	1.00	1.00	0.92	1.00	4.78	Black
Fitzhugh, Charles W.	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	0.75	4.75	Black
Myers, Cyrus	1.00	0.80	1.00	0.92	1.00	4.72	Black
Mayson, Henry	1.00	0.94	1.00	0.89	0.88	4.70	Black
Stites, Doctor	1.00	1.00	—	0.90	0.86	4.70	Black
Newsom, Mathew T.	1.00	0.87	1.00	0.92	0.88	4.66	Black
Bonney, Peres	1.00	0.87	1.00	0.91	0.88	4.65	S. White
Brinson, John C.	0.71	0.93	1.00	1.00	1.00	4.65	Black
Parsons, John (Hinds)	1.00	0.87	1.00	0.89	0.86	4.61	O. White
Leas, Benjamin	1.00	0.73	1.00	1.00	0.86	4.59	O. White
McKee, George	1.00	0.90	0.75	—	1.00	4.56	O. White
Barry, Henry	1.00	0.73	1.00	0.91	0.88	4.52	O. White
Peyton, Elijah (Hinds)	0.86	0.73	—	1.00	1.00	4.49	S. White
Yeoman, William	0.75	0.81	1.00	0.92	1.00	4.48	O. White
Bridges, Nicholas	0.88	0.93	1.00	0.92	0.75	4.48	S. White
Parsons, Frederick (Adams)	1.00	0.67	1.00	0.73	1.00	4.39	O. White
Fawn, John	1.00	0.87	0.80	1.00	0.67	4.33	O. White
Combash, William T.	1.00	0.77	0.80	0.89	0.88	4.33	Black
Herbert, James L.	1.00	0.75	—	0.70	1.00	4.31	S. White
Hauser, Jere	1.00	0.85	1.00	0.70	0.75	4.30	—
Ozanne, Urbain	1.00	0.71	1.00	0.88	0.63	4.21	S. White
Chappel, N. J.	1.00	0.86	—	0.89	0.63	4.21	—
Railsback, Jehiel	0.88	0.69	1.00	0.75	0.88	4.19	O. White
Warren, Henry W.	1.00	1.00	1.00	0.46	0.63	4.09	O. White
Weir, James	0.71	0.73	1.00	0.89	0.75	4.09	S. White
Chapman, Carlos	0.71	0.86	1.00	0.78	0.71	4.06	O. White
Alderson, Abel	0.71	0.76	1.00	0.58	1.00	4.06	S. White
Gibbs, William H.	1.00	0.67	1.00	0.75	0.63	4.04	O. White
Morgan, Albert T.	0.80	—	1.00	1.00	0.33	3.92	O. White
Quinn, David A.	0.57	0.75	—	0.88	0.75	3.68	S. White
Smith. E. R.	0.71	0.60	0.75	—	0.88	3.67	S. White
Jones, Thomas W.	1.00	0.43	—	—	0.71	3.57	S. White

MISSISSIPPI DELEGATES (*continued*)

<i>Name</i>	<i>Gov. structure</i>	<i>Race</i>	<i>Misc.</i>	<i>Suff.</i>	<i>Econ.</i>	<i>Overall</i>	<i>Bloc</i>
<i>Swing voters</i>							
Cunningham, William M.	0.71	0.56	0.33	0.78	0.83	3.22	O. White
Alcorn, Robert	0.25	0.69	1.00	0.77	0.50	3.21	S. White
Musgrove, Henry	0.75	0.64	1.00	0.30	0.38	3.06	O. White
Richardson, Jared	0.63	0.69	—	0.78	0.33	3.04	S. White
Field, Joseph	0.57	0.77	0.67	—	0.40	3.01	S. White
McKnight, William	0.43	0.56	0.50	0.60	0.86	2.95	S. White
Elliott, James (Monroe)	0.57	0.50	0.33	—	0.57	2.47	S. White
Dowd, Andrew	0.17	0.83	—	0.38	0.50	2.34	S. White
Howe, Albert	0.17	0.54	0.67	0.27	0.50	2.14	O. White
Stiles, Edward H.	0.50	0.54	0.20	0.30	0.50	2.04	S. White
Beam, Charles	0.40	0.40	—	0.17	0.57	1.92	S. White
Vaughan, W. G.	0.17	0.31	—	—	0.57	1.74	S. White
<i>Conservatives</i>							
Conly, Samuel	0.20	0.33	—	0.63	0.17	1.66	S. White
Hutto, William A.	0.25	0.40	0.20	0.18	0.38	1.41	S. White
Ballard, Horatio N.	0.00	0.62	—	0.09	0.33	1.30	S. White
Stovall, George	0.14	0.36	0.40	0.00	0.25	1.15	S. White
Elliott, John (Itawamba)	0.25	—	0.00	0.29	0.38	1.14	S. White
Lack, Moses H.	0.25	0.33	—	0.13	0.00	0.89	S. White
Hemingway, William L.	0.00	0.23	—	—	0.25	0.80	S. White
Johnson, Stephen (Carroll)	0.00	0.25	—	—	0.20	0.75	S. White
Goss, Alanson	0.17	0.14	—	0.11	0.13	0.68	S. White
Longmire, G. E.	0.17	0.33	0.00	0.00	—	0.63	S. White
Townsend, Charles H.	0.20	0.00	—	0.13	0.00	0.41	O. White
Montgomery, Robert	0.17	0.21	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.38	S. White
Compton, William M.	0.00	0.00	—	0.14	—	0.24	S. White
Gaither, Wiley	0.00	0.00	—	0.00	0.13	0.16	S. White
Dalton, Terry	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.13	0.13	S. White
McCutchin, P. H.	0.00	—	—	0.00	0.00	0.00	S. White
Nelms, William	0.00	0.00	—	—	0.00	0.00	S. White
Phillips, John M.	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	S. White
Walker, D. T.	0.00	0.00	0.00	—	0.00	0.00	S. White
<i>Too few votes to count</i>							
Collins, Vincent	—	—	—	—	—	—	S. White
Eggleston, Beroth	—	—	—	—	—	—	O. White

MISSISSIPPI DELEGATES (*continued*)

<i>Name</i>	<i>Gov. structure</i>	<i>Race</i>	<i>Misc.</i>	<i>Suff.</i>	<i>Econ.</i>	<i>Overall</i>	<i>Bloc</i>
Gray, William B.	—	—	—	—	0.25	—	S. White
Jamison, Andrew	—	—	—	—	0.50	—	S. White
Kerr, James	—	—	—	—	—	—	S. White
Mask, Hamilton	0.50	—	—	—	0.25	—	S. White
McWilliams, Duncan	—	—	—	0.89	—	—	—
Merryman, R. C.	0.00	—	—	—	0.00	—	S. White
Miles, Orange	1.00	—	—	—	—	—	S. White
Neilson, Charles	0.00	—	—	—	0.14	—	S. White
Nesbit, William D.	0.00	—	—	—	0.00	—	S. White
Niles, Jason	—	—	—	—	—	—	S. White
Orr, Benjamin H.	0.83	—	—	—	0.57	—	S. White
Peyton, Ephraim (Copiah)	—	—	—	—	1.00	—	S. White
Powell, Samuel	1.00	—	—	1.00	—	—	S. White
Rainey, Isham	0.67	—	—	—	0.57	—	—
Stricklin, Walter	—	—	—	—	0.00	—	S. White
Watson, John W. C.	0.00	—	—	—	0.00	—	S. White

NORTH CAROLINA DELEGATES

<i>Name</i>	<i>Suff.</i>	<i>Misc.</i>	<i>Gov. structure</i>	<i>Race</i>	<i>Econ.</i>	<i>Overall</i>	<i>Bloc</i>
<i>Radicals</i>							
Ashley, Samuel	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	5.00	O. White
Carter, Sylvester	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	5.00	S. White
Franklin, Stokes	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	5.00	S. White
Harris, James (Wake)	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	5.00	Black
Robbins, Parker	1.00	—	1.00	1.00	1.00	5.00	Black
Stilwell, Silas	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	5.00	S. White
Smith, Jerry	0.93	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	4.93	S. White
Ragland, John	0.91	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	4.91	S. White
Bryan, John	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	0.89	4.89	S. White
Morton, Levi	0.91	1.00	1.00	1.00	—	4.89	S. White
French, John (Chowan)	1.00	1.00	0.88	1.00	1.00	4.88	O. White
Chilson, Henry	1.00	1.00	0.86	1.00	1.00	4.86	O. White
Galloway, Abraham	0.86	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	4.86	Black
Gunter, William	0.86	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	4.86	S. White
Watts, Samuel	1.00	1.00	0.83	1.00	1.00	4.83	S. White

NORTH CAROLINA DELEGATES (*continued*)

<i>Name</i>	<i>Suff.</i>	<i>Misc.</i>	<i>Gov. structure</i>	<i>Race</i>	<i>Econ.</i>	<i>Overall</i>	<i>Bloc</i>
Laffin, Byron	0.82	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	4.82	O. White
Carey, Wilson	1.00	0.80	1.00	1.00	1.00	4.80	Black
Heaton, David	1.00	0.80	1.00	1.00	1.00	4.80	O. White
Mann, W. A.	1.00	1.00	0.80	1.00	1.00	4.80	O. White
Abbot, Joseph	0.92	1.00	0.86	1.00	1.00	4.78	O. White
Grant, Hiram (Wayne)	1.00	0.80	1.00	1.00	—	4.75	O. White
Gulley, Nathan	1.00	0.75	1.00	1.00	1.00	4.75	S. White
Pierson, Clinton	1.00	0.75	1.00	1.00	1.00	4.75	Black
Tucker, George	0.92	0.80	1.00	1.00	1.00	4.72	S. White
Beanbow, Evan	1.00	—	0.83	1.00	—	4.72	S. White
Legg, Edwin	0.86	1.00	0.86	1.00	1.00	4.71	O. White
Blume, William	1.00	0.83	1.00	1.00	0.88	4.71	S. White
French, F. F. (Bladen)	0.70	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	4.70	O. White
Taylor, William Matchet	0.89	1.00	1.00	0.80	1.00	4.69	S. White
Kinney, Isaac	0.85	0.83	1.00	1.00	1.00	4.68	S. White
Mayo, Cuffee	0.85	0.83	1.00	1.00	1.00	4.68	Black
Hobbs, Milton	1.00	0.80	0.88	1.00	1.00	4.68	S. White
Rodman, William	0.83	1.00	0.83	1.00	1.00	4.67	S. White
McDonald, Sween (Moore)	0.90	1.00	0.75	1.00	1.00	4.65	S. White
Dickey, George	0.77	1.00	0.88	1.00	1.00	4.64	S. White
Rich, D. J.	0.63	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	4.63	O. White
Sweet, William	1.00	0.75	0.86	1.00	1.00	4.61	O. White
Colgrove, David	1.00	0.60	1.00	1.00	1.00	4.60	O. White
Nance, Joshua	0.86	1.00	0.71	1.00	1.00	4.57	S. White
Murphy, W. A. B.	1.00	0.80	1.00	0.88	0.89	4.56	S. White
Newsom, William	0.80	1.00	0.83	1.00	—	4.54	S. White
Fisher, Abial	0.63	1.00	0.88	1.00	1.00	4.50	S. White
Highsmith, Samuel	1.00	0.50	1.00	1.00	1.00	4.50	Black
Lee, Bryant	1.00	0.60	1.00	1.00	—	4.50	Black
Hood, James	1.00	0.60	0.88	1.00	1.00	4.48	Black
Tourgée, Albion	0.89	0.80	0.88	1.00	—	4.45	O. White
Long, Richmond	0.89	1.00	0.71	0.80	1.00	4.40	S. White
Harris, James (Franklin)	0.90	0.67	0.80	1.00	1.00	4.37	S. White
Ray, Henry	0.91	0.40	1.00	1.00	1.00	4.31	S. White
Patrick, John	0.88	1.00	1.00	—	0.57	4.31	S. White
Hayes, Orlin (Robeson)	0.80	0.50	1.00	1.00	1.00	4.30	O. White

NORTH CAROLINA DELEGATES (*continued*)

<i>Name</i>	<i>Suff.</i>	<i>Misc.</i>	<i>Gov. structure</i>	<i>Race</i>	<i>Econ.</i>	<i>Overall</i>	<i>Bloc</i>
Read, John	0.67	1.00	0.86	0.75	1.00	4.27	S. White
Congleton, Abram	1.00	0.50	1.00	0.88	0.89	4.26	S. White
Hayes, W. J. T. (Halifax)	1.00	0.40	0.86	1.00	1.00	4.26	Black
Andrews, Joshua	1.00	0.50	1.00	1.00	0.75	4.25	O. White
Parks, John	1.00	0.60	1.00	0.88	0.75	4.23	S. White
Stilley, William	0.92	—	0.86	1.00	0.60	4.22	S. White
Eppes, Henry	1.00	0.33	0.88	1.00	1.00	4.21	Black
Renfrow, John	0.92	0.25	1.00	1.00	1.00	4.17	O. White
Jones, Calvin (Caldwell)	0.79	0.83	0.75	0.80	1.00	4.17	S. White
Garland, Julius	0.50	—	1.00	1.00	—	4.17	S. White
McDonald, John (Chatham)	0.67	1.00	0.83	1.00	0.67	4.17	S. White
Graham, George (Montgomery)	0.54	1.00	0.88	1.00	0.75	4.16	S. White
George, Wesley	1.00	1.00	1.00	0.88	0.29	4.16	S. White
Cherry, Henry	0.89	0.50	0.86	1.00	0.86	4.10	Black
May, Mark	0.69	0.40	1.00	1.00	1.00	4.09	S. White
Mullican, Spencer	1.00	0.25	1.00	1.00	0.83	4.08	S. White
Marshall, John	0.67	—	—	1.00	0.78	4.07	S. White
Hay, James	0.90	1.00	0.75	1.00	0.40	4.05	S. White
Hyman, John	1.00	0.50	0.71	1.00	—	4.02	Black
Forkner, Samuel	0.93	0.50	0.88	1.00	0.67	3.97	S. White
Logan, William	0.73	0.20	1.00	1.00	1.00	3.93	S. White
Petree, Riley	1.00	0.25	1.00	1.00	0.67	3.92	S. White
Welker, George	0.71	0.60	0.88	0.86	0.86	3.90	S. White
Fullings, Edward	1.00	0.00	1.00	1.00	0.89	3.89	O. White
Aydlott, Milot	1.00	1.00	1.00	0.83	0.00	3.83	S. White
Ing, Jacob	0.82	0.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	3.82	S. White
Nicholson, William	1.00	0.00	0.83	1.00	0.86	3.69	S. White
Parker, Roswell	0.92	0.00	1.00	1.00	0.71	3.64	S. White
Moore, James	0.83	0.80	0.57	1.00	0.40	3.60	S. White
Gahagan, George	0.62	0.20	1.00	1.00	0.78	3.59	S. White
Pool, Charles	1.00	0.20	0.67	1.00	—	3.58	S. White
Turner, James	0.83	1.00	0.50	0.67	0.57	3.57	S. White
Cox, Talton	0.82	0.00	1.00	1.00	0.71	3.53	S. White
French, John (Rockingham)	0.78	0.00	1.00	1.00	0.71	3.49	S. White
Hoffler, Thomas	0.70	0.50	0.88	0.71	—	3.49	S. White
Grant, Henry (Northampton)	1.00	0.20	0.83	1.00	0.43	3.46	S. White

NORTH CAROLINA DELEGATES (*continued*)

<i>Name</i>	<i>Suff.</i>	<i>Misc.</i>	<i>Gov. structure</i>	<i>Race</i>	<i>Econ.</i>	<i>Overall</i>	<i>Bloc</i>
King, Joseph (Lincoln)	1.00	0.20	0.75	0.80	—	3.44	S. White
Duckworth, James	0.92	0.40	1.00	0.86	0.25	3.42	S. White
Barnes, Henry	1.00	0.33	0.86	1.00	0.20	3.39	S. White
<i>Swing voters</i>							
Trogden, Rueben	0.80	0.00	0.83	1.00	—	3.29	S. White
Williams, Benton (Wake)	0.89	0.00	1.00	0.63	0.75	3.26	S. White
Daniel, Wiley	0.64	—	0.75	—	0.57	3.26	S. White
Teague, Elijah	0.85	0.00	0.86	1.00	0.50	3.20	S. White
Howell, Jesse	0.75	0.17	0.57	0.71	1.00	3.20	S. White
Glover, Andrew	1.00	0.20	0.86	—	0.50	3.20	S. White
Rhodes, Jesse	0.80	0.17	1.00	0.83	0.25	3.05	S. White
Rose, Allen	0.71	0.00	1.00	0.80	0.38	2.89	S. White
Dowd, Henry	0.50	0.60	—	—	0.63	2.88	S. White
Jones, Edmund (Tyrrell and Washington)	0.83	0.00	0.83	1.00	0.00	2.67	S. White
Peterson, Jno.	—	0.50	0.67	—	0.40	2.61	S. White
King, Richard (Lenoir)	1.00	0.20	0.60	—	0.25	2.56	S. White
Baker, Joseph	0.50	0.50	0.40	—	0.63	2.53	S. White
Candler, Thomas	0.46	0.00	0.75	0.86	0.29	2.35	S. White
Bradley, George	0.45	0.60	0.43	0.29	0.29	2.05	S. White
<i>Conservatives</i>							
Ethridge, Jasper	0.08	1.00	0.13	0.14	0.29	1.63	S. White
McCubbins, John	0.00	0.67	0.29	0.00	0.57	1.52	S. White
Lennon, Haynes	0.00	1.00	0.00	0.00	0.33	1.33	S. White
Merritt, William	0.00	1.00	0.00	0.00	0.29	1.29	S. White
Sanderlin, Thomas	0.00	0.67	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.67	S. White
Graham, John (Orange)	—	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.33	0.42	S. White
Holt, Edwin	0.00	—	0.00	0.00	0.29	0.36	S. White
Durham, Plato	0.00	—	0.00	0.00	0.17	0.21	S. White
Hare, Jackson	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.17	0.17	S. White
Ellis, James	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.11	0.11	S. White
Hodnett, Philip	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	S. White
<i>Too few votes to count</i>							
Cowles, Calvin	—	—	—	—	—	—	S. White
Garrett, W. G. B.	—	—	—	—	—	—	S. White
Hall, Lorenzo	—	—	—	—	—	—	S. White

NORTH CAROLINA DELEGATES (*continued*)

<i>Name</i>	<i>Suff.</i>	<i>Misc.</i>	<i>Gov. structure</i>	<i>Race</i>	<i>Econ.</i>	<i>Overall</i>	<i>Bloc</i>
Marler, John	—	—	0.25	0.00	—	—	S. White
Williams, Alexander (Samp)	—	—	0.00	0.00	—	—	S. White
Williamson, John	—	1.00	1.00	—	—	—	Black

TEXAS DELEGATES

<i>Name</i>	<i>Gov. structure/ Econ.</i>	<i>Race</i>	<i>Misc.</i>	<i>Suff.</i>	<i>Overall</i>	<i>Bloc</i>
<i>Radicals</i>						
Degener, Edward	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	5.00	S. White
Mullens, Shepherd	—	—	1.00	1.00	5.00	Black
Patten, Nathan	1.00	0.94	1.00	1.00	4.92	S. White
Ruby George	0.93	1.00	1.00	1.00	4.91	Black
Hunt, Horatio	1.00	1.00	1.00	0.92	4.90	O. White
Butler, James	1.00	—	0.92	1.00	4.87	O. White
Keuchler, Jacob	0.94	0.94	1.00	1.00	4.85	S. White
Davis, Edmund	0.94	1.00	1.00	0.92	4.83	S. White
Long, Ralph	0.93	0.94	1.00	0.92	4.73	Black
Lippard, John	1.00	0.79	1.00	1.00	4.73	S. White
Downing, Andrew	0.94	0.88	1.00	0.92	4.68	O. White
Newcomb, James	1.00	0.81	1.00	0.92	4.67	S. White
Smith, George	0.87	1.00	—	—	4.67	O. White
Hamilton, Morgan	—	—	1.00	0.85	4.62	S. White
Whitmore, George	0.94	0.71	1.00	—	4.41	S. White
Bryant, Charles	0.73	0.85	0.94	—	4.20	Black
Jordan, A. P. H.	0.56	0.83	1.00	0.77	3.96	S. White
Slaughter, George	0.71	0.57	0.94	0.92	3.94	O. White
Bledsoe, Albert	0.88	0.54	0.94	—	3.94	S. White
Kendall, Mitchell	0.53	0.94	0.94	0.54	3.70	Black
Foster, Henry	0.44	1.00	—	—	3.59	S. White
Smith, Robert	0.19	0.67	0.94	0.92	3.40	O. White
Fayle, William	0.46	0.90	0.82	0.50	3.36	S. White
Evans, Andrew	0.54	—	0.80	—	3.35	S. White
<i>Swing voters</i>						
Johnson, Wiley	0.36	0.94	0.50	0.85	3.30	Black
Talbot, Joseph	0.76	0.54	—	—	3.26	S. White

TEXAS DELEGATES (*continued*)

<i>Name</i>	<i>Gov. structure/</i>		<i>Race</i>	<i>Misc.</i>	<i>Suff.</i>	<i>Overall</i>	<i>Bloc</i>
	<i>Econ.</i>						
Brown, James	—		0.56	0.56	0.75	3.10	S. White
Curtis, Stephen	0.54		0.82	0.69	0.38	3.04	Black
Board, N. V.	0.19		0.41	0.88	0.92	3.01	S. White
Williams, Benjamin	0.50		0.93	0.25	0.67	2.94	Black
Carter, W. Frank	0.12		0.67	0.94	0.62	2.93	S. White
Flanagan, James	0.00		0.39	0.89	1.00	2.85	S. White
Varnell, William	0.06		0.44	0.78	1.00	2.84	S. White
Munroe, Armisted	0.33		0.54	0.75	—	2.70	S. White
Evans, Lemuel	—	—		1.00	0.08	2.69	S. White
Constant, D. C.	0.38		0.69	—	—	2.67	O. White
Yarborough, Gilbert	0.60		0.42	—	—	2.54	S. White
Wilson, John	0.41		0.24	0.44	0.92	2.51	S. White
Phillips William J. (Warton)	0.06		0.43	0.56	0.89	2.42	S. White
Burnett, James	0.38		0.50	0.78	0.15	2.27	S. White
Thomas, James	0.94		0.33	0.13	0.23	2.05	S. White
Bellinger, Edmund	—		0.56	0.20	0.46	2.03	S. White
Grigsby, Aaron	0.20		0.58	—	—	1.96	S. White
McWashington, James	0.07		0.87	0.24	0.38	1.94	Black
Watrous, Benjamin	0.13		0.79	0.18	0.46	1.94	Black
Vaughan, Francis	0.30		0.46	0.33	—	1.82	S. White
Lieb, John	0.23		0.60	0.21	0.31	1.69	S. White
<i>Conservatives</i>							
Mackey, John	0.00		0.50	0.06	0.75	1.64	S. White
Scott, J. R.	0.13		0.47	0.53	0.17	1.61	S. White
Buffington, Anderson	0.12		0.39	0.69	0.08	1.59	S. White
Gray, Bird	—	—		0.53	0.08	1.54	S. White
Harris, Loring	0.25		0.07	0.83	0.08	1.53	S. White
Lindsay, Livingston	0.18		0.69	0.00	—	1.46	S. White
Armstrong, Micajah	0.25		0.33	0.47	0.08	1.41	S. White
Flanagan, Webster	0.07		0.00	0.76	—	1.39	S. White
Bryant, Anthony	0.54		0.33	0.14	0.08	1.36	S. White
Phillips, William (San Augustine)	0.24		0.33	0.06	0.46	1.36	S. White
Boyd, John	0.43		0.09	—	—	1.30	S. White
Wright, Arvin	0.00		0.39	0.39	0.23	1.26	S. White

TEXAS DELEGATES (*continued*)

<i>Name</i>	<i>Gov. structure/</i>		<i>Race</i>	<i>Misc.</i>	<i>Suff.</i>	<i>Overall</i>	<i>Bloc</i>
	<i>Econ.</i>						
Schuetze, Julius	0.24		0.47	0.20	0.08	1.22	S. White
Bell, John	0.14		0.29	0.20	0.33	1.21	S. White
Morse, John	0.54		0.22	0.11	0.08	1.19	—
Pedigo, Henry	0.00		—	0.47	—	1.17	S. White
Johnson, Samuel	0.07		0.38	—	—	1.13	S. White
McCormick, Andrew	0.00		0.70	0.11	0.08	1.11	S. White
Sumner, Frederick	0.33		—	0.07	—	1.01	S. White
Armstrong, James	0.53		0.06	0.18	0.00	0.95	S. White
Rogers, Edwin	0.25		0.33	0.06	0.08	0.89	S. White
Keigwin, William	0.47		0.06	0.18	0.00	0.87	S. White
Posey, W. H.	0.07		0.60	0.00	0.00	0.84	O. White
Caldwell, Colbert	0.00		0.33	—	—	0.83	S. White
Wilson, Erwin	0.06		0.47	0.06	0.08	0.83	S. White
Kealey, Thomas	0.12		0.39	0.06	0.08	0.80	S. White
Gaston, Matthew	0.20		0.11	0.28	0.00	0.74	S. White
Stockbridge, Charles	0.06		0.39	0.06	0.08	0.73	S. White
Harn, C. D.	0.06		0.29	0.13	0.08	0.68	O. White
Mundine, Tirus	0.00		0.38	0.06	0.08	0.64	S. White
Fleming, William	0.19		0.24	0.00	0.08	0.62	S. White
Hamilton, Andrew	0.00		0.29	0.06	0.08	0.53	S. White
Kirk, Allan	0.25		0.00	—	0.00	0.42	S. White
Cole, David Washington	0.25		0.06	0.00	0.00	0.39	S. White
Sorrell, G. M. L.	—		—	0.08	0.00	0.19	—
Glenn, Marshall	—		0.00	—	0.00	0.00	S. White
<i>Too few votes to count</i>							
Adams, Pleasant	—		—	0.88	—	—	S. White
Coleman, C. E.	—		—	—	—	—	O. White
Goddin, Mortimer	0.69		—	—	—	—	S. White
Horne, William	0.08		—	—	—	—	S. White
Mills, William	—		—	—	0.40	—	S. White
Muckleroy, David	0.17		—	—	—	—	S. White
Mullins, W. H.	—		—	—	—	—	S. White
Oaks, William	1.00		—	—	—	—	S. White
Talbot, Richard	—		—	—	—	—	S. White

VIRGINIA DELEGATES

<i>Name</i>	<i>Misc.</i>	<i>Econ.</i>	<i>Gov. structure</i>	<i>Race</i>	<i>Suff.</i>	<i>Overall</i>	<i>Bloc</i>
<i>Radicals</i>							
Carr, David	1.00	1.00	1.00	—	1.00	5.00	S. White
Cox, Joseph	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	5.00	Black
Hodges, Willis	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	5.00	Black
James, William	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	5.00	O. White
Jones, Peter	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	5.00	Black
Massey, Edward	1.00	1.00	—	1.00	1.00	5.00	S. White
Moss, Francis “Frank”	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	5.00	Black
Porter, Charles	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	5.00	O. White
Teamoh, George	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	5.00	Black
Toler, Burwell	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	5.00	Black
Watson, John	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	5.00	Black
Bowden, Henry	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	0.94	4.94	S. White
Canada, David	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	0.94	4.94	Black
Bayne, Thomas	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	0.93	4.93	Black
Nelson, Edward	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	0.93	4.93	Black
Swan, George	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	0.92	4.92	S. White
Lindsey, Lewis	1.00	1.00	1.00	0.92	1.00	4.92	Black
Morrissey, James	1.00	1.00	1.00	0.92	1.00	4.92	O. White
Kelso, Samuel	1.00	1.00	1.00	0.91	1.00	4.91	Black
Nickerson, Lewis	1.00	1.00	1.00	0.90	1.00	4.90	O. White
Norton, Daniel	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	0.90	4.90	Black
Dodge, Sanford	1.00	0.86	1.00	1.00	1.00	4.86	O. White
Hunnicuttt, James	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	0.86	4.86	S. White
Holmes, Joseph	1.00	1.00	1.00	0.92	0.93	4.85	Black
Moseley, William	1.00	0.83	1.00	1.00	1.00	4.83	Black
Robinson, John	1.00	0.83	1.00	1.00	1.00	4.83	Black
Underwood, John	—	—	1.00	1.00	0.89	4.81	O. White
Leahy, William	1.00	—	1.00	—	0.88	4.79	O. White
Lee, Luther, Jr.	1.00	1.00	1.00	0.86	0.90	4.76	O. White
Brown, John	1.00	1.00	1.00	0.90	0.83	4.73	Black
Breedlove, William	1.00	1.00	1.00	0.78	—	4.72	Black
Bland, James	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	0.71	4.71	Black
Platt, James, Jr.	1.00	0.80	1.00	0.88	1.00	4.68	O. White
Curtiss, Gaston	1.00	0.67	1.00	1.00	1.00	4.67	O. White

VIRGINIA DELEGATES (*continued*)

<i>Name</i>	<i>Misc.</i>	<i>Econ.</i>	<i>Gov. structure</i>	<i>Race</i>	<i>Suff.</i>	<i>Overall</i>	<i>Bloc</i>
Hawxhurst, John	1.00	0.86	0.80	1.00	1.00	4.66	S. White
White, David	0.86	0.80	1.00	1.00	1.00	4.66	O. White
Reed, William	1.00	1.00	1.00	0.91	0.73	4.64	S. White
Thompson, C. L.	—	—	1.00	0.86	0.92	4.62	S. White
Morgan, Peter	1.00	0.86	1.00	0.89	0.88	4.62	Black
Williamson, Samuel	—	1.00	0.80	1.00	0.89	4.61	S. White
Carter, James	0.86	0.86	0.86	1.00	1.00	4.57	Black
Fuqua, Samuel	1.00	1.00	1.00	0.86	0.67	4.52	S. White
Ayer, Richard	1.00	0.71	1.00	0.90	0.88	4.49	O. White
Andrews, William	—	1.00	0.80	0.86	0.92	4.47	Black
Maddox, Samuel	0.86	0.80	1.00	0.92	0.87	4.44	O. White
Hine, Orrin	1.00	0.67	0.88	0.88	1.00	4.42	O. White
Toy, James	1.00	0.60	1.00	0.89	0.88	4.36	O. White
Taylor, James	0.86	0.83	0.88	0.88	0.92	4.36	Black
Babcock, Lemuel	1.00	1.00	0.71	0.82	0.77	4.30	S. White
Dixon, John	1.00	1.00	0.75	—	0.67	4.27	S. White
Poor, Frederick	0.80	—	1.00	0.86	0.75	4.26	S. White
Barrett, James	1.00	0.60	1.00	1.00	0.62	4.22	Black
Milbourn, Andrew	1.00	0.57	0.71	0.73	0.93	3.94	S. White
Clements, James	0.83	0.86	0.71	0.75	0.77	3.92	O. White
Allan, Edgar	1.00	0.60	0.86	0.82	0.64	3.92	O. White
Staley, David	1.00	0.71	1.00	0.56	0.58	3.85	S. White
Lydick, William	1.00	0.17	1.00	0.80	0.79	3.75	S. White
Nash, Ephraim	1.00	0.40	0.86	0.80	0.62	3.67	O. White
Wicker, Herbert	1.00	0.43	0.86	0.70	0.64	3.63	S. White
Parr, William	0.83	0.75	1.00	0.57	0.36	3.52	S. White
Thayer, Levi	0.80	0.40	0.80	0.71	0.69	3.40	O. White
Thomas, Christopher	0.83	0.67	0.67	0.83	0.38	3.38	S. White
Winston, Ferdinand	1.00	0.50	0.60	0.57	—	3.34	S. White
<i>Swing voters</i>							
Flanagan, Adam	—	0.00	0.80	0.67	0.69	2.70	S. White
<i>Conservatives</i>							
Snead, Edward	0.67	0.17	0.00	—	—	1.39	S. White
Gibson, Jonathan	0.00	0.50	0.00	0.17	—	0.83	S. White
Lee, Hugh	0.00	0.25	0.20	0.11	0.00	0.56	S. White
Owen, William	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.10	0.18	0.28	S. White

VIRGINIA DELEGATES (*continued*)

<i>Name</i>	<i>Misc.</i>	<i>Econ.</i>	<i>Gov. structure</i>	<i>Race</i>	<i>Suff.</i>	<i>Overall</i>	<i>Bloc</i>
Wilson, Norval	0.00	0.20	0.00	0.00	—	0.25	S. White
Thompson, John	0.00	0.20	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.20	S. White
Gibson, Eustace	0.00	0.14	—	0.00	0.00	0.18	S. White
Seay, Samuel	—	0.00	0.00	0.14	0.00	0.18	S. White
Rust, George	0.00	0.14	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.14	S. White
Harris, Adolphus	—	0.00	0.00	0.11	0.00	0.14	S. White
Robertson, William	0.00	—	0.00	—	0.07	0.12	S. White
Harrison, Powell	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.11	0.00	0.11	S. White
Williams, J. Henry	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.09	0.09	O. White
McLaughlin, William	0.00	0.00	—	0.00	0.07	0.08	S. White
Berkeley, Norborne	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	S. White
Broadus, John	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	S. White
Cowan, George	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	S. White
Duncan, Charles	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	S. White
French, James	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	S. White
Gibboney, James	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	S. White
Gravatt, John	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	S. White
Hunter, Frederick	—	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	S. White
Kennerly, Joseph	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	S. White
Lewis, Benjamin	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	S. White
Linkenhoker, Lewis	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	S. White
Mayse, Joseph	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	—	0.00	S. White
Plaster, George	0.00	0.00	0.00	—	0.00	0.00	S. White
Robertson, M. F.	0.00	0.00	—	0.00	0.00	0.00	S. White
Scott, Robert	0.00	0.00	—	0.00	0.00	0.00	S. White
Southall, James	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	S. White
Waddell, Joseph	—	0.00	0.00	—	0.00	0.00	S. White
Walton, Moses	0.00	0.00	0.00	—	—	0.00	S. White
<i>Too few votes to count</i>							
Campbell, Joseph	0.00	0.00	—	—	—	—	S. White
Dickey, William	—	0.80	—	0.00	—	—	S. White
Eastham, John	—	—	—	—	0.17	—	S. White
Liggett, Jacob	—	0.20	—	—	—	—	S. White
Marye, John, Jr.	0.00	—	—	0.00	—	—	S. White
Mauzy, Fayette	—	—	—	—	—	—	S. White
Taylor, W. F. B.	—	0.25	—	—	—	—	S. White
Woodson, John	0.00	0.25	—	—	—	—	S. White

APPENDIX C

DELEGATE BIOGRAPHICAL DATA

All southern white, black, and outside white delegates are listed in this appendix, arranged by state within each group. Dashes indicate that pertinent information in the category is unavailable for that delegate. Abbreviations are defined and symbols explained following each state section. Unclassified whites and delegates who were absent or not seated or did not vote are listed following the southern whites section for each state.

ALABAMA SOUTHERN WHITE DELEGATES

Name	Region of state	District no.	% dist. black	County represented	Age	Native state/country	Profession	1860 real/ personal property	1870 real/ personal property	Slaves owned	(Former office), future office	Other biographical data
Adams, Thomas	P	28	41.5	Talladega	55	SC	Merchant	\$400	—	0	—	Whig, anti-secessionist, antagonized Confederate authorities
Alexander, John*	P	20	57.3	Autauga	28	AL	Planter	\$0 \$3,000	\$35,000 \$5,000	0	County commissioner	Union League
Austin, William	TV	38	18.9	Jackson	55	TN	Merchant	\$23,000 \$22,500	\$700 \$3,500	20	—	Unionist, refugee in North during war
Autrey, James	P	30	22.5	Calhoun	45	AL	Farmer	\$3,000 \$400	—	0	—	A constant Union man
Brigham, Arthur	P	28	41.5	Talladega	45	NY	Cabinetmaker	\$3,000 \$4,000	\$10,000 \$500	2	State treasurer	Whig, Douglas supporter in 1860, opposed secession, refugee
Brigham, Daniel	TV	43	47.4	Limestone	65	VT	Editor	\$2,000 \$1,800	Died in 1868	0	(Registrar of bankruptcy)	Unionist, driven out of AL
Blackford, William	B	22	79.2	Hale	39	VA	Physician	\$4,000 \$2,700	\$5,000 \$5,500	0	Probate judge	Unionist, Confederate veteran
Brunson, Simeon	P	18	71.8	Pickens	58	GA	Farmer	\$400 \$5,760	\$500 \$500	5	State house	Sometimes classified as black
Cabot, Charles*	P	20	57.3	Elmore	42	VT	Farmer	\$5,000 \$26,000	\$12,000 \$10,000	8	(Delegate to 1865 const. convention), county commissioner	Democrat
Collins, Alfred	M	37	6.6	DeKalb	50	TN	Farmer	\$3,000 \$5,000	\$5,000 \$1,000	4	—	Whig, Unionist, accused of murdering Congressman Haughey
Davis, Joseph	P	27	14.3	Randolph	48	GA	Physician	\$2,000 \$5,000	\$2,000 \$1,425	3	(Delegate to 1865 const. convention)	Surgeon in Union army

ALABAMA SOUTHERN WHITE DELEGATES (continued)

Name	Region of state	District no.	% dist. black	County represented	Native state/country	Profession	1860 real/ personal property	1870 real/ personal property	Slaves owned	(Former office), future office	Other biographical data
Deal, H. Ransom*	PW	5	28.3	Dale	AL	Farmer	\$0	\$750	0	(Delegate to 1865 const. convention)	—
Dykes, George	M	36	14.2	Cherokee	GA	Farmer	—	\$8,000	—	—	Voted for Douglas in 1860, anti-secessionist, Unionist
Ewing, William*	M	35	11.7	Baine	VA	Physician	\$3,200	\$4,000	0	Postmaster	Voted for Douglas in 1860, anti-secessionist, left GA for northern AL in 1862
Folmar, James*	PW	7	54.8	Pike	AL	Merchant	—	\$3,500	—	Mayor of Troy	Anti-secessionist
Garrison, William	M	35	11.7	Blount	—	Minister	—	—	—	Justice of peace	Unionist, refugee in North, Freedmen's Bureau agent
Graves, George*	B	21	77.9	Perry	VA	Physician	\$0	—	0	—	Unionist, Confederate officer
Greathouse, Early*	P	23	38.1	Tallapoosa	GA	Farmer	\$5,000	\$1,000	12	(Delegate to 1865 const. convention)	Pro-North before war
Haughey, Thomas	TV	40	31.4	Morgan	Scotland	Physician	\$1,600	Murdered in 1869	1	U.S. congressman	Union surgeon
Hayes, Charles	B	22	79.2	Greene	AL	Planter	\$112,500	\$50,000	93	U.S. congressman	Douglas Democrat, Confederate officer, threatened by KKK
Horton, Gustavus	M	1	60.7	Mobile	MA	Cotton broker	\$0	\$1,600	0	(Mayor of Mobile, organized Mobile public schools in 1850s), probate judge	Jacksonian Democrat, Unionist
Howard, James	PW	8	26.0	Crenshaw	AL	Farmer	—	\$1,000	—	(County superintendent of education)	Democrat
							—	\$3,000			

Hurst, James*	P	24	26.8	Coosa	40	GA	Lawyer	\$1,200 \$2,200	\$500 \$860	0	U.S. commissioner	—
Jackson, James	PW	11	62.0	Clarke	57	GA	Warehouse keeper	\$10,000 \$10,000	\$5,000 \$1,200	15	(Justice of peace)	—
Jolly, John*	PW	5	28.3	Coffee	32	GA	Grocery merchant	— —	\$100 \$1,000	—	Notary public	—
Jones, Augustus	PW	3	49.3	Conecuh	47	AL	Farmer	\$4,500 \$12,000	\$400 \$1,200	7	Probate judge	—
Jones, William	PW	4	40.0	Covington	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Krennamer, Seaborn	M	39	16.7	Marshal	37	AL	Farmer	\$0 \$1,000	\$1,100 \$500	0	State representative	Union officer, former Whig
Latham, Samuel*	PW	7	54.8	Pike	46	VA	Merchant	— —	\$1,500 \$300	—	—	Sometimes classified as black
Lore, David	PW	6	65.1	Barbour	59	NJ	Farmer	\$3,500 \$4,000	\$0 \$100	4	State representative	—
Mahan, Jesse	P	26	40.1	Bibb	51	TN	Farmer	\$4,000 \$1,000	\$2,700 \$1,500	0	State senator	—
Martin, John	B	14	69.3	Macon	41	SC	Lawyer	— —	— —	—	U.S. auditor	Former Democrat, anti-secessionist
Masterson, Byron O.	TV	41	43.2	Lawrence	44	AL	Physician	\$3,000 \$2,000	\$4,000 \$1,400	1	Republican nominee for Congress	Former Whig, Unionist
Meadors, John*	P	19	55.2	Lee	29	AL	Lawyer	— —	— —	—	(State legislator, 1865), state legislator, 1872	Confederate captain
Moore, Stephen	PW	2	61.2	Baldwin	65	NY	Physician	\$0 \$3,300	— —	2	Registrar in 1867, candidate for state senator in 1868	—
Morton, John	M	33	11.7	Fayette	43	AL	Physician	— —	\$500 \$700	—	(Delegate to 1865 const. convention), state senator	Union veteran

ALABAMA SOUTHERN WHITE DELEGATES (continued)

Name	Region of state	District no.	% dist. black	County represented	Age	Native state/country	Profession	1860 real/ personal property	1870 real/ personal property	Slaves owned	(Former office), future office	Other biographical data
Peck, Elisha	P	29	48.5	Tuscaloosa	67	NY	Lawyer	\$20,000	\$21,000	19	Chief justice state supreme court	Whig, Unionist, virtual invalid
Peters, Thomas	TV	41	43.2	Lawrence	55	TN	Lawyer	\$1,900	—	7	Chief justice state supreme court	Unionist, pro-Douglas in 1860, former Whig, fled to North, read French and Latin
Plowman, George	P	28	41.5	Talladega	54	NC	Tanner	—	\$500	—	(Mayor of Talladega)	Whig, Unionist
Russell, Henry	PW	6	65.1	Barbour	40	NC	Justice of peace in 1850s	—	\$0	—	(Justice of peace), probate judge	—
Russell, Timothy*	P	23	38.1	Tallapoosa	55	SC	Planter	\$700	Died in 1868	28	(Delegate to 1861 secession conv. and 1865 const. convention)	Voted against secession in 1861 convention
Saffold, Benjamin	B	16	82.5	Dallas	41	AL	Lawyer	\$21,000	\$0	12	(Mayor of Selma), justice on state supreme court	Douglas Democrat, fled to North, father justice on state supreme court
Sample, Henry*	B	15	75.6	Montgomery	45	VA	Lawyer	\$20,000	\$20,000	12	—	Unionist, Confederate major, nephew of President John Tyler
Simmons, Calvin	TV	44	30.2	Colbert	41	TN	Farmer	—	\$6,000	—	State representative	Unionist
Skinner, William	TV	44	30.2	Franklin	54	KY	Lawyer	\$1,000	\$1,000	6	Chancellor, 1st judicial district	Whig, Unionist in secession crisis
Speed, Joseph*	B	21	77.9	Perry	33	VA	Educator	\$0	\$0	14	State superintendent of education	Whig, anti-secessionist, Confederate captain

Springfield, Henry	P	31	20.6	St. Clair	30	GA	Farmer	\$0	\$3,500	0	State representative	Confederate deserter, Union captain
Steed, Calvin	P	30	22.5	Cleburne	45	NC	Farmer	\$0	\$1,800	—	—	—
Stewart, James*	TV	43	47.4	Lauderdale	55	SC	Physician	\$3,000 \$42,436	\$1,500 \$600	19	(State senator during war, Democrat)	Confederate surgeon
Stow, James*	B	15	75.6	Montgomery	51	CT	Farmer	—	—	0	State senator	—
Strange, Littleberry	B	14	69.3	Macon	57	SC	Circuit ct. judge in 1868	—	\$4,000 \$800	—	Circuit court judge	Confederate veteran
Towles, Toliver*	P	23	38.1	Chambers	66	SC	Farmer	\$5,000 \$53,500	\$2,200 \$5,500	44	(Delegate to 1865 const. convention)	—
Walker, James	P	25	30.3	Shelby	34	GA	Farmer	—	\$0	—	Republican state executive committee	Union captain, organized a peace movement in 1862
Walker, W. A.	P	32	23.9	Jefferson	56	NC	Farmer	\$15,000 \$36,000	\$15,000 \$300	19	State representative	Confederate veteran, Democrat
Whelan, Benjamin	B	22	79.2	Hale	39	GA	Lawyer	\$0 \$10,000	— —	0	Evidently died in 1869	Unionist, former Whig, Confederate veteran, Douglas supporter in 1860
Wilhite, J. W.*	M	34	12.0	Winston	46	AL	Farmer	\$1,500 \$300	\$300 \$350	0	Notary public	Charged with treason, joined Union army, former Whig, voted for Douglas in 1860

Regions: B = Black Belt, M = Mobile, P = Piedmont, PW = Piney Woods/Wiregrass, TV = Tennessee Valley

Unclassified whites: Hugh McCown, Charles Whitney

Absent: J. J. Gilder

*Formally protested adoption of the AL constitution.

ARKANSAS SOUTHERN WHITE DELEGATES

Name	Region of state	District no.	% dist. black	County represented	Age	Native state/ country-years in AR	Profession	1860 real/ personal property	1870 real/ personal property	Slaves owned	(Former office), future office	Other biographical data
Adams, W. W.*	N	25	3.9	Izard	34	AR	Farmer	\$0 \$3,500	\$1,500 \$1,645	Slave schedule illegible	—	—
Beasley, William	S	9	36.0	Columbia	49	SC-10	Farmer	— —	\$8,000 \$2,000	—	State representative	—
Belden, Solomon	S	21	47.8	Hempstead	59	KY-16	Farmer	\$18,480 \$250	\$100 \$270	0	State representative	—
Bell, Moses	N	43	16.7	Sebastian	39	TN-30	Physician	\$2,500 \$1,000	\$1,200 \$1,200	0	—	—
Bradley, John*	S	3	28.8	Bradley	40	TN-20	Lawyer	—	\$1,200 \$1,000	—	Circuit court judge	Confederate captain
Brashear, Walter	N	37	10.9	Pope	29	AR	Farmer	— —	\$1,000 \$400	—	State representative	Union sergeant, captured during war and imprisoned in very room in which const. convention assembled
Corbell, Joseph*	S	45	31.5	Servier	39	AL-22	Farmer	\$1,400 \$500	\$600 \$400	0	—	—
Cypert, J. N.*	N	50	10.8	White	44	TN-17	Lawyer	\$3,000 \$1,600	\$4,000 \$1,900	1	(Delegate to 1861 const. conv.), delegate to 1874 const. conv., circuit judge	Confederate major, prisoner of war, voted against secession
Duval, Bouldin*	N	28	4.2	Lawrence	44	VA-11	Farmer	\$1,000 \$1,000	\$3,500 \$3,000	0	—	Union veteran

Exon, Solomon	S	8	29.4	Clark	41	England-17	Farmer	\$500 \$50	— —	0	State representative	Was “always loyal” and had difficulties with Confederate authorities
Gantt, Robert*	D	38	32.3	Prairie	36	AL-10	Lawyer	\$500 \$1,500	\$8,000 \$0	1	—	Confederate captain
Harrison, John	S	22	12.4	Hot Spring	44	TN-?	Physician	\$3,500 \$1,500	\$3,000 \$1,000	0	—	—
Hatfield, Robert	N	18	12.6	Franklin	37	AL-16	Methodist minister	\$0 \$250	\$500 \$300	0	—	Probably Union veteran
Hicks, William*	D	38	32.3	Prairie	44	TN-32	Merchant	In CA in 1860	\$500 \$100	—	—	Former Whig, married to cousin of Mrs. “Stonewall” Jackson
Hinkle, Anthony	N	10	13.5	Conway	57	KY-27	Physician	\$2,100 \$8,100	\$6,000 \$5,000	1	—	Union veteran
Hodges, Asa	D	13	67.3	Crittenden	49	MS-?	Lawyer	\$70,000 \$80,000	\$25,000 \$20,000	64	State senator, state representative, U.S. Congress	Arrested by Confederates as a spy
Hoge, James*	N	49	4.4	Washington	32	AR	Physician	— —	\$1,500 \$500	—	—	—
Hollis, William	S	5	30.4	Calhoun	39	TN-21	Merchant	\$3,000 \$12,500	\$600 \$420	1	—	—
Houghton, Jifra	D	14	27.5	Cross	44	AL-19	Farmer	\$0 \$500	\$1,000 \$200	0	State representative	Union veteran
Kelly, Elijah	S	36	8.0	Pike	67	TN-?	Farmer	\$2,120 \$1,100	\$800 \$450	0	—	—
Kyle, Gayle	S	15	33.5	Dallas	61	TN-12	Farmer	\$10,000 \$21,725	\$1,422 \$495	19	State representative	Unionist, elected to Congress in 1865 (not seated)
Langley, Miles	S	8	29.4	Clark	41	AK	Minister	\$0 \$145	\$0 \$100	0	(Delegate to 1864 const. convention)	—

ARKANSAS SOUTHERN WHITE DELEGATES (continued)

Name	Region of state	District no.	% dist. black	County represented	Age	Native state/ country-years in AR	Profession	1860 real/ personal property	1870 real/ personal property	Slaves owned	(Former office), future office	Other biographical data
McCown, George	S	9	36.0	Columbia	36	TN-?	Lawyer	\$1,800 \$500	\$3,000 \$2,000	0	Circuit court judge, state senator	Confederate captain, stressed east TN birth to census enumerator
Matthews, Samuel	D	17	34.8	Drew	34	TN-8	Farmer	\$6,000 \$2,000	\$10,000 \$5,000	0	(County clerk), county clerk, probate judge	—
Merrick, Alfred	S	30	62.3	Lafayette	56	MA-9	Merchant	\$4,000 \$800	\$0 \$0	0	State representative	—
Millsaps, Jesse	N	48	16.6	Van Buren	41	NC-8	Farmer	— —	\$0 \$1,000	—	State representative	Union captain
Misner, Peter	N	24	8.8	Independence	57	OH-?	Brick nason	\$1,000 \$400	\$1,000 \$450	0	—	Rebels drove him from his home and his wife
Moore, W. D.*	D	2	46.0	Ashley	35	AL-8	Lawyer	— —	\$300 \$500	—	—	—
Norman, George*	D	2	46.0	Ashley	35	GA-9	Lawyer	\$3,000 \$10,000	\$6,000 \$5,000	4	State senator	—
Oliver, Charles	N	44	3.0	Scott	39	TN-24	Farmer	— —	\$500 \$500	—	State representative	Union sergeant
Owen, Thomas*	N	50	10.8	White	48	VA-?	Farmer	\$11,000 \$23,000	\$7,200 \$4,500	25	—	—
Pickett, W. H.	D	23	25.0	Jackson	53	VA-?	Farmer	\$34,000 \$60,000	— —	74	—	—
Portis, James	S	35	44.5	Ouachita	67	NC-11	Grocery merchant	\$500 \$10,000	\$1,000 \$0	3	State senator	—

Priddy, John	S	33	6.0	Montgomery	54	NC-17	Minister	\$800 \$500	\$0 \$0	0	(Delegate to 1864 const. convention)	—
Puntney, R. G.	D	17	34.8	Drew	56	KY-?	Physician	\$3,040 \$300	\$2,500 \$2,000	0	—	—
Ratliffe, H. W.	D	41	6.5	Randolph	43	KY-?	Farmer	— —	\$10,000 \$1,500	—	—	Late to convention due to illness
Rawlings, Nathan	S	35	44.5	Ouachita	50	TN-11	Farmer	\$3,000 \$6,000	\$2,000 \$500	8	State representative	—
Reynolds, W. W.*	N	4	1.1	Benton	27	MD-11	Lawyer	— —	\$8,500 \$11,500	—	—	—
Rounsaville, Franklin	N	52	13.6	Yell	32	TN-17	Physician	\$980 \$900	\$566 \$375	0	—	—
Sams, Francis	N	31	1.4	Madison	25	AR	Lawyer	— —	— —	—	(Clerk at state house of representatives, 1864–65)	Union sergeant
Shoppach, James*	S	42	5.6	Saline	23	AR	Laborer	\$0 \$0	\$600 \$255	0	Circuit court judge	—
Snyder, O. P.	D	27	72.3	Jefferson	37	MO-20?	Lawyer	\$5,000 \$400	\$0 \$0	0	State senator, U.S. Congress	Vocal opponent of secession
VanHook, R. C.	S	47	46.4	Union	50	NC-21	Farmer	\$3,500 \$2,500	\$1,200 \$800	0	Delegate to 1874 const. convention	Former overseer, served in Confederate home guard, opposed slavery
Walker, Charles*	N	49	4.4	Washington	32	AR	Lawyer	— —	\$5,000 \$300	— (father owned 23)	Mayor of Fayetteville	His father, David Walker, was president of secession convention, Confederate veteran
Williams, Parley	N	32	1.2	Marion	33	TN-8	Farmer	— —	\$1,000 \$600	—	State representative	—
Wilson, Ira	S	47	46.4	Union	58	GA-?	Farmer	— —	\$350 \$700	—	—	—

ARKANSAS SOUTHERN WHITE DELEGATES (continued)

Name	Region of state	District no.	% dist. black	County represented	Age	Native state/ country-years in AR	1860 real/ personal property		1870 real/ personal property		Slaves owned	(Former office), future office	Other biographical data
							Profession						
Wright, Joseph*	N	7	0.0	Carroll	48	KY-17	Farmer	\$1,500	\$900	0	—	—	
								\$1,160	\$1,125				
Wyatt, William	N	19	1.1	Searcy	40	TN-?	Farmer	\$3,000	\$0	2	—	—	
								\$3,000	\$0				

Regions: N= Northwest, S= Southwest, D= Delta

Absent: Hampton Allen, W. H. Gray

*Formally protested adoption of the AR constitution.

FLORIDA SOUTHERN WHITE DELEGATES

Name	Region of state	District no.	% dist. black	County represented	Age	Native state/ country	Profession	1860 real/ personal property		1870 real/ personal property		Slaves owned	(Former office), future office	Other biographical data
Armistead, L. C.*†‡	W	3	53.8	Jackson	38	VA	Customs collector	\$2,500	\$0	0	(State representative)	—		
								\$300	\$2,000					
Bass, A. G.* ‡	N	7	75.9	Jefferson	53	GA	Farmer	—	\$0	—	—	—		
								—	\$150					
Campbell, John†‡	W	2	12.0	Walton	36	FL	Merchant	\$0	\$300	0	(Sheriff)	—		
								\$0	\$100					
Cone, William*‡	N	8	66.7	Madison	30	FL	Farmer	\$0	\$500	0	—	Confederate deserter, Unionist		
								\$0	\$300					
Davidson, John‡	N	4	63.7	Gadsden	39	FL	Circuit ct. judge	\$5,000	\$3,000	1	State senator	—		
								\$4,000	\$500					
Goss, Jesse* ‡	N	15	62.6	Marion	38	GA	Lawyer	—	\$4,000	Owned slaves in VA	State senator	Confederate deserter, joined Union army		
								—	\$2,700					

Hart, Ossian‡	N	14	57.0	Duval	47	FL	Lawyer	\$1,000 \$4,480	\$1,900 \$2,000	5	Governor of FL	Freedmen's Bureau agent
Howse, Edward†	N	15	62.6	Marion	—	NC	Planter	\$10,000 \$15,000	— —	8 owned by wife	(County commissioner)	—
Krimminger, John*‡	N	10	14.0	Lafayette	48	NC	Physician	— —	\$500 \$300	—	State senator	Confederate deserter, joined Union army, assassinated in 1871
McRae, B. M.‡	N	13	27.3	Clay	65	GA	Farmer	— —	\$0 \$0	—	(Court clerk)	—
Mizell, David‡	S	18	16.1	Orange	61	GA	Farmer	\$2,400 \$14,200	\$1,000 \$1,000	6	(State representative)	—
Mobley, Clairborne‡	S	17	19.1	Hillsborough	40	KY	Lawyer	— —	\$3,000 \$1,000	—	(Delegate to Lecompton convention in Kansas)	Confederate veteran
Pearce, Samuel‡	S	16	39.8	Hernando	44	GA	Farmer	— —	\$1,500 \$530	—	Probate judge	Union officer
Powell, John‡	N	7	75.9	Jefferson	38	AL	Blacksmith	— —	\$500 \$100	—	State representative	Union officer
Rogers, Washington‡	N	15	62.6	Levy	39	GA	Customs house official	— —	\$0 \$0	—	—	—
Rowley, Lyman‡	W	1	54.7	Escambia	42	VT	Editor	\$0 \$250	\$0 \$3,000	0	(State representative)	Union officer
Ware, Eldridge*‡	S	19	40.8	Monroe	50	NY	Postmaster of Key West	\$0 \$0	\$5,000 \$200	0	(Coroner)	—

Regions: N = North, S = South, W = West

Unclassified white: Andrew Schuler*‡

Not seated: George Walker

*Signed the Mule Team constitution.

†Supported the Jenkins coup.

‡Signed the Jenkins constitution.

GEORGIA SOUTHERN WHITE DELEGATES

Name	Region of state	District no.	% dist. black	County represented	Age	Native state/ country-years in GA	1860 real/ personal property	1870 real/ personal property	Slaves owned	(Former office), future office	Other biographical data
Adkins, Joseph	B	19	62.4	Warren	50	GA	\$5,000 \$11,850	Murdered in 1869	15	State senator	—
Akerman, Amos	B	30	52.2	Elbert	46	NH-24	\$1,500 \$9,777	\$5,200 \$3,500	11 in 1864	U.S. attorney general	Confederate colonel in home guard, Whig, opposed secession, Dartmouth graduate, tutored children of John Berrien, who was Andrew Jackson's first attorney general
Angier, Nedon	U	35	40.4	Fulton	42	NH-28	\$0 \$0?	\$70,000 \$2,500	3	(Atlanta City Council), state treasurer	Unionist, Douglas Democrat
Ashburn, George	B	24	57.3	Muscogee	55	TN-50	\$0 \$380	Murdered in 1868	0	—	Union colonel
Barton, James	B	27	45.8	Clarke	32	GA	— —	\$1,000 \$1,500	—	—	—
Bedford, Peter	W	5	30.6	Ware	38	NC-?	\$0 \$6,466	— —	0	—	—
Bell, Madison	U	33	25.7	Banks	30	GA	— —	\$7,500 \$1,000	—	State comptroller general	Opposed secession, Confederate veteran
Bighy, John	B	36	47.1	Coweta	35	GA	\$620 \$16,000	\$6,000 \$25,000	13	U.S. congressman	—
Blodgett, Foster	B	18	58.8	Richmond	41	GA (perhaps SC-?)	\$7,000 \$17,000	\$0 \$0	11	Superintendent of state RR	Former Whig, Confederate captain
Blount, Joseph	B	12	59.6	Stewart	41	NC-15	\$2,000 \$5,000	— —	1	—	—

Bowden, Alfred	B	22	56.6	Monroe	47	GA	Farmer	\$2,000 \$1,100	\$800 \$500	0	(Deputy sheriff)	—
Bowden, John	U	36	47.1	Campbell	42	GA	Merchant	\$7,000 \$14,000	\$2,500 \$800	20	—	—
Bowers, William	U	31	21.2	Hart	41	GA	Minister	\$3,000 \$1,000	\$4,000 \$1,000	0	(1865 const. convention), state senator	—
Bracewell, James	U	34	27.0	Gwinnett	42	GA	Merchant	\$1,600 \$800	— —	0	—	—
Brown, Shadtrack	B	34	27.0	Henry	49	GA	Farmer	— —	\$1,330 \$550	—	—	—
Bryson, John	N	40	4.3	Townis	66	NC-33	Farmer	\$7,000 \$1,250	\$2,000 \$500	0	—	—
Buchan, James	W	14	50.6	Pulaski	40	GA	Farmer	\$1,500 \$2,800	\$500 \$500	2	State representative	—
Bullock, Rufus	B	18	58.8	Richmond	33	NY-9	Express agent	— —	\$0 \$76,000	7 during war	Governor of GA	—
Burnett, George	U	42	29.9	Floyd	37	TN-27	Merchant	\$7,500 \$25,000	\$5,000 \$5,000	8	(Mayor of Rome, GA)	Unionist during war
Caldwell, John	B	37	43.8	Troup	47	GA	Farmer	\$1,500 \$7,000	— —	9	State representative, district court judge	Wrote account of Ashburn's death for <i>New York Tribune</i>
Cameron, Andrew	W	15	29.6	Telfair	38	GA	Farmer	\$300 \$550	\$1,200 \$800	0	(1865 const. convention), messenger of state senate	—
Catching, John	B	19	62.4	Greene	41	GA	Farmer	\$3,000 \$17,000	— —	29	—	—
Chambers, Peter	B	36	47.1	Meriwether	47	GA	Farmer	\$8,000 \$12,000	Died July 1870	16	State representative	—
Christian, Hope	B	9	72.8	Early	46	GA	Physician	\$2,500 \$7,500	\$2,500 \$300	3	—	—

GEORGIA SOUTHERN WHITE DELEGATES (continued)

Name	Region of state	District no.	% dist. black	County represented	Age	Native state/ country-years in GA	Profession	1860 real/ personal property	1870 real/ personal property	Slaves owned	(Former office), future office	Other biographical data
Christian, Isaac	B	27	45.8	Newton	29	GA	Lawyer	\$0 \$300	\$0 \$1,000	0	Circuit court solicitor	—
Cobb, E. S.	U	30	52.2	Madison	—	KY-10	—	—	—	—	—	—
Cole, Henry	U	35	40.4	Cobb	51	NY-31	Civil engineer	\$50,000 \$25,000	— —	1	—	Imprisoned as spy by Confederates, Unionist
Conley, Benjamin	B	18	58.8	Richmond	52	NJ-38	Merchant	\$6,000 \$0	\$6,000 \$10,000	0	(Mayor of Augusta), governor of GA	Former Whig
Cooper, Martin	B	22	56.6	Pike	54	GA	Farmer	\$1,200 \$4,190	\$2,500 \$450	5	—	—
Cotting, David	B	29	71.3	Wilkes	54	MA-42	Farmer	\$3,500 \$9,600	— —	11	Secretary of state	—
Crane, William	N	40	4.3	Towns	43	SC-?	Lawyer	\$1,500 \$1,000	\$1,500 \$900	0	Circuit court judge	—
Crawford, Stephen	U	31	21.2	Franklin	49	SC-30	Farmer	\$3,000 \$3,000	\$4,000 \$600	3	—	—
Dailey, Samuel	B	34	27.0	Henry	27	GA	Farmer	\$0 \$0	\$1,400 \$600	0	—	—
Davis, Charles	U	27	45.8	Walton	66	VT-27	Lawyer	\$4,500 \$34,500	— —	9	Circuit court judge	—
Dews[e], William	B	9	72.8	Baker	31	GA	Farmer	\$6,500 \$13,000	\$0 \$0	10	State representative	—
Dunnegan, Benjamin	U	33	25.7	Hall	71	SC-67	Miner	\$112 \$250	— —	0	Republican state committee	—

Dunning, James	U	35	40.4	Fulton	53	CT-20	Machinist	\$0 \$0	\$8,000 \$2,500	0	State senator, U.S. marshal, postmaster of Atlanta	Unionist, arrested during war, later labored unsuccessfully to place statue of Pres. Lincoln in downtown Atlanta
Edwards, William	B	23	64.9	Taylor	32	GA	Lawyer	\$2,000 \$3,000	\$2,500 \$1,500	0	U.S. congressman	Confederate colonel
Ellington, Coke	N	41	4.3	Gilmer	55	GA	Farmer	\$3,000 \$500	\$3,000 \$300	0	(1865 const. convention, state representative)	—
Fields, Samuel	N	43	16.2	Murray	37	SC-35	Farmer	\$3,000 \$10,000	\$7,000 \$1,722	6	State representative	—
Flynn, John	U	35	40.4	Fulton	40	PA-20	Commission merchant	\$0 \$0	\$0 \$0	0	—	—
Fort, William	U	42	29.9	Floyd	50	GA	Farmer	\$4,000 \$23,000	\$6,500 \$1,000	7	—	—
Foster, Albert	B	28	65.3	Morgan	46	GA	Lawyer	\$16,000 \$64,000	\$17,000 \$20,375	12	—	—
Foster, Thomas	U	38	19.8	Paulding	34	SC-33	Physician	— —	\$1,100 \$2,200	—	—	—
Gibson, Thomas	B	21	60.7	Twiggs	47	GA	Physician	\$700 \$4,763	\$800 \$500	2	—	—
Gilbert, Thomas	B	24	57.3	Chattahoochee	74	NC-73	Farmer	\$3,750 \$41,125	\$300 \$500	12	—	—
Glover, Henry	B	28	65.3	Jasper	52	GA	Farmer	\$20,000 \$65,000	\$1,500 \$800	79	(1865 const. convention)	—
Goodwin, William	U	42	29.9	Bartow	37	OH-16	Farmer	— —	\$0 \$0	—	State representative	—

GEORGIA SOUTHERN WHITE DELEGATES (continued)

Name	Region of state	District no.	% dist. black	County represented	Age	Native state/ country-years in GA	Profession	1860 real/ personal property	1870 real/ personal property	Slaves owned	(Former office), future office	Other biographical data
Gove, Samuel	B	21	60.7	Twiggs	45	MA-32	Farmer	\$1,150 \$5,300	\$6,500 \$3,000	5 (perhaps held by wife)	U.S. congressman	Anti-secessionist
Griffin, William	B	21	60.7	Twiggs	42	GA	Farmer	\$0 \$4,590	\$2,000 \$800	0	State senator, state representative	—
Hall, John	B	13	66.2	Sumter	40	GA	Grocery clerk	— —	\$2,000 \$500	—	—	—
Harlan, George	U	37	43.8	Heard	53	GA	Physician	\$0 \$3,000	\$750 \$600	1	—	—
Harris, John	B	27	45.8	Newton	61	PA-38	Farmer	\$24,000 \$73,000	\$0 \$0	110	State senator	—
Harrison, Abel	U	37	43.8	Carroll	61	NC-40	Farmer	\$500 \$20,500	\$300 \$200	4	—	—
Higbee, Edwin	B	25	55.2	Talbot	42	VT-20	High school teacher	\$700 \$500	— —	0	State senator	—
Higdon, John	B	8	53.1	Decatur	58	GA	Farmer	\$2,000 \$11,000	\$3,000 \$8,000	12	State representative	—
Holcombe, A. W.	U	39	13.6	Milton	47	SC-17	Farmer	\$0 \$15,000	\$1,200 \$600	14	State senator	—
Hooks, Charles	B	21	60.7	Wilkinson	45	GA	Farmer	\$4,500 \$8,490	\$3,000 \$2,500	0	State representative	—
Hopkins, Cormac	S	1	64.2	Chatham	35	GA	Customs house official	\$0 \$500	\$10,000 \$10,000	0	(Customs house clerk)	—

Hotchkiss, N. P.	U	27	45.8	Walton	—	NY-18	—	—	\$16,000	—	Auditor of state railroad	—
Houston, Samuel	U	39	13.6	Cherokee	55	NC-14	Farmer	\$1,800 \$5,000	\$1,500 \$500	0	—	—
Howe, William	B	22	56.6	Pike	52	GA	Farmer	\$8,250 \$15,075	\$10,500 \$1,500	26	—	—
Hudson, Jno.	B	28	65.3	Putnam	46	GA	Farmer	— —	\$9,000 \$3,600	—	—	—
Hutcheson, Robert	U	38	19.8	Haralson	41	GA	Physician	\$1,600 \$800	\$800 \$1,600	0	(1865 const. convention), state representative	—
Jordan, William	B	28	65.3	Jasper	33	GA	Farmer	\$5,775 \$29,000	\$5,000 \$2,200	2	State senator	—
Key, J. M.	B	36	47.1	Meriwether	49	GA	—	— —	— —	—	—	—
King, Jno.	N	43	16.2	Whitfield	31	GA	Grocer- merchant	\$600 \$2,400	— —	0	—	—
Knox, James	B	29	71.3	Columbia	69	Scotland-40	Farmer	\$1,200 \$575	\$1,000 \$500	1	—	—
Lane, Edward	W	16	41.3	Laurens	43	GA	Physician	\$4,400 \$4,815	\$3,000 \$2,750	0	—	—
Lee, W. C.	N	35	40.4	Clayton	48	GA	—	— —	— —	—	—	—
Lott, John	N	39	13.6	Forsyth	68	SC-46	Farmer	\$3,000 \$12,800	\$1,00 \$440	14	—	—
McCay, Henry	B	13	66.2	Sumter	47	PA-27	Lawyer	\$5,000 \$18,000	— —	3	State supreme court justice	Opposed secession, supported Stephen Douglas in 1860, Princeton graduate
McHan, Wilkey	N	41	4.3	Pickens	38	NC-19	Dry goods merchant	\$1,200 \$1,000	\$2,000 \$2,000	0	—	—

GEORGIA SOUTHERN WHITE DELEGATES (continued)

Name	Region of state	District no.	% dist. black	County represented	Age	Native state/ country-years in GA	Profession	1860 real/ personal property	1870 real/ personal property	Slaves owned	(Former office), future office	Other biographical data
McWhorter, Joseph	B	30	52.2	Oglethorpe	35	GA	Farmer	\$3,000 \$18,790	\$1,200 \$700	30	State senator	—
Maddox, Posey	B	23	64.9	Houston	62	SC-58	Farmer	— —	\$4,000 \$350	4	—	—
Marler, W. L.	U	33	25.7	Jackson	37	NC-36	Lawyer	\$1,200 \$3,500	\$0 \$1,795	2	(1865 const. convention), circuit court solicitor	—
Martin, Charles	B	9	72.8	Calhoun	35	SC-30	Farmer	\$0 \$2,275	— —	5	—	—
Martin, E. B.	U	37	43.8	Carroll	61	SC-44	Farmer	\$8,700 \$5,200	\$5,000 \$1,000	7	(1865 const. convention)	—
Martin, Philip	N	31	21.2	Habersham	61	GA	Farmer	\$1,800 \$4,000	\$5,000 \$800	1	(1865 const. convention)	—
Mathews, Johnson	U	34	27.0	Gwinnett	36	GA	Farmer	— —	\$1,200 \$1,265	—	—	—
Maull, James	B	24	57.3	Muscogee	?	GA	Physician	— —	\$0 \$0	—	State representative	—
Miller, Homer	U	35	40.4	Fulton	53	SC-45	Physician	\$20,000 \$20,000	\$10,000 \$5,000	20	U.S. Senate	Confederate surgeon, former Whig
Minor, Samuel	U	26	44.4	Spalding	52	GA	Farmer	\$2,700 \$2,000	\$4,885 \$500	0	—	—
Moore, Milton	N	32	12.7	White	47	SC-40	Farmer	\$2,000 \$2,340	\$3,000 \$1,966	0	—	—
Neal, John	B	18	58.8	Glascok	24	GA	Money lender	— —	— —	—	(1865 const. convention), state representative	Confederate captain

Parrott, Josiah	U	42	29.9	Bartow	40	TN-20	Lawyer	\$7,000 \$9,000	\$19,000 \$1,300	0	(John Bell elector in 1860, 1865 const. convention), circuit court judge	Opposed secession, Confederate major
Potts, Moses	B	22	56.6	Monroe	32	GA	Judge of ordinary	\$0 \$0	\$4,000 \$2,000	0 (father owned 20)	Judge of ordinary	—
Powell, Benjamin	B	8	53.1	Decatur	37	GA	Farmer	\$6,500 \$1,000	\$3,000 \$500	11	State representative	—
Roberts, Lewis	W	6	41.2	Echols	30	GA	Farmer	\$1,600 \$2,050	\$1,000 \$1,800	1	—	—
Robertson, Robert	B	37	43.8	Troup	57	Scotland-34	Farmer	\$1,000 \$4,000	— —	0	—	—
Rozar, W. H.	B	26	44.4	Spalding	28	GA	—	— —	— —	—	—	—
Saffold, Thomas	B	28	65.3	Morgan	46	GA	Farmer	\$25,000 \$50,590	\$25,800 \$3,000	73	(Secession convention, 1865 const. convention)	Voted initially to delay secession, then supported it
Salter, S. F.	W	14	50.6	Pulaski	25	GA	Physician	— —	\$500 \$500	—	State representative	—
Shields, James	N	44	16.7	Walker	48	TN-24	Blacksmith	\$2,500 \$1,200	\$2,000 \$1,000	0	—	—
Shopshire, Wesley	N	42	29.9	Chattooga	66	GA	Farmer	\$30,000 \$40,000	\$12,000 \$2,500	44	(Secession convention)	Opposed secession
Shumate, Benjamin	U	34	27.0	DeKalb	58	SC-50	Farmer	\$1,800 \$400	\$600 \$600	0	—	—
Smith, F. M.	W	4	72.1	Charlton	53	GA	Physician	\$600 \$550	\$3,000 \$1,000	0	(Secession convention), state representative	Opposed secession
Smith, M. C.	B	7	62.4	Thomas	45	GA	M.E. minister	\$0 \$2,000	— —	0	State senator	—
Smith, W. C.	B	36	47.1	Coweta	32	GA	—	— —	\$10,000 \$1,200	—	State senator	—

GEORGIA SOUTHERN WHITE DELEGATES (continued)

Name	Region of state	District no.	% dist. black	County represented	Age	Native state/ country-years in GA	Profession	1860 real/ personal property	1870 real/ personal property	Slaves owned	(Former office), future office	Other biographical data
Speer, Thomas	B	22	56.6	Pike	30	GA	Clerk	\$0	—	0	U.S. congressman	County tax collector during war
Stanford, Lycurgus	B	25	55.2	Harris	35	GA	Lawyer	\$1,400 \$3,000	\$2,500 \$1,000	1	State representative	
Stanley, Simon	W	14	50.6	Wilcox	59	ME-23	Merchant	\$2,500 \$1,200	\$1,400 \$760	0	—	—
Supple, William	B	20	61.4	Baldwin	45	Ireland-12	Tailor	\$0 \$250	\$800 \$100	0	—	—
Trammell, Leander	N	43	16.2	Gordon	36	GA	Railroad agent	\$7,000 \$10,000	\$7,500 \$3,500	0	President of state senate	—
Traywick, James	W	14	50.6	Pulaski	44	GA	Minister	\$8,000 \$7,000	\$1,000 \$0	1	State senator	—
Waddell, James	U	38	19.8	Polk	34	SC-28	Lawyer	\$2,500 \$18,000	— —	14	Clerk of state house of representatives	Confederate colonel
Walton, Overton	B	23	64.9	Houston	46	GA	Grocer	\$1,400 \$19,550	— —	27	—	—
Welch, F. O.	B	10	79.4	Doughtery	57	ME-37	Druggist	\$0 \$0	— —	2	State senator	—
Whitehead, W. H.	B	26	44.4	Butts	42	VA-12	Physician	\$27,400 \$30,000	\$2,000 \$8,000	13	Republican elector in 1868	—
Whiteley, Richard	B	8	53.1	Decatur	36	Ireland-12	Lawyer	\$0 \$5,000	\$0 \$0	2	U.S. congressman	Opposed secession, Confederate major
Wilbur, George	B	22	56.6	Bibb	45	RI-?	Commission merchant	\$5,000 \$8,000	— —	2	Delegate to 1868 Republican national convention	—

Woodey, John	N	32	12.7	Lumpkin	47?	NC-49?	Farmer	\$800 \$400	\$1,000 \$500	0	—	—
Wooten, Floyd	B	22	56.6	Monroe	31	GA	Booter	\$0 \$0	\$0 \$0	0	—	—
Yates, Pressly	N	44	16.7	Catoosa	61	NC-?	Farmer	\$16,000 \$8,000	\$7,500 \$1,087	12	(Secession convention)	Opposed secession

Regions: B = Black Belt, N = North, S = Seacoast, U = Upper Piedmont, W = Wiregrass
Absent: H. H. Glisson, David Irwin, Levi Knight, A. M. More
Unclassified white: J. L. Cutler

LOUISIANA SOUTHERN WHITE DELEGATES												
Name	Region of state	District no.	% dist. black	Parish represented	Age	Native state/country	Profession	1860 real/personal property	1870 real/personal property	Slaves owned	(Former office), future office	Other biographical data
Baker, L. W.	R	7	80.9	Bossier	47	NC	Farmer	\$0 \$400	\$1,000 \$2,500	0	Parish judge	—
Barrett, John	N	35	40.3	Union	42	VT	Lawyer	\$2,000 \$2,800	\$3,000 \$1,000	4	Candidate for parish judge	
Beldon, Simeon	O	25	50.2	Orleans	—	MA	Lawyer	\$0 \$0	— —	0	State attorney general	Wartime Unionist, presided over lower house of Unionist wartime legislature
Blackburn, W. Jasper	N	13	55.2	Claiborne	47	AR	Editor	\$3,000 \$3,000	\$10,000 \$5,000	0	U.S. Congress	Published edition of Homer's <i>Iliad</i> , anti-secessionist, testified to Congress on New Orleans riot, condemned caning of Senator Sumner

LOUISIANA SOUTHERN WHITE DELEGATES (continued)

Name	Region of state	District no.	% dist. black	Parish represented	Age	Native state/ country	Profession	1860 real/ personal property	1870 real/ personal property	Slaves owned	(Former office), future office	Other biographical data
Cooley, William	R	5	79.9	Pointe Coupee	35	LA	Lawyer	\$10,000	—	8	District judge	Unionist
Crane, William	O	25	50.2	Orleans	56	NY	Lawyer	\$2,500 \$2,500 \$7,000	— \$50,000 \$25,000	4	—	Unionist
Crawford, Thomas	N	10	67.1	Caldwell	48	KY	Lawyer	\$21,480 \$2,094	\$13,200 \$1,795	3 + 34 in trust	District judge	Former Whig, Unionist, fled to NY during war, assassinated in 1873
Dearing, George	R	27	78.1	Rapides	51	KY	Farmer	\$4,600 \$5,200	\$0 \$0	13	—	Had son who was 16 in 1860 who could possibly have been this delegate
Demarest, Andrew	R	32	77.3	St. Mary	38	NJ	House painter	\$0 \$1,000	\$0 \$0	0	State representative	Unionist, living in New Orleans in 1870
Depasseau, Charles	O	25	50.2	Orleans	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Deslonde, Joseph	R	28	79.9	St. John the Baptist	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Dinkard, John	W	30	60.4	St. Landry	47	KY	Grocer	\$1,400 \$2,900	— —	2	Justice of the peace	Unionist
Duplessis, Charles	O	25	50.2	Orleans	39	LA	Customs house broker	— —	\$0 \$0	—	Recorder's court clerk	Unionist, wounded in New Orleans riot of July 1866
Edwards, Fielding	R	3	59.1	Avoyelles	52	KY	Farmer	\$30,000 \$1,000	\$10,000 \$2,000	16	—	—
Harrison, Thomas	R	11	77.8	Morehouse	51	MS	Farmer	\$36,000 \$29,480	\$10,365 \$7,000	1	—	—

Hiestand, W. H.	R	24	77.5	Natchitoches	—	LA	—	—	—	—	—	—	Unionist
Jones, Simeon	O	25	50.2	Orleans	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Lived in TX before war, did not want to serve in Confederate army, served in Union army, colonel in Corps d'Afrique
Lewis, James B.	W	15	65.2	Sabine	—	—	Lawyer	—	—	—	State senator	—	Unionist, sometimes classified as black, colonel in state militia
Ludeling, John	N	10	67.1	Ouachita	41	LA	Lawyer	\$71,200 \$1,800	\$300,000 \$20,000	14	Chief justice of LA Supreme Court	—	Anti-secessionist, two brothers fought for Confederacy, former Whig, mother a refugee from St. Dominique
McLeran, Benjamin	R	8	79.4	Caddo	—	—	—	—	—	—	Justice of the peace	—	—
Marie, Frederique "Fred"	R	34	64.0	Terebonne	43	France	Hotel keeper	\$0 \$0	\$0 \$500	0	Sheriff, state representative	—	Unionist, sometimes classified as black
Mushaway, James	O	25	50.2	Orleans	47	MA	Clothing merchant	—	\$0 \$800	—	—	—	Unionist, post office clerk
Schwab, Nathan	R	20	75.7	Jefferson	—	—	Jeweler	—	—	—	—	—	Unionist
Smith, Charles	O	25	50.2	Orleans	—	MA	Carpenter	—	—	—	—	—	Unionist
Snider, Gelderoy	W	15	65.2	DeSoto	52	SC	Mechanic	\$1,500 \$0	—	0	—	—	—
Taliaferro, James	N	12	63.2	Catahoula	67	VA	Lawyer	\$87,000 \$4,000	—	27	(1852 const. convention, 1861 secession convention), associate justice of LA Supreme Court	—	Opposed secession

LOUISIANA SOUTHERN WHITE DELEGATES (continued)

Name	Region of state	District no.	% dist. black	Parish represented	Age	Native state/country	Profession	1860 real/personal property	1870 real/personal property	Slaves owned	(Former office), future office	Other biographical data
Underwood, Napoleon	R	29	81.0	St. James	27	MS	Painter	\$0 \$250	\$0 \$1,500	0	Parish judge	Confederate deserter, colonel in state militia
Vandergriff, John	R	31	58.0	St. Martin	51	LA	Physician	— —	\$600 \$450	—	Justice of the peace	—
Vidal, Michel	W	30	60.4	St. Landry	43	France	Editor	— —	Consul to Tripoli in 1870	—	U.S. Congress	Unionist
Waples, Rufus	O	25	50.2	Orleans	42	DE	Lawyer	— —	\$90,000 \$1,000	—	(U.S. attorney for east LA, 1863–65), director of New Orleans public schools	Anti-secessionist, testified at congressional hearing on New Orleans riot
Wickliffe, George	O	25	50.2	Orleans	—	LA	Dentist	— —	— —	—	State auditor	Impeached and convicted in 1870

Regions: O = Orleans, R = River, W = West, F = Florida Parishes, N = North

Unclassified whites: David Douglas, George Ferguson

Absent: Adolphe Bernard

Died prior to convention: N. W. Daniels (replaced by Nathan Schwab)

MISSISSIPPI SOUTHERN WHITE DELEGATES

Name	Region of state	District no.	% dist. black	County represented	Age	Native state/country	Profession	1860 real/personal property	1870 real/personal property	Slaves owned	(Former office), future office	Other biographical data
Alcorn, Robert	N	55	57.1	Yalobusha	—	KY	Lawyer	—	—	—	Candidate for secretary of state, inspector of state penitentiary	Cousin of Gov. James Alcorn, former Whig, Unionist
Alderson, Abel	D	26	78.0	Jefferson	53	MD	Lawyer	\$1,700	—	0	Circuit court judge	Supported hanging Jefferson Davis
Ballard, Horatio N.	D	15	54.0	DeSoto	41	MA	Physician	—	\$8,500	—	State superintendent of education, state senator	Graduate of Brown University
Beam, Charles	S	16	49.6	Franklin	49	MA	Merchant	\$3,000 \$19,000	\$7,000 \$5,000	3	—	—
Bonney, Peres	S	41	45.6	Pike	70	ME	Court clerk	\$1,000 \$200	\$0 \$0	0	(Probate clerk)	From a Whig family
Bridges, Nicholas	N	9	44.5	Choctaw	30	SC	Farmer	\$0 \$0	— —	0	State senator	Union League
Collins, Vincent	S	14	22.3	Jones (Davis)	54	MS	Farmer	\$1,500 \$1,071	\$1,500 \$1,512	0	State representative	Union veteran
Compton, William M.*	N	35	50.7	Marshall	34	KY	Physician	\$8,000 \$45,000	\$10,000 \$3,000	30	(1865 const. convention), superintendent of state insane asylum	Confederate surgeon
Conly, Samuel	C	3	40.6	Attala	42	PA	Millwright	\$17,000 \$7,000	\$8,000 \$2,000	0	(Probate judge)	—
Dalton, Terry*	N	49	19.1	Tishomingo	—	—	—	\$15,000 \$25,000	— —	21	—	Listed as “proprietor” in 1860 census returns
Dowd, Andrew	D	8	77.5	Coahoma	40	NC	Physician	— —	\$33,740 \$5,000	—	State senator	—

MISSISSIPPI SOUTHERN WHITE DELEGATES (continued)

Name	Region of state	District no.	% dist. black	County represented	Age	Native state/ country	Profession	1860 real/ personal property	1870 real/ personal property	Slaves owned	(Former office), future office	Other biographical data
Elliott, James	N	36	64.9	Monroe	64	VA	Physician	\$3,000	\$2,000	4	—	—
Elliott, John	N	24	13.0	Itawamba	56	VA	Physician	\$700	\$3,000	4	—	—
Field, Joseph	N	33	79.1	Lowndes	68	VA	Planter	\$194,000	—	102	—	—
Gaither, Wiley*	N	29	30.3	Lee	60	NC	Lawyer	\$3,000	\$6,000	24	(1865 const. convention)	Former Whig
Goss, Alanson*	S	18	33.5	Marion	60	OH	Minister	\$400	\$300	0	—	—
Gray, William, B.*	D	15	54.0	DeSoto	41	AL	Physician	\$21,000	\$5,220	40	—	—
Hemingway, William L.*	N	6	59.7	Carroll	58	SC	Planter	\$26,000	—	69	(1865 const. convention), state treasurer	Douglas Democrat, as state treasurer defaulted with \$316,612
Herbert, James L.	N	36	64.9	Monroe	48	MD	Lawyer	\$200	\$0	0	State representative, circuit court judge	—
Holland, George H.	N	9	44.5	Oktibbeha	49	AL	Farmer	\$1,600	\$3,000	0	State representative, state treasurer, probate judge	Unionist
Hutto, William A.	C	37	20.0	Neshoba	51	SC	Farmer	\$1,500	\$900	0	—	—
Jamison, Andrew	N	7	53.0	Chickasaw	40	SC	Merchant	\$700	—	0	—	—
Johnson, Stephen	N	6	59.7	Carroll	62	TN	Minister	\$15,000	—	72	State senator	—

Jones, Thomas W.	N	42	24.0	Pontotoc	32	GA	Farmer	\$0 \$20,000	\$2,500 \$1,200	8	—	—
Kerr, James	N	5	21.9	Calhoun	48	TN	Physician	\$3,000 \$6,000	\$1,000 \$600	6	—	—
Lack, Moses H.	C	44	37.6	Scott	45	TN	Carpenter	\$700 \$3,000	\$1,500 \$1,000	1	—	—
Longmire, G. E.*	C	38	36.6	Newton	38	AL	Physician	\$5,900 \$20,000	\$500 \$500	0	Sheriff	Organized KKK in Newton County
McCutchin, P. H.*	N	28	39.3	Lafayette	58	TN	Farmer	— —	\$3,000 \$2,500	—	—	—
McKnight, William	C	25	50.7	Jasper	26	MS	Teacher	\$0 \$0	— —	0	—	Union League official
Mask, Hamilton	N	49	19.1	Tishomingo	45	NC	Mayor of Corinth	— —	\$7,700 \$1,020	—	Mayor of Corinth	—
Merryman, R. C.	C	30	52.2	Lauderdale		VA	—	— —	— —	—	—	Served in Confederate cavalry with J. E. B. Stuart
Miles, Orange	D	26	78.0	Jefferson	48	OH	Farmer	\$2,000 \$1,000	\$0 \$0	0	State senator	—
Montgomery, Robert*	D	22	75.1	Holmes	51	TN	Lawyer	\$0 \$5,730	\$4,000 \$2,000	3	(1865 const. convention)	Former Whig
Mygatt, Alston	D	50	77.0	Warren	64	NY	Minister	\$6,000 \$3,000	\$0 \$0	2	State senator	Established Union League in Vicksburg in 1863, anti-secessionist
Neilson, Charles	S	2	59.3	Amite	33	MS	Lawyer	— —	\$11,450 \$7,780	—	—	—
Nelms, William	N	48	16.3	Tippah	45	TN	Farmer	\$4,200 \$1,500	\$6,000 \$3,085	0	(Constable)	—

MISSISSIPPI SOUTHERN WHITE DELEGATES (continued)

Name	Region of state	District no.	% dist. black	County represented	Age	Native state/country	Profession	1860 real/ personal property	1870 real/ personal property	Slaves owned	(Former office), future office	Other biographical data
Nesbit, William D.*	D	15	54.0	DeSoto	55	SC	Farmer	\$12,000	\$280	24	—	—
Niles, Jason	C	3	40.6	Attala	54	VT	Lawyer	\$30,000	\$150	1	(delegate to 1851 and 1865 const conventions), U.S. Congress, circuit judge	Former Whig
Orr, Benjamin H.	S	19	34.9	Harrison	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Murdered
Ozanne, Urbain	N	40	47.9	Panola	33	France	Wignaker	\$5,000	—	0	Sheriff, probate judge	—
Peyton, Elijah	C	20	70.0	Hinds	38	TN	U.S. marshal	\$2,000	\$3,000	0	State representative	Confederate lt. colonel, deserter
Peyton, Ephraim	C	13	53.9	Copiah	66	KY	Lawyer	\$2,500	\$7,000	0	Judge on MS Supreme Court	Former Whig, anti-secessionist
Phillips, John M.*	D	47	80.7	Tunica	38	AL	Physician	\$0	\$5,000	0	—	—
Powell, Samuel	C	39	78.1	Noxubee	54	SC	Saddle maker	\$600	\$10,000	—	—	—
Quinn, David A.	D	45	81.5	Sunflower	25	GA	Teacher	—	\$100	—	—	—
Richardson, Jared	C	54	37.7	Winston	61	SC	Farmer	\$0	\$1,000	0 (father owned 14)	State representative	—
Smith, E. R.	N	7	53.0	Chickasaw	60	SC	Farmer	\$1,500	\$1,000	0	—	—
								\$800	\$842	—	—	—
								—	\$1,000	—	—	—
								—	\$500	—	—	—
								—	\$100	—	—	—
								\$0	\$1,000	0	State representative	—
								\$0	\$1,000	0 (father owned 14)	State representative	—
								\$1,500	\$1,000	0	—	—
								\$800	\$842	—	—	—
								—	\$1,000	—	—	—
								—	\$500	—	—	—

Stiles, Edward H.	D	10	78.3	Claiborne	—	—	—	—	—	—	State representative, district attorney	Former Whig
Stovall, George	N	6	59.7	Carroll	59	GA	Farmer	\$15,000 \$30,000	\$1,500 \$700	26	—	—
Stricklin, Walter*	N	48	16.3	Tippah	34	NC	Lawyer	\$0 \$7,000	\$4,000 \$1,000	2	(1865 const. convention), state senator	—
Vaughan, W. G.*	N	28	39.3	Lafayette	44	AL	Cotton dealer	\$4,000 \$6,000	\$5,000 \$2,000	6	State representative	Confederate lt. colonel
Walker, D. T.	N	29	30.3	Lee	—	—	—	—	—	—	Chancellery court judge	—
Watson, John W. C.*	N	35	50.7	Marshall	60	VA	Lawyer	\$12,000 \$19,000	\$9,000 \$2,000	10	(1851 and 1865 const. conventions, Confederate senate), circuit court judge	Whig, anti-secessionist, two sons killed in war
Weir, James	N	9	44.5	Choctaw	65	Ireland	Farmer	—	\$1,257 \$1,115	—	(1865 const. convention)	Unionist

Regions: D = Delta, N = North, C = Central, S = South

Unclassified whites: N. J. Chappell, Jere Hauser, Duncan McWilliams, Isham Rainey

Absent: S. C. Barnes, W. J. Lilley, John Moody, George VanHook

*Withdrew from convention.

NORTH CAROLINA SOUTHERN WHITE DELEGATES

Name	Region of state	District no.	% dist. black	County represented	Age	Native state/country	Profession	1860 real/personal property	1870 real/personal property	Slaves owned	(Former office), future office	Other biographical data
Aydlott, Mylot	P	13	30.6	Gaston	—	—	Millwright	—	—	—	Registrar in 1867	—
Baker, Joseph	C	46	68.5	Edgecombe	36	NC	Physician	\$3,500 \$25,000	\$30,000 \$15,000	7	(State representative), mayor of Tarboro	Confederate surgeon
Barnes, Henry	P	24	47.8	Rockingham	55	NC	Farmer	\$1,000 \$1,200	\$800 \$300	0	State representative	—
Benbow, Evan	M	7	10.9	Yadkin	40	NC	Physician	\$2,000 \$5,926	\$6,000 \$4,000	0	—	—
Blume, William	P	16	37.8	Cabarrus	64	Prussia	Wagonmaker	\$187 \$200	\$200 \$100	0	—	—
Bradley, George	M	7	10.9	Watauga	54	NC	Retail merchant	\$600 \$3,044	\$300 \$4,480	0	(1865 const. convention)	Peace advocate, 1863—64
Bryan, John	M	8	18.7	Wilkes	34	NC	Farmer	\$500 \$450	\$2,000 \$1,000	0	(1865 const. convention), state representative, 1875 const. convention	Union captain, placed in charge on NC's western dist. by Gov. Holden
Candler, Thomas	M	4	15.8	Madison	29	TN	Farmer	\$0 \$0	\$400 \$300	0 (father owned 7)	—	—
Carter, Sylvester	C	54	39.5	Sampson	25	NC	Farmer	\$0 \$0	\$0 \$100	0	—	—
Congleton, Abram	C	66	39.0	Carteret	34	NC	Fisherman	\$100 \$0	\$250 \$0	0	—	Union veteran

Cowles, Calvin	M	8	18.7	Wilkes	47	NC	Merchant	\$20,000 \$5,295	\$30,000 \$10,000	0	Assayer at mint	Whig, son-in-law of Gov. Holden (married Ida Holden), son by previous marriage (Calvin Duval Cowles) compiled atlas for War of Rebellion series
Cox, Talton	P	22	17.1	Randolph	36	NC	Teacher	\$0 \$0	\$800 \$200	0	Internal Revenue assessor	—
Daniel, Wiley	C	42	46.8	Wilson	48	NC	Farmer	\$15,000 \$29,600	\$16,000 \$14,000	18	—	—
Dickey, George	M	6	4.6	Cherokee	57	NC	Farmer	\$10,250 \$17,000	\$5,000 \$1,600	1	(1865 const. convention)	Former Whig, Unionist
Dowd, Henry	C	46	68.5	Edgecombe	35	NC	Farmer	\$12,000 \$25,000	\$8,000 \$1,050	6	—	Secessionist Democrat, Confederate colonel
Duckworth, James	M	4	15.8	Henderson	47	NC	Farmer	\$1,000 \$500	\$1,500 \$600	0	Registrar in 1867	—
Durham, Plato	P	10	21.2	Cleveland	27	NC	Lawyer	— —	\$200 \$1,000	—	State representative, 1875 const. convention	Father pro-secession member of NC secession convention; Confederate captain, KKK leader in Cleveland County along with Leroy McAfee, who was Thomas Dixon's uncle and boyhood idol
Ellis, James	P	11	19.3	Catawba	34	NC	Physician	\$0 \$2,100	\$2,500 \$500	0	(1865 const. convention), state representative, state senator	—
Ethridge, Jasper	C	65	33.6	Onslow	62	NC	Farmer	\$3,000 \$3,000	\$200 \$1,200	4	(State legislator), state senator	Unionist in secession crisis, perhaps Union veteran
Fisher, Abial	C	51	51.7	Bladen	34	NC	Adj. general of NC, 1870	— —	\$200 \$1,100	—	State representative	Sometimes classified as carpetbagger, Union veteran

NORTH CAROLINA SOUTHERN WHITE DELEGATES (continued)

Name	Region of state	District no.	% dist. black	County represented	Age	Native state/country	Profession	1860 real//		1870 real//		Slaves owned	(Former office), future office	Other biographical data
								personal property	personal property	personal property	personal property			
Forkner, Samuel	M	7	10.9	Surry	47	NC	Farmer	\$1,800	\$2,000	\$800	\$0	0	(1865 const. convention), state senator	Confederate colonel
Franklin, Stokes	P	30	48.8	Wake	30	NC	Farmer	—	\$0	—	\$0	—	State representative	—
French, John	P	24	47.8	Rockingham	50	NC	Farmer	\$1,500	\$500	\$200	—	0	County commissioner	—
Gahagan, George	M	4	15.8	Madison	66	SC	Farmer	\$4,000	\$9,000	\$5,000	—	2	(1865 const. convention), state representative	—
Garland, Julius	M	3	6.4	Mitchell	50	NC	Farmer	\$1,000	\$0	—	—	0	—	—
Garrett, W. G. B.	M	5	7.9	Haywood	49	NC	Farmer	\$1,100	\$20,000	\$2,000	—	7	(1865 const. convention, state legislator)	—
George, Wesley	M	8	18.7	Iredell	58	NC	Farmer	\$1,175	\$500	\$200	—	0	(State legislator in 1840s)	—
Glover, Andrew	C	70	43.3	Hyde	38	NC	Physician	\$20,000	\$0	\$0	—	29	—	—
Graham, George	P	37	26.6	Montgomery	38	NC	Farmer	—	\$500	\$500	—	—	State representative	Confederate veteran
Graham, John	P	28	39.8	Orange	28	NC	Lawyer	\$0	\$0	\$0	—	0 (father owned 38)	State senator	Son of former governor William A. Graham, wrote his autobiography, Confederate major
Grant, Henry	C	45	61.4	Northampton	42	NC	Farmer	\$1,200	\$900	\$450	—	3	Sheriff	—

Gulley, Nathan	C	40	34.1	Johnston	58	NC	Mechanic	\$0 \$240	— —	0	—	—
Gunter, William	P	29	30.0	Chatham	48	NC	Farmer	\$400 \$2,600	\$60 \$500	0	State representative	—
Hall, Lorenzo	C	54	39.5	Sampson	49	NC	Farmer	\$900 \$320	— —	0	State senator	A “red string” during war, replaced Alexander Williams as delegate
Hare, Jackson	C	58	51.6	Hertford	49	NC	Farmer	\$4,100 \$11,723	\$5,500 \$1,760	0	(Sheriff)	—
Harris, James	P	33	57.4	Franklin	28	NC	Farmer	\$0 \$0	\$0 \$300	0 (father owned 24)	State representative	—
Hay, James	C	40	34.1	Johnston	48	Ireland	Physician	\$400 \$4,006	— —	0	—	—
Hobbs, Milton	P	9	35.7	Davie	58	NC	Physician	\$1,000 \$4,000	\$1,500 \$1,000	6	—	—
Hodnett, Phillip	P	25	62.5	Caswell	64	VA	Farmer	\$3,700 \$18,000	\$600 \$200	12	(State legislator), State representative	Former Democrat, favored secession
Hoffler, Thomas	C	59	38.9	Gates	24	NC	Farmer	\$0 \$0	\$150 \$0	0	—	Confederate veteran
Hollowell, Jesse	C	39	46.9	Wayne	28	NC	Farm laborer	\$0 \$0	\$1,000 \$200	0	Town clerk	—
Holt, Edwin	P	28	39.8	Orange	36	NC	Physician	\$0 \$2,000	\$1,000 \$1,200	4	—	—
Ing, Jacob	C	43	45.3	Nash	82	NC	Farmer	\$1,273 \$8,780	— —	2	—	—
Jones, Calvin	M	8	18.7	Caldwell	55	NC	Farmer	\$5,400 \$2,767	\$0 \$300	2	—	—
Jones, Edmund	C	55	38.5	Tyrell and Washington	56	NC	Farmer	\$108,800 \$65,000	\$19,000 \$9,000	55	Superior court judge	Unionist

NORTH CAROLINA SOUTHERN WHITE DELEGATES (continued)

Name	Region of state	District no.	% dist. black	County represented	Age	Native state/ country	Profession	1860 real/ personal property	1870 real/ personal property	Slaves owned	(Former office), future office	Other biographical data
King, Joseph	P	12	32.7	Lincoln	27	NC	Farmer	\$0	\$800	0 (father owned 13)	Sheriff	—
King, Richard	C	47	54.3	Lenoir	49	NC	Farmer	\$20,000 \$40,000	\$20,000 \$6,200	0	(1865 const. convention), 1875 const. convention, state senator, customs house official	—
Kinney, Isaac	P	21	24.1	Davidson	80	NC	Nurseryman	\$3,700 \$500	\$900 \$100	0	(State representative)	Member of Heroes of America
Lennon, Haynes	C	49	47.8	Columbus	51	NC	Baptist minister	\$8,000 \$3,000	\$10,000 \$1,700	29	(Wartime postmaster), county commissioner	—
Logan, William	P	2	22.9	Rutherford	45	NC	Baptist minister	\$600 \$500	\$4,000 \$1,200	2	Registrar in 1867	Probably held additional personal property in 1860
Long, Richmond	P	38	51.8	Richmond	58	NC	Hotel keeper	\$3,000 \$4,000	\$1,500 \$1,500	3	State representative, state senator	Held Confederate mail contract
McCubbins, John	P	9	35.7	Rowan	44	NC	Dry goods merchant	\$3,800 \$20,000	\$7,000 \$22,700	4	(Confederate purchasing agent)	Replaced Isaac Shaver, who was never seated as a delegate
McDonald, John	P	29	30.0	Chatham	41	NC	Merchant	\$0 \$50	— —	0	(1865 const. convention)	—
McDonald, Sween	P	36	29.3	Moore	70	NC	Farmer	\$500 \$8,000	\$200 \$300	10	—	—
Marler, John	M	7	10.9	Yadkin	31	NC	Dry goods merchant	—	\$1,030	—	State representative, state senator	Confederate officer, unseated and replaced by John Marshall
Marshall, John	M	7	10.9	Surry	43	NC	Farmer	—	\$600	—	—	—

May, Mark	M	6	4.6	Macon	55	NC	Baptist minister	\$300	\$500	0	—	—
Merritt, William	P	27	49.0	Person	40	VA	Physician	\$205	\$400	4	—	—
Moore, James	P	31	59.1	Granville	39	TN	Farmer	\$2,485	\$3,500	0	Sheriff	—
Morton, Levi	P	17	21.8	Stanly	42	NC	Farmer	\$5,000	\$1,000	0	(State legislator)	—
Mullican, Spencer	P	21	24.1	Davidson	58	NC	Farmer	\$2,100	\$4,412	0	—	Member of Heroes of America
Murphy, W. A. B.	M	1	25.6	McDowell	55	NC	Farmer	\$300	\$1,000	0	—	—
Nance, Joshua	C	50	48.2	Robeson	58	NC	Farmer	\$300	\$500	0	County commissioner	—
Newsom, William	P	15	24.6	Union	50	NC	Farmer	\$7,000	\$1,200	0	—	Evidently died prior to 1870
Nicholson, William	C	61	50.2	Perquimans	42	NC	Physician	\$2,000	\$500 (held by widow)	0	(candidate for 1865 const. convention)	—
Parker, Roswell	C	45	61.4	Northampton	—	—	—	\$2,125	\$1,000	—	State representative	—
Parks, John	M	1	25.6	Burke	69	NC	Farmer	—	—	0	(State representative in 1862)	—
Patrick, John	C	41	50.1	Greene	38	NC	Farmer	\$1,800	\$3,000	15	Superior court clerk, county commissioner	—
Peterson, Ino.	C	53	40.7	Duplin	36	NC	Farmer	\$1,400	\$1,000	2	—	Sometimes classified as black
Petree, Riley	P	19	24.1	Stokes	48	NC	Farmer	\$6,500	\$800	—	—	—
								\$20,500	\$560			
								\$2,000	\$750			

NORTH CAROLINA SOUTHERN WHITE DELEGATES (continued)

Name	Region of state	District no.	% dist. black	County represented	Age	Native state/country	Profession	1860 real//		1870 real//		Slaves owned	(Former office), future office	Other biographical data
								personal property	personal property	personal property	personal property			
Pool, Charles	C	62	48.2	Pasquotank	28	NC	Registrar of bankruptcy	\$0	\$15,000	\$15,000	\$15,000	0 (father held 40)	Superior court judge, mayor of Elizabeth City	Former Whig
Ragland, John	P	31	59.1	Granville	60	NC	Farmer	\$3,750 \$10,000	\$1,000	\$1,000	\$150	0	State representative	—
Ray, Henry	P	26	36.9	Alamance	38	NC	Farmer	\$500 \$500	\$1,000	\$1,000	\$100	0	—	Involved in Gov. Holden's efforts to suppress KKK
Read, John	P	32	73.3	Warren	52	VA	Farmer	\$1,000 \$9,186	\$7,016	\$3,080		11	Internal Revenue collector	Allegedly defected with \$56,948
Rhodes, Jesse	P	2	22.9	Polk	68	NC	Farmer	\$810 \$2,500	\$2,000	\$1,180		0	—	—
Rodman, William	C	68	38.4	Beaufort	51	NC	Farmer	— —	\$30,000	\$5,500		112	(Breckinridge elector in 1860), associate justice of NC Supreme Court	Secessionist, former Democrat, Confederate colonel
Rose, Allen	P	9	35.7	Rowan	66	NC	Farmer	\$2,000 \$1,500	\$1,140	\$800		0	—	—
Sanderlin, Thomas	C	63	29.3	Currituck	39	NC	Farmer	\$5,000 \$2,500	\$5,000	\$1,000		4	County commissioner	—
Smith, Jerry	M	8	18.7	Alexander	29	NC	Farmer	\$0 \$0	\$1,500	\$500		0	—	Union veteran
Stilley, William	C	68	38.4	Beaufort	64	NC	Farmer	\$3,500 \$7,600	\$2,000	\$800		10	(State representative)	—
Stilwell, Silas	P	14	47.3	Mecklenburg	56	NC	Farmer	\$800 \$400	\$3,000	\$625		0	—	—
Taylor, William Matchet	C	52	48.2	Camden	51	Ireland	Farmer	\$30,000 \$40,000	\$5,000	\$1,000		55	—	—

Teague, Elijah	P	20	25.0	Forsyth	51	NC	Farmer	\$4,500 \$4,000	\$3,700 \$2,900	0	(State legislator)	—
Trogden, Rueben	P	22	17.1	Randolph	37	NC	Farm laborer	\$0 \$0	\$5,000 \$1,000	0	Sheriff	Family produced a privately published family history
Tucker, George	P	18	49.7	Anson	54	NC	Farmer	\$1,400 \$1,200	\$1,500 \$100	0	—	—
Turner, James	P	35	38.6	Harnett	50	NC	Farmer	\$10,000 \$10,000	\$4,000 \$500	1	—	—
Watts, Samuel	C	56	45.0	Martin	46	NC	Lawyer	\$3,000 \$2,000	\$2,500 \$1,000	1	Superior court judge	Douglas Democrat in 1860
Welker, George	P	23	30.0	Guilford	50	PA	Minister	— —	\$1,000 \$500	—	State senator	Published newspaper with Albion Tourgée
Williams, Alexander	C	54	39.5	Sampson	28	NC	Farmer	\$0 \$0	\$0 \$0	0 (father owned 24)	—	Unseated and replaced by Lorenzo Hall
Williams, Benton	P	30	48.8	Wake	69	NC	Farmer	\$8,000 \$1,200	\$2,000 \$2,000	15	—	—

Regions: C = Costal Plain, P = Piedmont, M = Mountain

Absent: Edwin Bartlett, Isaac Shaver

SOUTH CAROLINA SOUTHERN WHITE DELEGATES

Name	Region of state	District no.	% dist. black	County represented	Age	Native state/ country	Profession	1860 real/		1870 real/		Slaves owned	(Former office), future office	Other biographical data
								personal property	personal property	personal property	personal property			
Allen, James	MT	15	41.7	Greenville	45	NY	Marble mason	\$2,500	\$2,500	\$3,000	\$5,000	0	Postmaster of Greenville, state senator, presidential elector in 1868	Confederate deserter, built Columbia city hall, director of Greenville-Columbia RR, county treasurer, convicted of default
Boozer, Lemuel	M	18	39.7	Lexington	59	SC	Lawyer	\$10,000	\$40,000	Died January 23, 1870		51	(1865 const. convention, presidential elector in 1844, State senator), lt. governor, judge	Douglas delegate to 1860 Democratic convention in Charleston, Unionist, son killed by a secessionist
Bowen, Christopher	L	6	59.7	Charleston	36	RI	Lawyer	—	—	\$0	\$2,000	—	U.S. Congress	Confederate captain, charged with murder of his commanding officer
Bryce, Alexander	MT	25	29.1	Pickens	64	SC	Farmer	\$1,400	\$400	\$210	\$250	0	(1865 const. convention)	Secessionist
Camp, J. P. Frank	MT	27	35.2	Spartanburg	38	SC	Merchant	\$1,300	\$8,700	\$800	\$500	7	County treasurer	Confederate hospital nurse
Coghlan, Thomas	M	28	73.4	Sumter	65	Ireland	Blacksmith	\$2,300	\$3,000	\$0	\$1,500	0	Sheriff, state senator, county treasurer	Unionist, born aboard ship while parents were migrating from Ireland
Collins, William	L	22	48.6	Marion	43	SC	Farmer	—	—	\$500	\$204	—	State representative	Married woman of mixed race
Corley, Simeon	M	18	39.7	Lexington	44	SC	Tailor	\$1,000	\$3,500	\$2,000	\$4,000	0	U.S. Congress	Opposed secession in 1850s, temperance activist, forced into Confederate army at bayonet point

Crews, Joseph	MT	20.	59.3	Laurens	45	NC	Merchant	\$7,000 \$0	— —	7	State representative	Assassinated in 1875, must have had personal property in 1860
Dickson, Elias	M	8	67.3	Clarendon	35	SC	Druggist	\$0 \$0	\$1,800 \$250	0	State senator, county treasurer	Confederate deserter
Dill, Solomon	M	17	67.3	Kershaw	43	SC	Farmer	— —	Assassi- nated in June 1868	—	State senator elect	Union League official
Duncan, B. Odell	MT	23	66.6	Newberry	58	SC	Farmer	— —	\$20,000 \$3,000	—	(U.S. consul to Duchy of Baden)	Opposed secession
Gentry, John	MT	27	35.2	Spartanburg	60?	SC?	—	— —	— —	—	—	—
Goss, James	MT	29	57.0	Union	47	SC	Merchant	\$8,000 \$55,000	— —	18	U.S. Congress	Confederate veteran, testified in KKK hearings
Hunter, John	MT	1	66.1	Abbeville	—	SC	Merchant	— —	— —	—	Registrar in 1867	—
Johnson, Leander	MT	25	29.1	Pickens	40	NC	Physician	\$15,000 \$7,405	— —	3	(1865 const. convention)	—
Johnson, William	MT	15	41.7	Greenville	39	SC	Farmer	\$3,000 \$1,130	\$2,000 \$550	7	County assessor	Confederate deserter
Mackey, Albert	L	6	59.7	Charleston	60	SC	Physician	\$3,000 \$1,500	— —	3	Collector of customs in Charleston	Unionist, Masonic leader
Mackey, Edmund	M	24.	67.2	Orangeburg	24	SC	—	\$0 \$0	\$0 \$0	0 (father owned 3)	(asst. assessor of Internal Revenue), sheriff, U.S. Congress, state representative	Son of Albert Mackey, editor of <i>Charleston Republican</i> , married Victoria Sumter, an African American woman
Maulden, Mabry	MT	25	29.1	Pickens	57	SC	Farmer	\$2,000 \$500	\$1,200 \$400	0	—	—

SOUTH CAROLINA SOUTHERN WHITE DELEGATES (continued)

Name	Region of state	District no.	% dist. black	County represented	Age	Native state/ country	Profession	1860 real/ personal property	1870 real/ personal property	Slaves owned	(Former office), future office	Other biographical data
Milford, T. B.	MT	1	66.1	Abbeville	51	SC	Farmer	\$2,000	\$100	6	State representative, probate judge	Unionist
Miller, Franklin	L	14	86.3	Georgetown	33	SC	Inspector of naval stores	\$0	\$0	0	State representative	Sometimes classified as black
Moses, Franklin	M	28	73.4	Sumter	28	SC	Lawyer	\$0	\$51,100	0 (father owned 25)	(1865 const. convention), governor of SC	Drug addict, allegedly raised Confederate flag at Ft. Sumter in April 1861
Neagle, John	MT	31	44.3	York	30	NC	Physician	\$1,000	\$10,000	2	State representative, state comptroller general	Confederate surgeon
Newell, N. J.	MT	2	43.7	Anderson	37	SC	Physician	\$0	\$831	0	—	Alt. delegate to 1868 Republican national convention
Olsen, Charles	L	30	68.3	Williamsburg	—	Denmark	Grocery clerk	—	—	—	—	Confederate veteran
Owens, Y. J. P.	MT	20	59.3	Laurens	23	SC	Farmer	—	\$300	—	State senator	Anti-secessionist, Confederate conscript, deserted and joined Union army
Perry, William	MT	2	43.7	Anderson	48	NJ	Cotton manufacturer	—	\$55,000	—	State representative	—
Richmond, A. C.	L	4	89.4	Berkeley	—	—	Court clerk	—	\$3,000	—	State representative	Confederate veteran who was imprisoned in Charleston for disloyalty
Robertson, Thomas	M	26	69.5	Richland	45	SC	Planter	\$15,000	\$20,000	84	(1865 const. convention), U.S. Senate	Unionist

Rose, William	MT	31	44.3	York	49	England	Hotel keeper	\$20,000 \$10,000	\$25,000 \$5,000	6	State senator	Confederate veteran, had trouble with KKK
Runion, James	MT	15	41.7	Greenville	44	NC	Minister	\$350 \$350	\$550 \$500	0	County auditor	Secessionist, Confederate chaplain
Rutland, James	MT	13	72.1	Fairfield	51	SC	Lawyer	\$16,000 \$15,958	— —	2	State senator, circuit court judge	Secessionist, helped raise funds to purchase a gold-headed cane for Preston Brooks in 1856, later a Union man
Woolley, John	M	12	63.5	Edgefield	43	SC (perhaps England)	County treasurer, 1870	\$0 \$700	\$700 \$1,000	0	County treasurer, county land commissioner	Sometimes classified as black, threatened by KKK

Regions: L = Low Country, M = Midlands, MT = Mountain

Absent: George DeMeddis, Frederick Sawyer, John Terry

TEXAS SOUTHERN WHITE DELEGATES

Name	Region of state	District no.	% dist. black	County represented	Age	Native state/country	Profession	1860 real/ personal property	1870 real/ personal property	Slaves owned	(Former office), future office	Other biographical data
Adams, Pleasant*	E	19	45.2	Henderson	51	VA	Physician	\$8,000 \$28,400	\$4,000 \$2,724	30	—	—
Armstrong, James	E	24	44.7	Jefferson	56	KY	Lawyer	— —	\$10,000 \$3,000	3	(TX Congress 1830s–40s, delegate to annexation convention of 1845), state representative	Texas army 1836, Unionist
Armstrong, Micajah*	NE	5	36.1	Lamar	62	TN	Farmer	\$4,000 \$5,500	\$500 \$400	8	(TN legislator, Unionist in TX legislature in 1860, delegate to 1866 TX const. convention), state representative, county clerk	—

TEXAS SOUTHERN WHITE DELEGATES (continued)

Name	Region of state	District no.	% dist. black	County represented	Age	Native state/country	Profession	1860 real/ personal property	1870 real/ personal property	Slaves owned	(Former office), future office	Other biographical data
Bell, John*	C	46	53.3	Austin	48	FL	Hotel keeper	\$14,000	\$10,000	4	(County treasurer), state senator, state representative	Unionist
Bellinger, Edmund*	W	58	45.4	Gonzales	66	SC	Farmer	\$1,100	—	0	—	—
Bledsoe, Albert	NE	16	30.5	Dallas	67	KY	Farmer	\$3,600	\$3,000	0	(County judge), state comptroller, delegate to 1872 liberal Republican national convention	Unionist
Board, N. V.†	E	13	65.2	Harrison	65	VA	Farmer	\$2,000	\$4,500	6	County judge	—
Boyd, John	C	38	65.7	Robertson	33	TN	Lawyer	\$0	—	0	(State senator)	Confederate veteran, secessionist
Brown, James†	NE	11	20.6	Kaufman	50	VA	Carpenter	\$570	\$9,000	0	(Justice of the peace)	Unionist
Bryant, Anthony*	NE	9	20.3	Grayson	49	KY	Farmer	\$7,500	\$10,000	2	(County judge)	Confederate veteran, Unionist
Buffington, Anderson*	C	34	66.5	Grimes	62	SC	Minister	\$6,000	\$1,000	1	(County judge)	Opposed secession, in Battle of San Jacinto, two sons in Confederate army
Burnett, James*	E	20	54.6	Houston	25	GA	Lawyer	—	—	—	State representative, district judge, state senator	Confederate captain
Caldwell, Colbert	NE	1	55.3	Marion	46	TN	Lawyer	—	\$3,000	11	Judge on TX Supreme Court	Anti-secessionist, threatened by KKK
Carter, W. Frank*†	NE	17	25.6	Parker	46	MA	Miller	\$32,360	\$4,000	0	(County judge), mayor of Weatherford	A “loyal man”
								\$3,725	\$1,000			

Cole, David Washington*	NE	6	17.9	Hopkins	47	KY	Farmer	\$4,050 \$3,875	\$0 \$0	2	State senator	—
Davis, Edmund*†	W	62	16.3	Nueces	41	FL	Lawyer	\$0 \$0	\$0 \$0	0	(District judge, delegate to 1866 const. convention), governor of TX	Union general, probably held property
Degener, Edward†	W	56	22.5	Bexar	58	Germany	Merchant	— —	\$5,000 \$1,000	—	(Frankfurt assembly in 1848, delegate to 1866 const. convention), U.S. Congress	Imprisoned during war because of Unionist sympathy, two sons executed by Confederates for treason
Evans, Andrew	C	41	52.9	McLennan	33	SC	Lawyer	\$3,200 \$1,200	\$0 \$200	1	State senator	Supported Constitutional Union party in 1860
Evans, Lemuel*	NE	3	31.5	Titus	58	TN	Lawyer	— —	— —	—	(Delegate to annexation convention of 1845, American party congressman, 1855–57), chief justice TX Supreme Court	Unionist, pro-Douglas in 1860, fled state in 1861
Fayle, William*	C	28	59.0	Harris	48	England	Minister	\$2,200 \$250	\$6,000 \$1,000	0	(Criminal court judge)	Spoke out as Republican in 1850s and therefore replaced as minister of his church in 1859
Flanagan, James	E	14	52.1	Rusk	62	VA	Lawyer	\$37,946 \$41,650	\$10,000 \$1,000	104 (65 + 39 owned by wife)	(State senator, state representative, delegate to 1866 const. convention), state senator, U.S. Senate, lt. governor	Whig , Know-Nothing, Constitutional Unionist in 1850s, member of 1861 peace convention, Confederate colonel
Flanagan, Webster	E	14	52.1	Rusk	36	KY	Merchant	\$4,300 \$47,380	\$2,000 \$5,000	6	State senator, delegate to 1875 const. convention, Internal Revenue collector, delegate to Republican national conventions of 1872, 1880, 1884, 1888, 1892, 1896	Son of James Flanagan, opposed secession, Confederate general

TEXAS SOUTHERN WHITE DELEGATES (continued)

Name	Region of state	District no.	% dist. black	County represented	Age	Native state/country	Profession	1860 real/ personal property	1870 real/ personal property	Slaves owned	(Former office), future office	Other biographical data
Fleming, William*	NE	2	48.4	Red River	52	NC	Farmer	\$18,000	\$10,000	16	—	Confederate veteran
Foster, Henry	W	47	63.8	Colorado	28	TX	Farmer	\$12,500	\$1,500	0	—	—
Gaston, Matthew	E	21	32.0	Cherokee	36	GA	Physician	\$150	\$300	—	State representative	Confederate veteran
Glenn, Marshall*	E	19	45.2	Anderson	31	TN	Lawyer	\$150	\$290	—	—	Confederate captain
Goddin, Mortimer	E	26	68.2	Polk	40	VA	Farmer	—	\$3,000	54 owned by wife	(Justice of the peace)	Unionist, Freedmen's Bureau official, threatened, mayor of Huntsville
Gray, Bird*	NE	4	40.4	Titus	42	AL	Lawyer	\$5,000	\$6,000	0	District judge	—
Grigsby, Aaron	NE	1	55.3	Marion	—	TN	Presbyterian minister	\$1,500	\$1,500	—	(Assessor-collector)	Always loyal, forced to resign his ministry at start of Civil War because of Unionist sympathies
Hamilton, Andrew*	W	52	56.7	Travis	53	AL	Lawyer	—	\$0	—	(State attorney general, U.S. Congress, military governor, provisional governor)	Anti-secessionist, pro-Douglas in 1860, Union general, probably had property
Hamilton, Morgan†	W	50	52.2	Bastrop	59	AL	Retired merchant	—	\$0	—	(Secretary of war, Republic of Texas), U.S. Senate	Constitutional Unionist in secession crisis, brother of A. J. Hamilton
Harris, Loring*	E	12	38.5	Upshur	57	MA	Police judge, 1870	—	\$300	—	Justice of the peace	—
								—	\$500			

Horne, William	C	31	88.1	Fort Bend	29	GA	Lawyer	—	\$1,700	—	—	Blind according to 1870 census
Johnson, Samuel	W	60	45.5	Calhoun	25	TX	Hide and wool dealer	—	\$20,000	—	County commissioner	Some problems with middle initial (<i>M</i> or <i>W</i>)
Jordan, A. P. H.†	W	61	18.5	Goliad	—	—	Physician	—	—	—	County commissioner	—
Kealey, Thomas*	NE	10	13.3	Denton	59	NY	Mechanic	\$2,500 \$4,000	\$5,000 \$830	0	—	—
Keigwin, William*	C	36	52.5	Leon	47	KY	Farmer	\$10,000 \$4,475	—	1	—	—
Keuchler, Jacob†	W	54	5.5	Gillespie	45	Hesse-Darmstadt	County surveyor	\$200 \$320	\$2,000 \$200	0	State land commissioner	Unionist, founded Tusculum Utopian, attacked by Confederates (Battle of Nueces) while attempting to flee state
Kirk, Allan*	NE	18	11.2	Erath	37	TN	Farmer	\$0 \$200	\$5,000 \$1,000	0	(District clerk)	—
Lieb, John*	C	45	69.6	Washington	—	—	Minister	—	—	—	District supervisor of education	Unionist
Lindsay, Livingston	W	49	43.0	Fayette	59	VA	Lawyer	\$3,500 \$8,000	\$15,000 \$2,000	10	Justice on TX Supreme Court	Unionist
Lippard, John†	C	39	67.3	Freestone (lived in Hill)	44	NC	Farmer	\$4,150 \$5,900	\$8,000 \$2,000	0	—	Union veteran
McCormick, Andrew*	C	33	86.1	Brazoria	36	TX	Farmer	\$11,334 \$11,970	\$15,000 \$3,000	7	(1866 const. convention), district judge, state senator, circuit judge	Confederate veteran
Mackey, John*	W	52	56.7	Travis	44	MO	Blacksmith	— —	\$380 \$120	0	—	—

TEXAS SOUTHERN WHITE DELEGATES (continued)

Name	Region of state	District no.	% dist. black	County represented	Age	Native state/country	Profession	1860 real/personal property	1870 real/personal property	Slaves owned	(Former office), future office	Other biographical data
Mills, William*	W	63	0.3	El Paso	30	IN	Mill owner	\$0	\$0	0	(Customs collector), State representative	Unionist, fled state in 1861, son-in-law of A. J. Hamilton, Union lieutenant, probably held property
Munroe, Armisted*	E	20	54.6	Houston	50	VA	Dry goods merchant	\$10,000 \$60,000	\$5,000 \$50,000	1	Financial agent for state penitentiary	Distantly related to President James Monroe
Muckleroy, David	E	22	37.6	Nacogdoches	45	TN	Farmer	\$1,000 \$1,741	\$1,000 \$800	28	—	Confederate captain, obvious discrepancy in 1860 census enumeration
Mullins, W. H.	E	21	32.0	Cherokee	34	TN	Lawyer	\$1,000 \$750	Died Oct. 24, 1868	0	—	Committed suicide, replaced by M. Priest, Confederate captain
Mundine, Tirus*	C	44	49.3	Burleson	43	AL	Retail merchant	\$9,000 \$6,000	\$3,886 \$2,038	3	(State representative, justice of the peace)	Opposed secession, proposed enfranchising women while Black and Tan delegate
Newcomb, James†	W	56	22.5	Bexar	31	Nova Scotia	Editor	— —	\$0 \$0	—	Secretary of state	Unionist, his press was destroyed in 1861, probably held property
Oaks, William	C	41	52.9	McLennan	40	TN	Physician	\$1,000 \$3,925	Died Aug. 24, 1868	3	—	Union captain, replaced by S. Mullins
Patten, Nathan†	C	41	52.9	McLennan	45	NY	Manufacturer	\$0 \$0	\$0 \$0	0	Internal Revenue collector, customs collector	—
Pedigo, Henry	E	25	48.8	Tyler	47	VA	Lawyer	\$20,000 \$9,000	\$8,000 \$2,500	2	(District judge)	Town of Pedigo named after family

Phillips, William*	E	23	46.9	San Augustine	51	TN	Merchant	\$2,000	\$2,000	\$2,000	0	County judge	—
Phillips, William J.*	C	32	83.2	Wharton	42	VA	Retired merchant	\$30,000	\$15,000	\$3,000	2	County assessor	Confederate veteran
Rogers, Edwin*	NE	8	23.7	Fannin	61	TN	Physician	\$4,000	\$2,000	\$3,000	1	(Congressman, Republic of Texas)	—
Schuetze, Julius*	W	51	46.8	Bastrop	33	Germany	Lawyer	—	—	\$0	—	County judge, state representative	Unionist, published German-language newspaper <i>Vorwaerts</i> , probably held property, tutored Gov. Houston's children
Scott, J. R.*	NE	7	28.5	Lamar	36	VA	Justice of peace	\$2,000	\$600	—	0	(Justice of the peace)	—
Stockbridge, Charles*	C	45	69.6	Washington	31	PA	Mail contractor	\$6,000	\$2,000	\$1,000	0	State representative	Union veteran
Sumner, Frederick	NE	9	20.3	Grayson	34	VT	Watch maker	\$4,200	\$2,000	\$1,400	0	Internal Revenue assessor, Republican state executive committee	Unionist, fled state in 1861
Talbot, Joseph	W	53	21.3	Williamson	53	NY	Rancher	—	—	\$10,000	—	Supervisor of district board of education	Unionist, fled state in 1861
Talbot, Richard*	W	53	21.3	Williamson	50	NY	Stock raiser	—	—	\$10,000	—	(Registrar in 1867)	Replaced Joseph W. Talbot as delegate
Thomas, James*	NE	10	13.3	Collin	42	M0	Editor	\$0	\$0	\$2,000	0	Justice of the peace	Union veteran
Varnell, William	W	60	45.5	Jackson	56	TN	Farmer	\$700	\$5,000	\$1,500	4	(1866 const. convention)	In CA 1849–52
Vaughan, Francis	W	57	41.8	Guadalupe	37	TN	Retail merchant	\$4,500	\$5,243	\$5,000	0	(County clerk)	Union captain

TEXAS SOUTHERN WHITE DELEGATES (continued)

Name	Region of state	District no.	% dist. black	County represented	Age	Native state/ country	Profession	1860 real/ personal property	1870 real/ personal property	Slaves owned	(Former office), future office	Other biographical data
Whitmore, George	E	15	56.7	Smith	44	TN	Lawyer	\$2,500	\$7,800	7	(State representative, district attorney), U.S. Congress	Anti-secessionist, imprisoned by Confederates
Wilson, Erwin*	C	30	87.4	Brazoria	58	TN	Farmer	—	—	—	(County commissioner)	—
Wilson, John†	C	43	40.7	Milam	38	AL	Farmer	\$6,000	—	8	—	Confederate veteran
Wright, Arvin*	NE	17	25.6	Ellis	69	NC	Farmer	\$12,500	\$10,000	0	(County judge)	—
Yarborough, Gilbert	E	12	38.5	Wood	66	NC	Farmer	\$1,850	\$1,000	—	—	—
								\$3,420	—	3	—	—
								\$4,750	—	—	—	—

Regions: E = East, NE = Northeast, C = Central, W = West

Unclassified whites; John Morse,* G. M. L. Sorrell*

Nonvoting whites: George Klappenbach, Mijamin Priest*

*Signed the constitution.

†Protested the constitution.

VIRGINIA SOUTHERN WHITE DELEGATES

Name	Region of state	District no.	% dist. black	County or city represented	Age	Native state/country	Profession	1860 real/personal property	1870 real/personal property	Slaves owned	(Former office), future office	Other biographical data
Babcock, Lemuel	T	54	62.1	Charles City	57	MA	Lumber manufacturer	\$3,000	\$800	—	—	—
Berkeley, Norborne*	P	8	26.5	Loudon	39	VA	Farmer	\$30,000 \$20,000	\$20,000 \$1,000	20	—	Confederate lt. colonel, POW following Gettysburg
Bowden, Henry	T	12	51.8	Norfolk	50	VA	Farmer	\$5,000 \$7,500	\$0 \$5,000	2	Internal Revenue assessor, state representative	Son of Lemuel Bowden, a U.S. senator who represented VA's Unionist government in 1863–64
Broadus, John *	P	16	47.5	Amherst	62	VA	Inspector, city of Lynchburg	\$10,000 \$3,250	\$1,500 \$420	4	(Magistrate)	—
Campbell, Joseph*	M	52	20.3	Washington	39	VA	Lawyer	\$14,000 \$18,100	\$25,000 \$1,000	7	(County attorney)	Confederate colonel
Carr, David	T	49	68.5	Dinwiddie	58	NY	Farmer	\$5,400 \$3,000	\$4,000 \$600	0	State senator	Loyal during war
Cowan, George*	M	63	10.9	Russell	29	VA	Farmer	— —	\$7,000 \$2,000	—	(Russell County court clerk)	Confederate veteran
Dickey, William	P	44	8.6	Grayson	43	VA	Farmer	\$4,300 \$500	\$2,500 \$0	0	—	—
Dixon, John	T	57	44.3	Mathews	44	VA	Ship carpenter	\$1,500 \$8,000	\$2,000 \$200	4	Customs collector	Loyal during war
Duncan, Charles*	M	50	5.6	Scott	28	VA	Merchant	\$0 \$0	\$700 \$1,400	0	—	Confederate lieutenant, supported secession
Eastham, John*	P	30	61.1	Louisa	39	VA	Gentleman	\$0 \$12,500	— —	1	—	Union League official, Unionist during war, former Whig

VIRGINIA SOUTHERN WHITE DELEGATES (continued)

Name	Region of state	District no.	% dist. black	County or city represented	Age	Native state/country	Profession	1860 real/		Slaves owned	(Former office), future office		Other biographical data
								personal property	personal property				
Flanagan, Adam	M	32	26.8	Montgomery	36	VA	Farmer	\$3,500	\$20,000	0	—		Unionist, Confederate deserter
French, James*	M	66	14.2	Bland	45	VA	Lawyer	\$0	—	0	State senator		Confederate colonel
Fuqua, Samuel	P	31	62.7	Lunenburg	55	VA	Farmer	\$0	\$0	0	—		—
Gibboney, James*	M	39	23.3	Wythe	50	VA	Physician	\$5,000	\$5,000	0	—		Claimed to have been loyal during war
Gibson Eustace*	M	62	24.9	Giles	26	VA	Lawyer	\$0	\$2,500	0 (father owned 9)	U.S. Congress representing WV		Confederate captain
Gibson, Jonathan*	P	45	38.0	Fauquier	31	VA	Lawyer	—	\$0	—	—		Brother of Eustace Gibson, Confederate colonel
Gravatt, John*	T	41	48.2	Caroline	49	VA	Physician	\$15,000	\$8,000	14	—		Confederate physician
Harris, Adolphus*	P	34	50.5	Nelson	24	VA	Law student	\$0	—	0 (father owned 10)	—		Confederate veteran, clerk in Gen. Wise's headquarters
Harrison, Powell*	M	4	27.6	Augusta	32	VA	Lawyer	\$0	\$1,500	0	—		Confederate captain
Hawxhurst, John	T	14	56.5	Alexandria	44	NY	Merchant	\$0	\$0	0	(Member of Wheeling legislature)		—
Hunnicutt, James	T	1	53.9	City of Richmond	55	SC	Editor	\$3,000	\$2,000	2, + 1 owned by wife	—		Publisher of <i>Richmond New Nation</i>

Hunter, Frederick*	T	41	48.2	King George	31	VA	Lawyer	\$0 \$0	\$0 \$0	0 (father owned 22)	—	Confederate captain
Kennerly Joseph*	M	55	28.8	Clarke	41	VA	Farmer	\$14,000 \$11,000	\$14,000 \$2,500	12	—	Confederate captain, secessionist
Lee, Hugh*	M	53	28.7	Roanoke	31	VA	Lawyer	\$9,000 \$3,000	— —	0 (father owned 13)	—	Confederate captain
Lewis, Benjamin *	T	64	23.7	Prince William	51	VA	Farmer	\$2,916 \$0	\$10,500 \$2,245	0 (father owned 22)	—	Loyal during war
Liggett, Jacob	M	11	13.0	Rockingham	38	VA	Lawyer	\$11,000 \$5,000	\$6,500 \$500	4	(State representative 1865–66)	Douglas elector in 1860
Linkenhoker, Lewis*	M	17	31.8	Botetourt	47	VA	Farmer	\$4,000 \$1,100	\$9,500 \$200	0	(Sheriff)	Loyal during war
Lydick, William	P	69	54.9	Campbell	60	VA	Merchant	— —	\$5,000 \$0	—	—	Loyal during war
McLaughlin, William*	M	43	27.7	Rockbridge	37	VA	Lawyer	\$17,000 \$8,000	\$12,000 \$8,000	0	State representative, circuit court judge	Confederate colonel, trustee of Washington and Lee College
Marye, John, Jr. *	T	41	48.2	Spotsylvania	43	VA	Lawyer	\$6,000 \$11,700	\$3,000 \$500	11	Lt. governor of VA	Former Whig, father was member of secession convention and voted for secession
Massey, Edward	T	59	57.1	King William	32	VA	Railroad clerk	— —	\$375 \$100	—	State senator	Confederate veteran
Mauzy, Fayette	P	21	47.1	Culpeper	65	VA	Court clerk	— —	\$4,500 \$2,500	—	(County court clerk)	Former Whig
Mayse, Joseph*	M	43	27.7	Bath	27	VA	Lawyer	\$0 \$0	\$0 \$100	0	—	Confederate captain

VIRGINIA SOUTHERN WHITE DELEGATES (continued)

Name	Region of state	District no.	% dist. black	County or city represented	Age	Native state/ country	Profession	1860 real/ personal property	1870 real/ personal property	Slaves owned	(Former office), future office	Other biographical data
Milbourn, Andrew	M	50	5.6	Lee	64	VA	Farmer	\$18,000	\$30,000	7	—	Loyal, perhaps from TN
Owen, William*	P	7	63.2	Halifax	58	VA	Farmer	\$2,000	\$4,000	—	—	—
Parr, William	T	33	51.6	Nansemond	63	VA	House carpenter	\$0	\$0	0	—	—
Plaster, George*	P	8	26.5	Loudon	40	VA	Physician	\$4,500	\$10,000	0	—	Secessionist, Confederate captain, had gone to CA during gold rush
Poor, Frederick	P	36	54.6	Orange	27	MS	Farmer	—	\$6,000	—	—	Union officer
Reed, William	T	49	68.5	Dinwiddie	45	VA	Farmer	\$3,500	\$1,328	5	—	Loyal during war
Robertson, M. F.*	P	47	30.0	Patrick and Franklin	—	VA	Retail clerk	—	—	—	—	Confederate major
Robertson, William	P	35	75.1	Nottoway	36	VA	Physician	\$4,000	—	16	—	Confederate veteran
Rust, George*	M	51	9.7	Page	42	VA	Physician	\$2,000	\$8,000	3	—	Secessionist
Scott, Robert*	P	45	38.0	Fauquier	33	VA	Lawyer	\$0	\$3,500	1	State attorney general 1880s–1890s	Secessionist, Confederate major on George Pickett's staff
Seay, Samuel	P	15	75.1	Amelia	54	VA	Farmer	\$4,800	\$4,500	14	—	Loyal

Snead, Edward*	T	42	48.6	Accomac	39	VA	Lawyer	\$50,000 \$6,500	\$25,000 \$3,000	4	(Circuit court judge)	Former Whig, loyal
Southall, James*	P	73	45.6	Albemarle	38	VA	Editor	\$0 \$7,000	— —	0 (father owned 8)	—	Became editor of <i>Richmond Enquirer</i> ; initially strong Unionist, then ardent secessionist
Staley, David	P	5	46.7	Bedford	54	VA	Minister	\$1,200 \$435	— \$770 \$100	0	—	Loyal
Swan, George	T	28	60.5	Henrico	39	NJ	Carpenter	\$800 \$50	— —	0	—	—
Taylor, W. F. B.	P	47	30.0	Patrick	38	VA	Physician	\$0 \$3,000	\$800 \$150	0	State representative	Confederate physician
Thomas, Christopher	P	29	49.7	Henry	49	VA	Lawyer	\$6,000 \$14,000	\$6,000 \$4,000	8	(State senator), state representative, U.S. Congress	Unionist
Thompson, C. L.	P	3	54.4	Albemarle	47	VA	Merchant	\$1,500 \$500	\$0 \$800	0	—	Secessionist, Union League official
Thompson, John*	M	52	20.3	Smyth	37	VA	Flour merchant	\$5,000 \$5,000	\$10,000 \$500	2	—	Confederate officer, secessionist
Waddell, Joseph*	M	4	27.6	Augusta	44	VA	Lawyer	\$3,450 \$8,000	\$4,000 500	2	(State representative), state senator	Former Whig, editor of <i>Stanton Spectator</i>
Walton, Moses*	M	51	9.7	Shenandoah	41	VA	Lawyer	\$3,800 \$10,000	\$2,000 \$10,000	1	(State legislator)	—
Wicker, Herbert	P	10	56.1	Pittsylvania	44	VA	Teacher	\$0 \$50	— —	0	—	Loyal, taught in Freedmen's Bureau school
Williamson, Samuel	P	6	53.6	Campbell	57	VA	Lawyer	\$6,000 \$20,000	— —	2	—	Loyal
Wilson, Norval*	M	25	20.5	Frederick	65	VA	Methodist minister	\$22,000 \$3,000	\$1,800 \$500	0	—	Antislavery but pro-rebel, visited with John Brown in jail cell shortly before Brown's execution

VIRGINIA SOUTHERN WHITE DELEGATES (continued)

Name	Region of state	District no.	% dist. black	County or city represented	Native state/country	Profession	1860 real/personal property	1870 real/personal property	Slaves owned	(Former office), future office	Other biographical data
Winston, Ferdinand	P	44	8.6	Floyd	43 VA	Cabinetmaker	\$1,500 \$910	\$1,500 \$4,500	0	(Sheriff)	Member of Heroes of America, arrested by Confederate authorities
Woodson, John	M	11	13.0	Rockingham	44 VA	Lawyer	\$3,500 \$5,000	\$4,000 \$5,000	1	District attorney	Graduate of U. of VA

Regions: T = Tidewater, P = Piedmont, M = Mountain
Not seated: Robert Beazley

*Urged rejection of constitution.

ALABAMA BLACK DELEGATES

Name	Region of state	Dist. no.	% dist. black	County represented	Native state/country	Profession	1870 real/personal property	Racial heritage	Slave/free at war's end	Literacy	Future office	Other biographical data
Alexander, Benjamin	B	22	79.2	Greene	27 NC	Farmer	\$0 \$0	B	S	Illiterate	State representative	—
Blandon, Samuel	P	19	55.2	Lee	22 SC	Farmer	\$1,000 \$2,000	M	S	Literate	State representative	—
Carraway, John	M	1	60.7	Mobile	22 NC	Asst. editor, Mobile Nationalist	\$0 \$0	M	S/F	Literate	Mobile City Council, state representative	Served in 54th MA Regiment, composed song “No Slave Beneath the Starry Flag” which was popular among black Union soldiers
Diggs, Thomas	PW	6	65.1	Barbour	52 VA	Field hand	\$0 \$0	B	S	Read, could not write	State representative	—

Finley, Peyton	B	15	75.6	Montgomery	43	GA	Farmer	\$0 \$1,000	B	F	Literate	State Board of Education	Doorkeeper at Statehouse prior to Civil War
Green, James	B	22	79.2	Hale	44	NC	Carpenter	\$0 \$250	B	S	Literate	State representative	Union League organizer, threatened
Gregory, Ovid	M	1	60.7	Mobile	—	AL	Merchant/ cigar store owner	Died in 1869	M	F	Literate	State representative	Spoke French and Spanish
Hatcher, Jordan	B	16	82.5	Dallas	57	GA	Field hand	\$0 \$0	B	S	Literate	Postmaster	—
Ing, Benjamin	B	18	71.8	Sumter	—	VA	Minister	Died in 1869	U	S	—	State representative	—
Johnson, Washington	B	13	73.6	Russell	42	VA	Farmer	\$0 \$300	B	S	Literate	—	—
Jones, Columbus	TV	42	54.0	Madison	—	—	—	Died in 1869	U	S	—	State representative	—
Lee, Thomas	B	21	77.9	Perry	—	—	Carpenter	Died in 1868	B	S	Illiterate	State representative	Associated with American Missionary Association
McLeod, J. Wright	B	17	81.8	Marengo			Minister	—	U	S/F	—	—	—
Raipier, James	TV	43	47.4	Lauderdale	27	AL	Planter	\$500 \$1,000	M	F	Literate	U.S. Congress	Helped organized TN blacks in 1865
Robinson, Lafayette	TV	42	54.0	Madison	32	AL	Cashier in Freedmen's Bank	\$0 \$0	M	S/F	Literate	Huntsville School Board	Freedmen's Bureau
Royal, Benjamin	B	7	54.8	Bullock	55	AL	Farmer	\$6,000 \$600	M	S	Literate	State senator	Union League
Strother, Alfred	B	16	82.5	Dallas	42	SC	Farm laborer	\$0 \$0	B	S	Literate	Justice of the peace	—

Regions: B = Black Belt, M = Mobile, P = Piedmont, PW = Piney Woods/Wiregrass, TV= Tennessee Valley

Slave/free status: S = slave at war's end, F = born free, S/F = born a slave, free before war's end

Racial heritage: B = black, M = mixed race, U = unknown

ARKANSAS BLACK DELEGATES

Name	Region of state	Dist. no.	% dist. black	County represented	Age	Native state/ country- years in AR	Profession	1870 real/ personal property	Racial heritage	Slave/free at war's end	Literacy	Future office	Other biographical data
Grey, William	D	40	73.7	Phillips	38	DC-3	A.M.E. minister	\$0 \$500	M	F	Literate	U.S. assessor, state representative	Former servant of Gov. Henry Wise of VA
Hawkins, Monroe	S	30	62.3	Lafayette	36	NC-26	Minister	\$0 \$0	B	S	Literate	State representative	—
Johnson, Thomas	D	39	61.7	Pulaski	55	KY-8	Minister	\$2,000 \$500	M	S	Literate	Justice of the peace	Union veteran
Mason, James	D	6	76.9	Chicot	26	AR	Planter	\$10,000 \$2,000	M	S/F	Literate	State senator	Union veteran, attended Oberlin College
Murphy, William	D	27	72.3	Jefferson	58	KY-?	Farmer	\$0 \$400	B	S	Literate	State representative	—
Rector, Henry	D	39	61.7	Pulaski	22	AR	Planter	\$0 \$0	M	S	Literate	Justice of the peace	—
Samuels, Richard	S	21	47.8	Hempstead	—	AR	Farmer	— —	B	S	—	State representative	—
White, James	D	40	73.7	Phillips	28	IN-3	Baptist minister	\$9,200 \$300	M	F	Literate	State representative, state senator	Union veteran

Regions: N = Northwest, S = Southwest, D = Delta

Racial heritage: B = black, M = mixed race, U = unknown

Slave/free status: S = slave at war's end, F = born free, S/F = born a slave, free before war's end

FLORIDA BLACK DELEGATES

Name	Region of state	Dist. no.	% dist. black	County represented	Age	Native state/ country	Profession	1870 real/ personal property		Racial heritage	Slave/free at war's end		Literacy	Future office	Other biographical data
Armstrong, O. B.*†‡	N	6	79.4	Leon	29	PA	Teacher	\$800	\$0	M	F	Literate	—		—
Bradwell, William*†‡	N	14	57.0	Duval	45	GA	Minister	\$1,000	\$175	M	S	Literate	State senator		Sent to FL in 1866 by A.M.E. Church
Bryan, Homer†‡	W	3	53.8	Jackson	58	NC	Farmer	\$1,000	\$730	M	F	Literate	—		Liberal Republican in 1872, testified before KKK Committee
Chandler, Alonzo*††‡	N	15	62.6	Marion	46	TN	Farmer	\$400	\$200	B	—	Illiterate	—		—
Davidson, Green*†‡	N	6	79.4	Leon	—	FL	Barber	—	—	U	—	—	—		—
Ervin, Auburn†‡	N	12	50.2	Baker and Columbia	—	—	—	—	—	U	—	—	State representative		Union veteran
Fortune, Emanuel†‡	W	3	53.8	Jackson	33	FL	Shoemaker	\$0	\$0	M	S	Literate	State representative		Testified to KKK Committee, threatened by KKK. Father of T. Thomas Fortune, editor of <i>New York Age</i>
Gibbs, Jonathan*†‡	N	14.	57.0	Duval	40	PA	Minister, sent as missionary to NC after war	\$0	\$0	M	F	Literate	FL secretary of state, FL superintendent of education		Threatened by KKK, Dartmouth graduate
Hill, Frederick*†‡	N	4	63.7	Gadsden	35	NC	Legislator (1870)	\$0		B	S	Literate	State senator		—
Johnson, Major*†‡	N	8	66.7	Madison	29	GA	Minister	\$0	\$0	B	—	Literate	—		—

FLORIDA BLACK DELEGATES (continued)

Name	Region of state	Dist. no.	% dist. black	County represented	Age	Native state/country	Profession	1870 real/personal property	Racial heritage	Slave/free at war's end	Literacy	Future office	Other biographical data
Meacham, Robert*†‡	N	7	75.9	Jefferson	32	FL	Minister	\$1,000 \$200	M	S	Literate	State senator	Testified to KKK Committee, shot during 1876 election
Mills, Anthony*†	N	7	75.9	Jefferson	40	GA	Carpenter	\$500 \$100	B	S	Literate	State representative	—
Oates, Joseph*†	N	6	79.4	Leon	—	FL	Carpenter	— —	M	S	Literate	—	Former slave of Gov. David Walker, met with Pres. Johnson in 1866
Pearce, Charles*	N	6	79.4	Leon	47	MD	Minister, to FL as missionary in 1866	\$0 \$0	B	S/F	Literate	State senator	Testified before KKK Committee, convicted of bribery
Saunders, William*	N	4	63.7	Gadsden	33	MD	Barber	— —	M	F	Literate	Deputy marshal	Union veteran
Urquhart, Thomas†‡	N	9	46.8	Hamilton and Suwannee	—	—	—	— —	U	—	—	State representative	—
Walls, Josiah*†	N	11	71.9	Alachua	24	VA	Farmer	\$0 \$0	B	S/F	Literate	U.S. Congress, mayor of Gainesville	Union veteran, Populist in 1890s
Wells, Richard‡	N	6	79.4	Leon	37	VA	Teacher	\$500 \$0	B	S	Literate	State representative	—
Wyatt, John*†	N	6	79.4	Leon	36	SC	Minister	\$0 \$0	B	S	Literate	State representative	—

Regions: N = North, S = South, W = West

*Signed the Mule Team constitution.

Racial heritage: B = black, M = mixed race, U = unknown

†Supported the Jenkins coup.

Slave/free status: S = slave at war's end, F = born free, S/F = born a slave, free before war's end

‡Signed the Jenkins constitution.

GEORGIA BLACK DELEGATES

Name	Region of state	Dist. no.	% dist. black	County represented	Age	Native state/ country-years in GA	Profession	1870 real/ personal property	Racial heritage	Slave/free at war's end	Literacy	Future office	Other biographical data
Alexander, Robert	B	11	56.6	Clay	—	NC-2	A.M.E. minister	—	U	S	Literate	—	Evidently beaten and stabbed in 1866, speaker for GOP Congressional Committee
Anderson, Isaac	B	23	64.9	Houston	34	GA	A.M.E. minister	\$1,000 \$1,000	M	—	Illiterate	State senator	Speaker for GOP Congressional Committee
Beard, Simeon	B	18	58.8	Richmond	—	SC-5	Methodist minister	—	M	F	Literate	—	Associate of Freedmen's Bureau agent John Bryant
Bell, John	B	30	52.2	Oglethorpe	56?	VA-?	Farmer	\$800 \$0	B	—	Literate	—	—
Bentley, Moses	S	1	64.2	Chatham	30	GA	Teacher	\$0 \$200	M	—	Literate	—	Murdered Malcolm Claiborne
Bradley, Aaron	S	1	64.2	Chatham	52	SC-8 or 3	Lawyer	—	M	S/F	Literate	State senator	State senator, allegedly disbarred in MA, escaped slave of Gov. Francis Pickens of SC, organized freedmen to keep land in 1865
Campbell, Tunis	S	2	60.0	McIntosh	55	NJ-3	Minister	\$500 \$300	B	F	Literate	State senator	Threatened by KKK, Freedmen's Bureau official
Casey, James	B	24	57.3	Marion	61	GA	—	—	U	—	Illiterate	—	—
Chatters, George	B	12	59.6	Stewart	—	SC-6	—	—	B	—	—	—	Union League official

GEORGIA BLACK DELEGATES (continued)

Name	Region of state	Dist. no.	% dist. black	County represented	Age	Native state/ country-years in GA	Profession	1870 real/ personal property	Racial heritage	Slave/free at war's end	Literacy	Future office	Other biographical data
Clairborne, Malcomb	B	17	64.9	Burke	—	SC-3	Minister	Murdered in 1870	U	S	Literate	State representative	Shot and killed by Moses Bentley, threatened by KKK
Cobb, Samuel	B	23	64.9	Houston	32	GA	—	—	U	—	—	—	—
Costin, John	B	25	55.2	Talbot	—	VA-1	A.M.E. minister	—	U	—	—	State representative	Life threatened by KKK, speaker for GOP Congressional Committee
Crayton, Thomas	B	12	59.6	Stewart	30	GA	A.M.E. minister	—	U	S	Literate	State senator	Threatened by KKK
Crumley, Robert	B	19	62.4	Warren	36	GA	A.M.E. minister	—	U	—	—	—	—
Dinkins, Jesse	B	13	66.2	Schley	44	GA	A.M.E. minister	\$0 \$300	B	—	Illiterate	—	—
Golding, William	S	2	60.0	Liberty	54	GA	Minister	\$0 \$150	B	S	Literate	State representative	Charles C. Jones's family slave. Freedmen's Bureau official
Guilford, William	B	25	55.2	Upson	26	GA	—	\$0 \$200	B	—	Literate	State representative	Accused of horse stealing
Harrison, William	B	20	61.4	Hancock	24	GA	Farmer	—	B	S	Literate	State representative	Threatened by KKK, expressed political beliefs in detail to KKK Committee, implicated in slave insurrection plot in 1863

Jackson, James	B	11	56.6	Randolph	—	VA-3	Teacher	—	M	—	Literate	State representative	Speaker for GOP Congressional Committee
Joiner, Philip	B	10	79.4	Dougherty	32	VA-17	—	\$2,000 \$0	M	S/F	Literate	State representative	Shot at during Camilla riot in Sept. 1868
Jones, Van	B	24	57.3	Muscogee	30	GA	Cobbler	\$500 \$0	B	—	Illiterate	—	—
Linder, George	W	16	41.3	Laurens	32	GA	Minister	\$0 \$700	B	—	Read not write	State representative	Active in organizing blacks in 1866
Lumpkin, Robert	B	13	66.2	Macon	—	VA-50	Farmer	\$400 \$432 (held by widow)	B	S	Illiterate	State representative	Died in 1870
Moore, Romulus	B	29	71.3	Columbia	49	GA	Blacksmith	\$0 \$1,300	B	S/F	Literate	State representative	Visited by KKK
Noble, William	B	11	56.6	Randolph	37	AL-5	A.M.E. minister	\$0 \$0	B	—	Illiterate	—	—
Palmer, Daniel	B	20	61.4	Washington	42	GA	Baptist minister	\$500 \$200	B	—	Literate	—	Active in organizing blacks in 1866
Pope, Lewis	B	29	71.3	Wilkes	46	GA	—	— —	U	—	—	—	—
Reynolds, W. H. D.	S	1	64.2	Chatham	43	GA	—	— —	U	—	—	—	—
Sikes, Benjamin	B	10	79.4	Dougherty	45	VA	Farm laborer	\$0 \$0	B	—	Illiterate	—	Active in organizing blacks in 1866
Stewart, James	S	1	64.2	Chatham	59	NC-35	Farmer	\$1,000 \$300	U	—	—	—	—
Stone, Alexander	B	18	58.8	Jefferson	39	GA	—	\$0 \$900	B	—	Literate	State representative	—
Strickland, Henry	B	19	62.4	Greene	42	GA	A.M.E. minister	\$800 \$0	B	—	Literate	—	Active in organizing blacks in 1866

GEORGIA BLACK DELEGATES (continued)

Name	Region of state	Dist. no.	% dist. black	County represented	Age	Native state/ country-years in GA	Profession	1870 real/ personal property	Racial heritage	Slave/free at war's end	Literacy	Future office	Other biographical data
Turner, Henry	B	22	56.6	Bibb	35	SC-4	A.M.E. minister	\$1,000 \$0	M	F	Literate	State representative	Union army chaplain, threatened by KKK, later involved in back-to-Africa movement and traveled on that continent
Wallace, George	B	20	61.4	Baldwin	27	GA	—	\$0 \$100	M	—	Literate	State senator	Union League official
Whitaker, John	B	11	56.6	Terrell	34	GA	Carpenter	\$1,000 \$500	B	—	Literate	—	—
Whitehead, Robert	B	17	64.9	Burke	40	GA	Minister	\$0 \$0	B	—	Literate	—	—
Williams, Samuel	B	25	55.2	Harris	—	NC-50	—	— —	U	—	—	State representative	—

Regions: B = Black Belt, N = North, S = Seacoast, U = Upper Piedmont, W = Wiregrass
free before war's end

Racial heritage: B = black, M = mixed race, U = unknown

Slave/free status: S = slave at war's end, F = born free, S/F = born a slave,

LOUISIANA BLACK DELEGATES

Name	Region of state	Dist. no.	% dist. black	Parish represented	Age	Native state/country	Profession	1870 real/personal property	Racial heritage	Slave/free at war's end	Literacy	Future office	Other biographical data
Antoine, Ceasar	R	8	79.4	Caddo	31	LA	Grocer	\$2,000 \$0	B	F	Literate	Lt. Gov. of LA	Union captain, official in New Orleans Comité des Citoyens, which later engaged Homer Plessy to challenge state Jim Crow laws enacted in 1890
Bertonneau, Arnold	O	25	50.2	Orleans	33	LA	Wine merchant	— —	M	F	Literate	—	Threatened, Union veteran, visited with Pres. Lincoln in 1864
Blandin, Ovide	O	25	50.2	Orleans	30	LA	Grocer	\$4,000 \$0	M	F	Literate	Tax collector	—
Bonnefoi, Emile	R	5	75.9	Pointe Coupee	44	LA	Planter	\$7,000 total in 1860	M	F	Literate	—	—
Bonseigneur, Henry	O	25	50.2	Orleans	35	LA	Cigar store owner	\$2,900 total in 1860	M	F	Literate	—	—
Brown, William	R	18	80.8	Iberville	35	NJ	Teacher	— —	M	F	Literate	State superintendent of public education	—
Burrell, Dennis	R	28	79.9	St. John the Baptist	36	VA	Blacksmith	\$0 \$500	B	S	Literate	State representative	Active in organizing blacks in 1865
Butler, William	F	23	45.6	St. Helena	49	LA	Farmer	\$1,500 \$200	B	—	Literate	—	In Tangipahoa Parish in 1870

LOUISIANA BLACK DELEGATES (continued)

Name	Region of state	Dist. no.	% dist. black	Parish represented	Age	Native state/country	Profession	1870 real/personal property	Racial heritage	Slave/free at war's end	Literacy	Future office	Other biographical data
Cromwell, Robert	O	25	50.2	Orleans	37	VA	Physician	\$800 \$0	B	F	Literate	—	Active in organizing blacks in 1865, beaten during New Orleans riot in July 1866, reported hanged in Texas in 1880
Cuney, Samuel	R	27	78.1	Rapides	27	LA	Carpenter	\$0 \$250	M	F	Literate	State representative	—
Deslonde, Pierre	R	18	80.8	Iberville	42	LA	Planter	\$0 (wife listed \$3,000 in personal property)	M	F	Literate	LA secretary of state	French speaker
Donato, Auguste, Jr.	W	30	60.4	St. Landry	—	LA	Planter	—	M	F	Literate	Candidate for sheriff	Had owned slaves
Dupart, Gustave	F	23	45.6	St. Tammany	—	—	—	—	U	—	—	Parish judge	—
Dupart, Ulger	R	34	64.0	Terrebonne	—	—	—	—	U	—	—	State representative	—
Esnard, John	R	32	77.3	St. Mary	22	LA	—	—	M	F	Literate	State representative	Threatened, father had owned slaves, Union veteran
Francois, Louis	F	4	74.3	East Baton Rouge	48	LA	Grocer	\$1,800 \$800	B	F	Literate	Candidate for Baton Rouge Parish treasurer	Union veteran
Gair, John	F	16	80.9	East Feliciana	22	LA	Carpenter	\$1,000 \$500	M	S	Literate	State representative	Murdered in 1875

Gardner, R. G.	R	20	75.7	Jefferson	—	—	—	U	—	—	State representative	—
Guichard, Leopold	R	26	77.7	St. Bernard	45	LA	Farmer	M	—	Literate	Possibly Internal Revenue inspector	—
Ingraham, James	R	8	79.4	Caddo	34	MS	Carpenter	M	S/F	Literate	Surveyor of the port of New Orleans	Union captain, colonel in state militia
Isabelle, Robert	O	25	50.2	Orleans	27	LA	Dyer	M	F	Literate	State representative	Union lieutenant, brother of Thomas Isabelle
Isabelle, Thomas	O	25	50.2	Orleans	—	LA	Merchant	M	F	Literate	—	Union Lieutenant, perhaps held \$150 in property in 1870
Jackson, George	W	30	60.4	St. Landry	—	—	—	U	S	—	—	—
Kelso, George	R	27	78.1	Rapides	24	LA	Co-owner of <i>New Orleans Semi-Weekly Louisianan</i>	M	F	Literate	State senator	Terrorized, fled state in 1876
Lange, Victor	F	4	74.3	East Baton Rouge	27	LA	Ice cream vendor	M	F	Literate	State representative	—
Leroy, Charles	R	24	77.5	Natchitoches	35	LA	Grocer	M	F	Literate	Postmaster of Natchitoches, state representative	—
Lewis, Richard	F	16	80.9	East Feliciana	42	VA	Farmer	M	—	Literate	—	—
Mahier, Theophile	R	5	79.9	West Baton Rouge	46	LA	Planter	M	F	Literate	State representative	Last name perhaps Meyer
Martin, Thomas	R	20	75.7	Jefferson	23	LA	Carpenter	M	F	Literate	Justice of peace	—
Massicot, Jules	O	25	50.2	Orleans	29	LA	Recorder of 3rd District in 1870	M	F	Literate	State senator	Sometimes spelled Masicot, Union veteran

LOUISIANA BLACK DELEGATES (continued)

Name	Region of state	Dist. no.	% dist. black	Parish represented	Age	Native state/country	Profession	1870 real/		Racial heritage	Slave/free at war's end		Literacy	Future office	Other biographical data
								personal property	property		end	end			
Meadows, William	N	13	55.2	Claiborne	—	—	Farmer	Died in 1869		U	S		Literate	—	Murdered by KKK
Morris, Milton	R	1	75.3	Ascension	36	MO	Ferry operator	\$4,000	\$300	B	—		Illiterate	State representative	—
Moses, Solomon	O	25	50.2	Orleans	57	KY	Laborer	\$0	\$0	B	S		Literate	Customs house official	—
Murrell, William	R	22	56.0	Lafourche	54	SC	Minister	\$3,000	\$200	B	F		Literate	State representative	Customs house watchman
Oliver, Joseph	R	29	81.0	St. James	43	LA	Lawyer	\$0	\$0	M	F		Literate	Sheriff	Union captain
Pierce, John	R	7	80.9	Bossier	—	—	—	—	—	U	—		—	State representative	—
Pinchback, Pickney	O	25	50.2	Orleans	30	GA	Cotton broker	\$6,000	\$4,000	M	F		Literate	Lt. Gov. of LA	Acting governor of LA Dec. 1872–Jan. 1873, Union captain
Poindexter, Robert	R	2	63.5	Assumption	35	NY	Ferry operator	\$500	\$5,000	B	F		Literate	State senator	Union veteran, may have been a native of TN and a former slave
Pollard, Curtis	R	17	80.7	Madison	60	VA	Minister	\$0	\$5,000	B	S		Literate	State senator	Threatened, moved to Kansas
Riard, Fortune	W	21	48.3	Lafayette	34	LA	Carpenter	\$0	\$0	M	F		Literate	State senator	Threatened, educated in France
Riggs, Daniel	F	23	45.6	Washington	—	—	—	—	—	U	—		—	—	—

Roberts, J. H. A.	R	20	75.7	Jefferson	—	—	—	U	—	—	Candidate for Jefferson City treasurer	—
Rodriguez, Lazard	O	25	50.2	Orleans	40	LA	Shoemaker	M	F	Literate	State representative	Union veteran
Scott, John	N	19	36.7	Winn	37	—	Carpenter	U	F	—	—	—
Snaer, Sosthene	R	31	58.0	St. Martin	—	—	—	U	—	—	—	—
Thibaut, Charles	R	28	77.7	Plaquemines	57	LA	Farmer	M	F	Literate	Sheriff	Former slave owner
Tinchaut, Edward	O	25	50.2	Orleans	—	—	—	U	—	—	—	Union veteran
Valfroit, P. F.	R	1	75.3	Ascension	36	LA	Teacher	M	—	Literate	—	Union veteran
Williams, Henderson	R	17	80.7	Madison	41	LA	Ferry operator	B	—	Literate	State representative	Union veteran
Wilson, David	O	25	50.2	Orleans	42	KY	Barber	U	F	—	—	—

Regions: O = Orleans, R = River, W = West, F = Florida Parishes, N = North

Slave/free status: S = slave at war's end, F = born free, S/F = born a slave, free before war's end

Racial heritage: B = black, M = mixed race, U = unknown

MISSISSIPPI BLACK DELEGATES

Name	Region of state	Dist. no.	% dist. black	County represented	Age	Native state/country	Profession	1870 real/personal property	Racial heritage	Slave/free at war's end	Literacy	Future office	Other biographical data
Brinson, John C.	C	43	51.1	Rankin	30	MS	Minister	\$300 \$250	B	—	Literate	—	—
Caldwell, Charles	C	20	70.0	Hinds	36	MS	Blacksmith	\$1,500 \$1,000	M	S	Literate	State senator	Murdered Christmas Day 1875
Combash, William T.	D	51	91.0	Washington	—	MD	—	— —	B	S/F	—	—	Union deserter, arrested for theft during the convention, killed in 1870 by U.S. Army
Draine, Amos	C	34	77.0	Madison	56	GA	Farmer	\$2,500 \$500	B	—	Read-not write	—	—
Fitzhugh, Charles W.	D	53	80.6	Wilkinson	26	MS	Minister	\$0 \$0	M	F	Literate	—	Well educated
Handy, Emanuel	C	13	53.9	Copiah	33	MS	Farmer	\$610 \$400	B	—	Literate	State representative	Union veteran
Jacobs, Henry P.	D	1	81.5	Adams	43	AL	Minister	\$300 \$0	M	S/F	Literate	State representative	Escaped to Canada in 1856, returned to South as missionary, earned medical degree during post-Reconstruction years
Johnson, Albert	D	50	77.0	Warren	51	KY	Minister	\$0 \$3,000	B	S/F	Literate	State representative	Active in organizing blacks in 1865
Lawson, Wesley	S	31	47.6	Lawrence	—	—	—	— —	U	—	—	Lincoln County justice of the peace	—
Leonard, William	D	56	73.5	Yazoo	—	—	Blacksmith	— —	U	S	—	—	—
Mayson, Henry	C	20	70.0	Hinds	33	MS	Editor	\$0 \$0	M	S	Literate	State representative	Active in organizing blacks in 1865

Moore, J. Aaron	C	30	52.2	Lauderdale	41	GA	Minister	\$500 \$0	B	—	Literate	State representative	Almost killed in Meridian riot in 1871
Myers, Cyrus	C	43	51.1	Rankin	50	VA	Minister	\$0 \$0	B	S	Literate	—	—
Newsom, Matthew T.	D	10	78.3	Claiborne	52	NC	Minister	\$2,000 \$100	M	—	Literate	State representative	Active in organizing blacks in 1865
Stewart, Isham	C	39	78.1	Noxubee	57	VA	Farmer	\$500 \$300	B	—	Literate	State senator	—
Stites, Doctor	D	51	91.0	Washington	—	—	—	— —	U	—	—	State representative	—
Stringer, Thomas	D	50	77.0	Warren	—	MD	Minister	— —	M	F	Literate	State senator	Missionary/political organizer at end of war

Regions: D = Delta, N = North, C = Central, S = South

Racial heritage: B = black, M = mixed race, U = unknown

Slave/free status: S = slave at war's end, F = born free, S/F = born a slave, free before war's end

NORTH CAROLINA BLACK DELEGATES

Name	Region of state	Dist. no.	% dist. black	County represented	Age	Native state/country	Profession	1870 real/personal property	Racial heritage	Slave/free at war's end	Literacy	Future office	Other biographical data
Carey, Wilson	P	25	62.5	Caswell	35	VA	Teacher	\$500 \$150	B	F	Literate	State representative, 1875 const. convention	Threatened by KKK
Cherry, Henry	C	46	68.5	Edgecombe	32	NC	Carpenter	\$1,000 \$200	M	S	Literate	State representative	—
Eppes, Henry	C	44	74.1	Halifax	37	NC	Minister	— —	U	S	Literate	State representative	Active in organizing blacks in 1866

NORTH CAROLINA BLACK DELEGATES (continued)

Name	Region of state	Dist. no.	% dist. black	County represented	Age	Native state/country	Profession	1870 real/personal property	Racial heritage	Slave/free at war's end	Literacy	Future office	Other biographical data
Galloway, Abraham	C	52	63.2	New Hanover	—	NC	Mason	Died in 1870	M	S/F	Literate	State senator	Escaped to Ohio in 1857, Union spy, Met with Pres. Lincoln to urge black enfranchisement
Harris, James	P	30	48.8	Wake	38	NC	Upholster	\$4,000 \$1,000	M	F	Literate	Supt. of Black "Deaf & Dumb" Asylum, state representative, state senator	Organized blacks in 1865–66, Pres. Johnson offered him position of minister to Haiti, traveled in Africa
Hayes, W. J. T.	C	44	74.1	Halifax	35	NC	Minister	\$0 \$0	M	S	Literate	State representative	—
Hightsmith, Samuel	C	53	40.7	Duplin	—	—	—	—	U	—	—	—	—
Hood, James	C	34	49.4	Cumberland	38	PA	Minister	\$0 \$300	B	F	Literate	Asst. state superintendent of education	Sent South initially as a missionary
Hyman, John	P	32	73.3	Warren	27	NC	Retail merchant	\$1,500 \$2,000	M	S	Literate	State senator, U.S. Congress	Born a slave in NC and sold to AL, organized blacks in 1866, later an Agricultural Dept. employee in Washington, DC
Lee, Bryant	C	57	56.8	Bertie	52	NC	Farmer	\$800 \$400	B	S	Literate	Justice of the peace	—
Mayo, Cuffee	P	31	59.1	Granville	65	VA	Blacksmith	\$600 \$200	B	F	Literate	State representative, justice of the peace	Active organizing blacks in 1866
Pierson, Clinton	C	64	67.0	Craven	—	—	Carpenter	— —	U	S	—	Justice of the peace	Active organizing blacks in 1866

Robbins, Parker	C	57	56.8	Bertie	33	NC	Farmer	\$500	M	F	Literate	State representative, justice of the peace	Union veteran
Williamson, John	P	33	57.4	Franklin	23	GA	Barber	\$0	B	S	Literate	State representative	Active organizing blacks in 1866
								\$250					

Regions: C = Coastal Plain, P = Piedmont, M = Mountain

Racial heritage: B = black, M = mixed race, U = unknown

Slave/free status: S = slave at war's end, F = born a slave, S/F = born a slave, free before war's end

SOUTH CAROLINA BLACK DELEGATES

Name	Region of state	Dist. no.	% dist. black	County represented	Age	Native state/country	Profession	1870 real/personal property	Racial heritage	Slave/free at war's end	Literacy	Future office	Other biographical data
Alexander, Purvis	MT	7	64.3	Chester	31	SC	Blacksmith	\$500 \$150	M	S	Literate	—	—
Becker, Martin	L	4	89.4	Berkeley	34	Surinam	Printer	\$5,000 \$0	B	F	Literate	Trial justice	Union navy veteran, served on the <i>Monitor</i> and in Union army, attended college in Europe
Bonum, John	M	12	63.5	Edgefield	46	SC	Huckster	\$0 \$0	B	F	Literate	Customs house official	Active in organizing blacks in 1865
Brockenton, John	M	11	64.9	Darlington	35	SC	Minister	— —	B	S	Literate	—	Supported by American Missionary Association
Burton, Barney	MT	7	64.3	Chester	34	SC	Minister	\$0 \$200	B	S	Literate	State representative, Republican state committee	—
Byas, Benjamin	L	4	89.4	Berkeley	26	West Indies	Farmer	— —	M	F	Literate	State representative	Attended Howard University

SOUTH CAROLINA BLACK DELEGATES (continued)

Name	Region of state	Dist. no.	% dist. black	County represented	Age	Native state/country	Profession	1870 real/		Racial heritage	Slave/free at war's end		Literacy	Future office	Other biographical data
								personal property	property		end	end			
Cain, Edward	M	24	67.2	Orangeburg	31	SC	Wheelwright	—	—	B	S/F	Literate	State representative, county school commissioner		Secretly taught Other biographical data slaves to read and write, Union veteran
Cain, Richard	L	6	59.7	Charleston	42	VA	M.E. minister	\$5,000	\$500	B	F	Literate	State senator, U.S. Congress		Came south as a missionary, editor of the <i>Missionary Record</i>
Cardozo, Francis	L	6	59.7	Charleston	32	SC	Educator	\$7,000	\$1,000	M	F	Literate	Secretary of state, state treasurer, state senator		Union League official, teacher for American Missionary Association
Chestnut, John	M	17	67.3	Kershaw	29	SC	Barber	\$700	\$150	M	S	Literate	State representative		Active in organizing blacks in 1865
Clinton, Frederick	MT	19	47.3	Lancaster	34	SC	Farmer	\$500	\$300	B	S	Literate	State senator		—
Cooke, Wilson	MT	15	41.7	Greenville	44	NC	Tanner	\$4,000	\$1,000	M	S	Literate	State representative		—
Darrington, William	L	30	68.3	Williamsburg	56	SC	Minister	—	—	B	F	Literate	—		Union League organizer
Davis, Nelson	MT	20	59.3	Laurens	58	VA	Shoemaker	\$300	\$0	B	S	Illiterate	—		—
DeLarge, Robert	L	6	59.7	Charleston	26	SC	Barber	\$6,650	\$0	M	F	Literate	State representative, U.S. Congress		Employed by Confederate navy, Freedmen's Bureau
Dogan, Abram	MT	29	57.0	Union	—	—	Minister	\$0	\$0	B	S	Literate	—		—

Driffle, William	L	9	73.9	Colleton	33	SC	Carpenter	\$2,000 \$300	M	S	Literate	State representative	—
Edwards, Harvey	MT	13	72.1	Fairfield	42	SC	Minister	—	B	S	Literate	—	Union League official
Elliott, Robert	M	12	63.5	Edgefield	26	England	Lawyer	\$5,000 \$3,500	B	F	Literate	State representative, U.S. Congress	Speaker of SC state House
Foster, Rice	MT	27	35.2	Spartanburg	33	SC	Brick mason	\$0 \$0	B	S	Illiterate	—	—
Gray, William	L	4	89.4	Berkeley	45	MA	Farmer	\$550 \$0	B	F	Literate	Trial justice, state representative	Union veteran
Harris, David	M	12	63.5	Edgefield	52	SC	Baptist minister	\$500 \$250	M	S	Literate	State representative	Union League official. His son was murdered
Hayne, Charles	M	3	66.0	Barnwell	25	SC	Tailor	\$1,200 \$600	M	F	Literate	State representative, state senator	Brother of Henry and James Hayne and nephew of Senator Robert Hayne, Freedmen's Bureau teacher
Hayne, Henry	L	22	48.6	Marion	26	SC	Tailor	\$0 \$0	M	F	Literate	State senator; secretary of state	Union veteran and nephew of Senator Robert Hayne
Hayne, James	M	3	66.0	Barnwell	37	SC	Freedmen's Bureau teacher	\$2,000 \$1,500	M	F	Literate	State representative	Nephew of Senator Robert Hayne
Henderson, James	MT	23	66.6	Newberry	51	VA	Carpenter	\$0 \$0	M	S	Literate	State representative	—
Humbert, Richard	M	11	64.9	Darlington	32	SC	Storekeeper	\$250 \$100	M	S	Literate	State representative	Union veteran
Jackson, George	M	21	55.7	Marlboro	—	—	—	—	U	F	—	Trial justice	Sometimes classified as white
Jacobs, Henry	MT	13	72.1	Fairfield	53	SC	Wagonmaker	\$1,000 \$500	M	F	Literate	State representative	—

SOUTH CAROLINA BLACK DELEGATES (continued)

Name	Region of state	Dist. no.	% dist. black	County represented	Age	Native state/country	Profession	Slave/free			Literacy	Future office	Other biographical data
								1870 real/personal property	Racial heritage	at war's end			
Jervay, William	L	4	89.4	Berkeley	21	SC	Farmer	\$950 \$550	M	S/F	Literate	State representative, state senator	Union veteran
Johnson, John	L	22	48.6	Marion	21	SC	Sharecropper	\$0 \$0	B	S	Literate	State representative	—
Johnson, Samuel	MT	2	43.7	Anderson	33	GA	Carpenter	\$500 \$600	M	F	Literate	Republican State Central Committee	—
Johnson, William	M	28	73.4	Sumter	30	SC	Minister	\$150 \$200	M	F	Literate	State representative, state senator	Union veteran
Joiner, W. Nelson	MT	1	66.1	Abbeville	—	TN	Freedmen's Bureau schoolteacher	— —	M	S/F	Literate	—	House burned by KKK
Jones, Charles	MT	19	47.3	Lancaster	41	SC	Laborer	\$0 \$250	B	S	Literate	Trial justice	While a slave, four of his family were sold south to Florida
Jones, Henry	L	16	30.4	Horry	39	SC	Minister	\$100 \$0	B	S	Illiterate	—	Member Union League
Lang, Jordan	M	11	64.9	Darlington	55	SC	Farmer	\$0 \$1,039	B	S/F	Literate	State representative	—
Langley, Landon	L	5	87.1	Beaufort	30	VT	Teacher	\$600 \$200	M	F	Literate	County school commissioner	Union veteran
Lee, George	L	4	89.4	Berkeley	27	MA	Lawyer	\$900 \$1,500	B	F	Literate	State representative	Union veteran
Lee, Samuel	M	28	73.4	Sumter	22	SC	Editor	\$0 \$0	M	S	Literate	Clerk in Congress	Former slave of Judge F. J. Moses

Lomax, Huston	MT	1	66.1	Abbeville	34	SC	Merchant	\$3,000 \$3,000	M	S	Literate	State representative	Died in train accident in 1870, threatened by KKK
McDaniels, Harry	MT	20	59.3	Laurens	—	—	Coachmaker	—	M	S	—	State representative	Shot in arm by KKK
McKinlay, Whitefield	M	24	67.2	Orangeburg	33	SC	Freedmen's Bureau schoolteacher	\$14,388 \$0	M	F	Literate	State representative	Son of delegate Wm. McKinlay; Whitefield later associated with Booker T. Washington
McKinlay, William	L	6	59.7	Charleston	61	SC	Tailor	\$0 \$0	M	F	Literate	State representative	Had around \$20,000 in property in 1868, had owned slaves, active in organizing blacks in 1865
Mayer, Julius	M	3	66.0	Barnwell	25	SC	Farmer	\$1,000 \$1,000	B	S	Literate	State representative	—
Mead, John	MT	31	44.3	York	37	SC	Coachmaker	\$50 \$100	M	S	Literate	State representative	Member of Republican State Executive Committee
Middleton, Abram	M	3	66.0	Barnwell	40	SC	Minister	\$500 \$200	B	F	Literate	—	Missionary/teacher
Nance, Lee	MT	23	66.6	Newberry	38	SC	—	Murdered in 1868	U	S	—	Elected to state house just prior to assassination	Union League official
Nash, William B.	M	26	69.5	Richland	42	VA	Brick manufacturer	\$5,000 \$2,000	B	S	Literate	State senator	Witnessed House override of Pres. Andrew Johnson's veto of first Reconstruction Act
Nelson, William	M	8	67.3	Clarendon	31	SC	Farmer	\$100 \$159	B	S	Illiterate	State representative	—
Nuckles, Samuel	MT	29	57.0	Union	54	SC	Farmer	—	U	S	Literate	State representative	Visited and threatened by KKK, perhaps illiterate
Rainey, Joseph	L	14	59.7	Georgetown	35	SC	Barber	\$1,500 \$6,845	M	S/F	Literate	State senator, U.S. Congress	First African American elected to Congress

SOUTH CAROLINA BLACK DELEGATES (continued)

Name	Region of state	Dist. no.	% dist. black	County represented	Age	Native state/country	Profession	1870 real/personal property	Racial heritage	Slave/free at war's end	Literacy	Future office	Other biographical data
Randolph, Benjamin	M	24	67.2	Orangeburg	31	KY	Presbyterian minister	Murdered by KKK in 1868	M	F	Literate	State senator	Union veteran
Ransier, Alonzo	L	6	59.7	Charleston	34	SC	Shipping clerk	\$550 \$0	M	F	Literate	State representative, lt. governor, U.S. Congress	Chairman of state Republican party
Rivers, Prince	M	12	63.5	Edgefield	48	SC	Coachman	\$250 \$500	B	S/F	Literate	State representative	Union veteran, official observer at 1864 GOP national convention
Sasportas, Thaddeus	M	24	67.2	Orangeburg	24	SC	Teacher	— —	M	F	Literate	State representative	Union veteran
Saunders, Sancho	MT	7	64.3	Chester	63	SC	Baptist minister	\$0 \$175	B	S	Literate	State representative	—
Shrewsbury, Henry	M	10	22.8	Chesterfield	23	SC	Freedmen's Bureau schoolmaster	\$0 \$500	M	F	Literate	State representative	Member Republican State Executive Committee
Smalls, Robert	L	5	87.1	Beaufort	30	SC	Editor	\$6,000 \$1,000	M	S/F	Literate	State representative, state senator, U.S. Congress	Turned Confederate steamer <i>Planter</i> over to Union officials, pilot in Union navy
Stubbs, Calvin	M	21	55.7	Marlboro	43	SC	Freedmen's Bureau teacher	\$0 \$200	B	S	Literate	County coroner	—
Swalls, Stephen	L	30	68.3	Williamsburg	36	PA	Teacher	\$1,800 \$500	M	F	Literate	State senator	Union veteran
Thomas, William	L	9	73.9	Colleton	40	SC	Minister	\$0 \$0	B	S	Literate	State representative	—

Thompson, Augustus	L	10	30.4	Horry	52	SC	Farmer	\$0	B	S	Literate	—	—
Thompson, Benjamin	L	22	48.6	Marion	38	SC	Farmer	\$250	M	S	Illiterate	State representative	—
Thompson, Samuel	M	26	69.5	Richland	35	GA	Carpenter	\$6,000 \$376	B	F	Literate	Trial justice, state representative	Union veteran
Viney, William	L	9	73.9	Colleton	26	OH	Presbyterian minister	\$1,000 \$500	M	F	Literate	—	Union veteran
Whipper, William	L	5	87.1	Beaufort	34	PA	Lawyer	—	M	F	Literate	State representative	Union veteran, Speaker of House Moses lost \$1,000 to him on horse race—an alleged incident used to “prove” corruption of Reconstruction era
White, John	MT	31	44.3	York	39	SC	Blacksmith	\$500 \$600	B	S	Literate	State representative, state senator	—
Wilder, Charles	M	26	69.5	Richland	31	SC	Carpenter	\$5,000 \$1,500	M	S	Literate	State representative, postmaster of Columbia	Organized blacks in 1867
Williamson, Thomas	MT	1	66.1	Abbeville	47	SC	Teacher	—	M	F	Literate	—	Former slave owner
Wingo, Coy	MT	27	35.2	Spartanburg	—	—	—	—	U	S	Literate	—	—
Wright, Jonathan	L	5	87.1	Beaufort	28	PA	Teacher	—	B	F	Literate	Associate justice, state supreme court	Only African American to serve on the supreme court of a former Confederate state during the Reconstruction era, sent south by American Missionary Association

Regions: L = Low Country, M = Midlands, MT = Mountain

Racial heritage: B = black, M = mixed race, U = unknown

Slave/free status: S = slave at war’s end, F = born free, S/F = born a slave, free before war’s end

TEXAS BLACK DELEGATES

Name	Region of state	Dist. no.	% dist. black	County represented	Age	Native state/		1870 real/		Slave/free		Literacy	Future office	Other biographical data
						country	profession	personal property	racial heritage	at war's end				
Bryant, Charles	C	28	59.0	Harris	38	KY	Minister	—	B	S	Literate	Union League organizer	Charged with rape and expelled from convention, charges later dropped	
Curtis, Stephen*	C	37	70.8	Brazos	62	VA	Carpenter	\$	B	S	Literate	—	Life threatened	
Johnson, Wiley*†	E	13	65.2	Harrison	27	AR	Teacher	—	U	S	Literate	—	Registrar of voters in 1867	
Kendall, Mitchell*	E	13	65.2	Harrison	50	GA	Blacksmith	\$2,400	B	S	Literate	State representative	Registrar of voters in 1867	
Long, Ralph†	C	40	38.2	Limestone	25	TN	Farmer	—	M	S	Illiterate	—	—	
McWashington, James*	C	35	62.3	Montgomery	28	AL	Farmer	\$0	B	S	Illiterate	—	—	
Mullens, Shepherd†	C	41	52.9	McLennan	40	AL	Blacksmith	\$500	U	S	Literate	State representative	Registrar of voters in 1867	
Ruby, George†	C	27	54.3	Galveston	27	NY	Teacher	—	M	F	Literate	State senator, president of Union League, labor organizer	Later worked on LA newspaper with P. B. S. Pinchback, involved with Haiti colonization project during the war	
Watrous, Benjamin*	C	45	69.6	Washington	37	TN	Minister	\$500	M	F	Illiterate	—	—	
								\$100						

Williams, Benjamin†	W	48	58.6	Colorado	55	VA	Barber	—	B	S	Literate	State representative, delegate to Republican national convention in 1872	Registrar of voters in 1867
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Regions: E = East, NE = Northeast, C = Central, W = West

Racial heritage: B = black, M = mixed race, U = unknown

Slave/free status: S = slave at war's end, F = born free, S/F = born a slave, free before war's end

*Signed the constitution.

†Protested the constitution.

VIRGINIA BLACK DELEGATES

Name	Region of state	Dist. no.	% dist. black	County or city represented	Native state/country	Age	Profession	1870 real/personal property	Racial heritage	Slave/free at war's end	Literacy	Future office	Other biographical data
Andrews, William	T	58	48.4	Surry	VA	28	Teacher	\$1,500 \$500	B	—	Literate	State representative—expelled	Had perhaps resided in NJ
Barrett, James	P	24	52.3	Fulvanna	VA	36	Minister	\$0 \$200	M	F	Literate	—	Active in Union League
Bayne, Thomas	T	12	51.8	City of Norfolk	NC	42	Dentist	\$146 \$200	B	S/F	Literate	(City council in New Bedford, MA)	Escaped slavery and became a dentist in Boston, organized blacks in 1865
Bland, James	P	48	63.6	Prince Edward	VA	—	Carpenter	Died April 27, 1870	B	F	Literate	U.S. tax assessor, state senator	Associated with American Missionary Association, died in collapse of state capitol in Richmond
Breedlove, William	T	61	61.4	Essex	VA	47	Blacksmith	\$1,100 \$0	M	F	Literate	Postmaster	Had owned several slaves, helped slaves escape following Emancipation Proclamation

VIRGINIA BLACK DELEGATES (continued)

Name	Region of state	Dist. no.	% dist. black	County represented	Age	Native state/ country	Profession	1870 real/ personal property	Racial heritage	Slave/free at war's end	Literacy	Future office	Other biographical data
Brown, John	T	38	53.1	Southampton	40	VA	Carpenter	\$0	M	S	Literate	—	Family sold to MS
Canada, David	P	7	63.2	Halifax	—	VA	Stonemason	\$0	—	S	Illiterate	—	—
Carter, James	P	40	57.9	Chesterfield	47	TN	Farmer	\$0	B	S	Illiterate	—	—
Cox, Joseph	T	1	53.9	City of Richmond	25	VA	Porter	\$0	B	F	Literate	Customs house official	Speaker for GOP Congressional Committee
Hodges, Willis	T	37	51.7	Princess Anne	52	VA	Farmer	\$0	M	F	Literate	Customs inspector	Wrote autobiography, acquainted with abolitionist John Brown, guide for Union troops
Holmes, Joseph	P	71	65.5	Charlotte	—	VA	Shoemaker	—	U	S	Literate	—	Murdered in 1892
Jones, Peter	T	65	68.5	Greensville	30	VA	Carpenter	\$1,500	B	F	Literate	State representative	Active in organizing blacks in 1865
Kelso, Samuel	P	6	53.6	Campbell	40	VA	Teacher	\$0	B	S	Literate	—	—
Lindsey, Lewis	T	1	53.9	City of Richmond	—	VA	Bandleader	\$0	M	S	Illiterate	—	Former slave of GOP Congressional Committee speaker John Minor Botts
Morgan, Peter	T	13	63.1	City of Petersburg	47	VA	Shoemaker	\$500	M	S/F	Literate	State representative	Mother perhaps a Native American

Moseley, William	P	26	69.6	Goochland	42	VA	Farmer	\$250 \$194	M	S/F	Literate	State senator	Active in organizing blacks in 1865
Moss, Francis "Frank"	P	19	62.7	Buckingham	42	VA	Farmer	\$0 \$150	B	F	Literate	State senator	Sometimes classified as ex-slave
Nelson, Edward	P	20	69.5	Charlotte	—	VA	Laborer	— —	U	—	Illiterate	—	—
Norton, Daniel	T	67	72.1	York	25	VA	Physician	\$1,500 \$750	M	S/F	Literate	State senator	Escaped slavery in 1850, blacks attempted to "elect" him a Freedmen's Bureau judge in 1865
Robinson, John	P	22	71.3	Amelia	47	VA	Farmer	\$1,200 \$350	M	S	Literate	State senator	Survived two attempted lynchings, graduate of Hampton Institute
Taylor, James	P	3	54.4	Albemarle	25	VA	Shoemaker	\$1,500 \$100	M	F	Literate	—	Union veteran
Teamoh, George	T	2	53.9	City of Portsmouth	49	VA	Carpenter	— —	M	S/F	Literate	State senator	Wrote autobiography, Union League organizer
Toler, Burwell	T	72	55.7	Hanover	45	VA	Minister	\$0 \$200	B	S	Literate	—	—
Watson, John	P	9	69.0	Mecklenburg	—	—	Shoemaker	Died in 1869	U	S	Illiterate	State representative	—

Regions: T = Tidewater, P = Piedmont, M = Mountain

Racial heritage: B = black, M = mixed race, U = unknown

Slave/free status: S = slave at war's end, F = born free, S/F = born a slave, free before war's end

ALABAMA OUTSIDE WHITE DELEGATES

Name	Region of state	District no.	% dist. black	County represented	Native state/ country- years in AL	Profession	1870 real/ personal property	(Former office), future office	Other biographical data
Applegate, Andrew	TV	42	54.0	Madison	OH-1	Lawyer	\$0 \$1,000	Lt. governor of AL	Died in 1870, Union captain
Black, William	B	7	54.8	Bullock	OH-2	Planter	\$2,500 \$1,000	GOP elector in 1872	Union captain
Brainard, Mark	PW	2	61.2	Monroe	NY-?	Freedmen's Bureau	\$0 \$500	Montgomery circuit court clerk	Perhaps never resided in Monroe County
Buck, Alfred	M	1	60.7	Mobile	ME-1	Iron business	— —	U.S. Congress	Union captain, ambassador to Japan, 1897–1902
Buckley, Charles	B	15	75.6	Montgomery	NY-1	Iron business	\$0 \$8,000	U.S. Congress	Chaplain in a black regiment, postmaster of Montgomery
Buckley, William	B	9	83.6	Lowndes	NY-?	Farmer	\$6,000 \$3,000	State senator	Brother of Charles Buckley
Burdick, J. H.	B	10	79.1	Wiltcox	Canada	Probate judge	\$3,500 \$2,000	(Probate judge)	—
Burton, Pierce	B	17	81.8	Marengo	VT-4	Editor	\$2,500 \$2,500	State representative, lt. governor of AL	Freedmen's Bureau, left AL after being beaten by KKK
Coon, Dantus	B	16	82.5	Dallas	NY-?	Planter	\$0 \$1,000	State senator	Union general, later Supt. of Chinese Exclusion Law in San Diego
Dustan, Charles	B	17	81.8	Marengo	NY-2?	Farmer	\$2,500 \$2,000	State representative, major general of AL militia	Union general
Ely, George	B	13	73.6	Russell	CT-1	Lawyer	\$0 \$0	Registrar of Montgomery County, probate judge	Union veteran
Gardner, Samuel	PW	4	40.0	Butler	MA-2	Farmer	\$600 \$2,800	Probate judge	Chaplain in black regiment, almost murdered, at U.S. Treasury Dept., 1873–99

Griffin, Albert	M	1	60.7	Mobile	33	NY-?	Lawyer	\$3,000 \$1,240	Mobile City Council	Editor of <i>Mobile Nationalist</i> , fled Mobile for Kansas in 1869
Johnson, R. M.	PW	5	28.3	Henry	32	OH-?	Planter	\$0 \$0	—	Union officer, perhaps never resided in Henry County
Keffer, John	B	15	75.6	Montgomery	39	PA-?	Clerk in Freedmen's Bank	\$0 \$1,500	AL superintendent of resources	Almost killed in 1867, close friend of Congressman William "Pig Iron" Kelly of PA
Miller, Charles	B	9	83.6	Lowndes	32	MA-2	Lawyer	\$0 \$10,000	(Clerk of Maine house of representative), AL secretary of state	Union veteran, Brother-in-law of B. W. Norris, director of AL & Chattanooga RR
Morgan, Albion	B	10	79.1	Wilcox	33	NY-1	Farmer	\$3,000 \$1,000	Mobile district revenue collector, circuit court	—
Norris, Benjamin	P	20	57.3	Elmore	48	ME-2	Planter	\$1,500 \$2,000	(Delegate to 1848 Free Soil convention), U.S. Congress	Union veteran
Reynolds, Robert	B	10	79.1	Wilcox	40	OH-2	Schoolteacher	\$0 \$0	(College president), state auditor , collector of customs in Mobile, U.S. minister to Bolivia	Union captain
Rolfe, Benjamin	P	18	78.1	Pickens	—	—	Carriage painter	— —	—	—
Silsby, John	B	16	82.5	Dallas	49	PA-?	Minister	\$2,000 \$350	Circuit court clerk, Selma city councilman, Selma School Board, mayor of Selma	Missionary in Siam, Union lieutenant, Freedmen's Bureau, Editor of <i>Mobile Nationalist</i> and <i>Selma Republican</i> , proficient in Latin, French, and German
Smith, Luther	PW	12	58.1	Choctaw	29	MA-2	Lawyer	\$5,000 \$2,500	Circuit judge in AL, in Division of Indian Territories of U.S. Interior Dept. in 1880s	Union captain
Stanwood, Nathan	B	9	83.6	Lowndes	—	MA-?	—	— —	State representative	Former cattle drover, Freedmen's Bureau
Yordy, Benjamin	B	18	71.8	Sumter	—	NY-?	Revenue official	— —	—	Freedmen's Bureau

Regions: B = Black Belt, M = Mobile, P = Piedmont, PW = Piney Woods/Wiregrass, TV = Tennessee Valley

ARKANSAS OUTSIDE WHITE DELEGATES

Name	Region of state	District no.	% dist. black	Country represented	Age	Native state/ country-years in AR	Profession	1870 real/ personal property	Future office	Other biographical data
Bowen, Thomas	N	12	16.6	Crawford	31	IA-5	Lawyer	\$25,000 \$15,000	AR Supreme Court justice	Union general, gov. of Idaho Territory, U.S. senator (Colorado)
Brooks, Joseph	D	40	73.7	Phillips	48	OH-5	Minister	\$4,000 \$2,500	Gubernatorial candidate in 1872	Union chaplain, wounded in attack in which James Hinds was killed
Coates, Daniel	D	46	45.1	St. Francis	26	OH-4	Physician	\$1,000 \$2,000	State representative	—
Dale, George	N	24	8.8	Independence	50	IN-4	Farmer	\$250 \$450	—	—
Evans, Amos	D	34	51.2	Monroe	28	NJ-3	Farmer	\$1,300 \$7,000	State senator	—
Gray, James	D	27	72.3	Jefferson	34	IL-5	Planter	\$0 \$150	—	—
Hinds, James	D	39	61.7	Pulaski	38	NY-3	Lawyer	— —	U.S. Congress	Assassinated in attack in which Joseph Brooks was wounded
Hodges, James	D	39	61.7	Pulaski	36	NY-5	Manufacturer	\$12,000 \$3,000	—	—
Hutchinson, John	D	1	67.5	Arkansas	31	Canada-3	Physician	— —	—	Union veteran
McClure, John	D	1	67.5	Arkansas	34	OH-5	Lawyer	\$25,000 \$5,000	Chief justice, AR Supreme Court	Union veteran
Mallory, Samuel	D	27	72.3	Jefferson	36	NY-5	Engineer	\$9,000 \$500	State senator	Union captain, in charge of a section of AR when Gov. Clayton put state under martial law to combat KKK
Montgomery, John	S	21	47.8	Hempstead	37	OH-4	Lawyer	\$8,000 \$4,000	AR attorney general	Freedmen's Bureau

Poole, Frederick	D	11	22.4	Mississippi and Craighead	29	NJ-5	Lawyer	—	—	—
Sarber, John	N	26	9.7	Johnson	27	PA-6	Lawyer	\$3,500 \$1,150	State senator	Union veteran
Scott, George	S	29	56.6	Little River	27	Scotland	Merchant	\$450 \$350	State senator	—
Simms, Clifford	D	16	71.9	Desha	29	PA-5	Lawyer	—	State representative	—
Smith, Thomas	D	40	73.7	Phillips	58	PA-5	Physician	\$10,000 \$2,000	AR superintendent of public instruction	Union surgeon

Regions: N= Northwest, S= Southwest, D= Delta

FLORIDA OUTSIDE WHITE DELEGATES

Name	Region of state	District no.	% dist. black	County represented	Age	Native state/country	Profession	1870 real/personal property	(Former office), future office	Other biographical data
Alden, George†‡	W	1	54.7	Santa Rosa	—	MA	Express agent	—	FL secretary of state	Union officer
Billings, Liberty*	N.	14	570	Nassau	39	ME	Lawyer	\$75,000 \$750	State senator	Union officer/black troops
Butler, John†	W	1	54.7	Santa Rosa	38	MA	Sheriff (1870)	\$0 \$0	State senator	—
Cessna, William†‡	N	11	71.9	Alachua	33	PA	Vineyard owner	\$3,000 \$2,000	State representative, Gainesville postmaster	Union officer
Childs, J. W.†‡	W	5	43.8	Liberty and Franklin	33	NY	Surveyor of public land	\$0 \$0	Deputy marshal	Union officer, perhaps resided in Baker County

FLORIDA OUTSIDE WHITE DELEGATES (continued)

Name	Region of state	District no.	% dist. black	County represented	Age	Native state/ country-years in AR	Profession	1870 real/ personal property	Future office	Other biographical data
Conover, Simon ^{†‡}	N	12	50.2	Columbia	26	NJ	Physician	\$0 \$1,000	U.S. Senate	Union surgeon
Dennett, N. C. ^{†‡}	N	14	570	Duval	—	MA	Cashier in Freedmen's Bank	— —	—	Union officer
Jenkins, Horatio ^{†‡}	N	11	79.1	Ahachua	28	MA	U.S. revenue collector	\$3,500 \$4,000	State senator	Union general
Osborn, Thomas ^{†‡}	N	6	79.4	Leon	30	NJ	Registrar of bankruptcy	— —	U.S. Senate	Union colonel, headed FL Freedmen's Bureau
Purman, William ^{†‡}	W	3	53.8	Jackson	26	PA	Lawyer	\$0 \$0	U.S. Congress	Union officer, Freedmen's Bureau agent, shot in neck in 1868
Richards, Daniel*	N	4	63.7	Gadsden	48	NY	Lawyer	\$1,000 \$200	(Illinois state senator)	Treasury agent
Rombauer, Roland ^{†‡}	N	8	66.7	Madison	—	Austria- Hungary	—	— —	—	Union officer
Stearns, Marcellus [‡]	N	4	63.7	Gadsden	29	ME	U.S. surveyor general	\$0 \$0	Governor of FL	Union officer, Freedmen's Bureau official

Regions: N = North, S = South, W = West

[‡]Signed the Jenkins constitution.

[†]Supported the Jenkins coup. *Signed the Mule Team constitution.

GEORGIA OUTSIDE WHITE DELEGATES

Name	Region of state	District no.	% dist. black	County represented	Age	Native state/country- years in GA	Profession	1870 real/personal property	Future office	Other biographical data
Baldwin, D.	B	19	62.4	Taliaferro	—	OH-3	—	—	—	—
Bryant, John	B	18	58.8	Richmond	32	ME-3	Lawyer	\$0 \$5,000	State representative, deputy collector of customs in Savannah	Union captain, published the <i>Colored American</i>
Carson, William	B	7	62.4	Thomas	34	MD-2	Farmer	\$4,000 \$1,250	State representative	—
Clift, Walter	S	1	64.2	Chatham	22	MA-1	Postmaster of Savannah	\$0 \$1,000	U.S. Treasury Department	—
Harris, Asa	S	1	64.2	Chatham	33	OH-3	Superintendent of state RR in 1870	\$7,000 \$500	State senator	—
Madden, J.	B	17	64.9	Burke	—	MD-2.5	—	—	—	—
Murphy, John	B	10	79.4	Dougherty	—	KY-2	—	—	—	Union League official, Involved in Camilla riot in Sept. 1868
Prince, Charles	B	20	61.4	Washington	30	ME-2	Postmaster of Augusta	\$0 \$0	U.S. Congress	Union captain
Rice, J.	W	17	64.9	Bulloch	32	NY-1.5	Planter	\$8,000 \$800	—	—
Richardson, C. C.	B	20	61.4	Baldwin	—	ME-3	Lawyer	Killed in Feb. 1868	—	Union captain, law partner of John Bryant
Seeley, Isaac	S	1	64.2	Chatham	47	ME-1	Post office clerk in Savannah	\$0 \$0	Delegate to 1868 GOP national convention	—
Sherman, Josiah	B	29	71.3	Columbia	49	VT-2.5	Planter	—	—	Testified before KKK Committee

Regions: B = Black Belt, N = North, S = Seacoast, U = Upper Piedmont, W = Wiregrass

LOUISIANA OUTSIDE WHITE DELEGATES

Name	Region of state	District no.	% dist. black	Parish represented	Age	Native state/country	1870 real/			Future office	Other biographical data
							personal property	Profession	property		
Fuller, Henry	R	3	59.1	Avoyelles	—	NH	—	Planter	—	—	Union brevet brigadier general in 75th Colored Volunteers
Gould, Abram	R	33	94.2	Tensas	36	CT	\$1,000	Planter	—	—	Union captain
Harper, Peter	R	28	79.9	St. John the Baptist	37	England	\$0	—	\$0	State representative, state tax collector	Union veteran, captain of 99th U.S. Colored Infantry
Harris, John	R	14	95.3	Concordia	32	NY	\$0	Planter	\$0	U.S. Senate	Probably held considerable property
Hempstead, Orlando	R	2	63.5	Assumption	28	CT	\$0	Postmaster of	\$0	Postmaster	Freedmen's Bureau agent
Landers, James	R	14	95.3	Concordia	—	NH	—	Planter	—	Parish judge	Union captain
Lynch, John	R	11	77.8	Carroll	42	Ireland	\$60,000	Civil engineer	\$20,000	State senator	Union major
McMillan, William	R	11	77.8	Carroll	38	OH	—	Physician	—	State representative	Union general, in Russian army during Crimean War
Newsham, Joseph	F	16	80.9	West Feliciana	30	England	\$0	Lawyer	\$5,000	U.S. House	Union officer, life threatened
Packard, Stephen	O	25	50.2	Orleans	28	ME	\$0	Lawyer	\$8,000	U.S. marshal, 1876 Republican gubernatorial nominee	Union captain
Reagan, George	F	4	74.3	East Baton Rouge	—	—	—	—	—	—	Sometimes classified as southern white

Reese, Daniel	R	22	56.0	Lafourche	26	NY	Editor	\$0 \$100	Sate representative	Lt., 73d U.S. Colored Infantry
Steele, Hiram	R	33	94.2	Tensas	24	Canada	Planter	\$10,000 \$1,450	Parish judge, delegate to 1879 const. conv.	Union captain
Twitchell, Marshall	N	6	52.9	Bienville	26	VT	Farmer	\$25,000 \$4,000	State senator	Lost both arms in terrorist attack

Regions: O = Orleans, R = River, W = West, F = Florida Parishes, N = North

MISSISSIPPI OUTSIDE WHITE DELEGATES

Name	Region of state	District no.	% dist. black	County represented	Age	Native state/country	Profession	1870 real/personal property	(Former office), future office	Other biographical data
Barry, Henry	D	21	70.1	Holmes	28	NY	Lawyer	— —	U.S. Congress	Union general, commanded a black regiment
Castello, Edward J.	D	1	81.5	Adams	51	PA	Postmaster of Natchez	\$0 \$500	—	Union captain
Chapman, Carlos	S	12	40.0	Covington and Simpson	—	—	Engineer	— —	—	—
Clarke, Charles W.	D	56	73.5	Yazoo	28	VT	Planter	— —	—	Union veteran, captain of a black regiment, Freedmen's Bureau agent
Cunningham, William	C	34	77.0	Madison	30	PA	Lawyer	\$6,000 \$4,400	State representative, circuit judge	Union veteran
Eggleston, Beroth	N	33	79.1	Lowndes	49	OH	U.S. assessor	\$5,000 \$0	Republican gubernatorial nominee in 1868	Union general, received surrender of Atlanta
Fawn, John	D	51	91.0	Washington	35	England	Court clerk	\$1,000 \$600	—	Shot and killed at Yazoo City courthouse

MISSISSIPPI OUTSIDE WHITE DELEGATES (continued)

Name	Region of state	District no.	% dist. black	County represented	Age	Native state/ country	Profession	1870 real/ personal property			(Former office), future office	Other biographical data
Gibbs, William H.	D	53	80.6	Wilkinson	—	IL?	Mayor of Woodville	—	—	State senator	—	Union colonel
Howe, Albert	N	40	47.9	Panola	29	MA	Planter	\$25,000	—	State representative, state auditor, U.S. Congress	—	Union major
Leas, Benjamin	D	50	77.0	Warren	54	PA	Retired judge	\$0	—	(Judge)	—	—
McKee, George	D	50	77.0	Warren	31	IL	Planter	\$1,000	—	U.S. Congress	—	Union general
Morgan, Albert T.	D	56	73.5	Yazoo	25	NY	Planter	—	—	State senator, sheriff	—	Union colonel, Freedmen's Bureau official
Musgrove, Henry	C	11	60.4	Clarke	38	OH	Banker	\$6,000	—	State auditor	—	Union officer
Parsons, Frederick	D	1	85.1	Adams	32	England	Lawyer	\$0	—	State representative	—	Union colonel, murdered
Parsons, John	C	20	70.0	Hinds	—	—	—	Died in 1869	—	—	—	Union veteran
Railsback, Jehiel	D	4	83.7	Bolivar	—	—	Minister	—	—	—	—	—
Townsend, Charles H.*	N	35	50.7	Marshall	32	NY	Merchant	\$0	—	—	—	Union captain, in fistfight with conv. president Eggleston. April 16, 1868
Toy, Henry P.	D	23	92.1	Issaquena	37	MD	Court clerk	\$0	—	Court clerk	—	—
								\$0				

Warren, Henry W.	C	32	33.6	Leake	29	MA	Farmer	\$2,000 \$3,000	Speaker of state house of representatives	Came south as a teacher
Woodmansee, Joe	N	36	64.9	Monroe	32	IN	Judicial official	\$0 \$1,000	County clerk	—
Yeoman, William	S	52	56.5	Wayne	45	England	Teacher	\$0 \$300	State representative	—

Regions: D = Delta, N = North, C = Central, S = South

*Withdrew from convention.

NORTH CAROLINA OUTSIDE WHITE DELEGATES

Name	Region of state	District no.	% dist. black	County represented	Age	Native state/country	Profession	1870 real/personal property	(Former office), future office	Other biographical data
Abbott, Joseph	C	52	63.2	New Hanover	43	NH	Lumber manufacturer	— —	U.S. Senate	Former Whig and Know-Nothing, Union general, involved in questionable railroad dealings
Andrews, Joshua	P	30	48.8	Wake	40	MA	Portrait painter	\$0 \$300	County commissioner	—
Ashley, Samuel	C	52	63.2	New Hanover	49	RI	Minister	\$0 \$0	State superintendent of education	Worked with Freedmen's Bureau teachers
Chilson, Henry	P	18	49.7	Anson	23	RI	Mail agent	\$1,000 \$100	—	—
Cogrove, David	C	67	52.0	Jones	30	NY	Farmer	\$10,000 \$0	State senator	Brother killed by KKK
French, F. F.	C	51	51.7	Bladen	—	—	—	—	—	—
French, John	C	60	52.2	Chowan	49	NH	Federal tax commissioner	— —	(OH legislator), U.S. Congress, state representative	—

NORTH CAROLINA OUTSIDE WHITE DELEGATES (continued)

Name	Region of state	District no.	% dist. black	County represented	Age	Native state/country	Profession	1870 real/personal property		(Former office), future office	Other biographical data
Fullings, Edward	P	14	47.3	Mecklenburg	43	NJ	Tailor	\$0	—	—	
Grant, Hiram	C	39	46.9	Wayne	25	CT	Postmaster	\$4,000 \$4,500	Court clerk	Union major, commanded black troops, Medal of Honor	
Hayes, Orlin	C	50	48.2	Robeson	—	—	Merchant	—	State senator	Union veteran	
Heaton, David	C	64	67.0	Craven	45	OH	Treasury agent	Died June 25, 1870	(State senator in OH and MN), U.S. Congress	Union colonel	
Lafin, Byron	C	69	53.6	Pitt	39	MA	Planter	—	State representative	Union general	
Legg, Edwin	C	48	49.3	Brunswick	30	MA	Customs house boarding official	\$150 \$0	State senator	Union veteran	
Mann, W. A.	C	34	49.4	Cumberland	—	—	—	—	—	Union veteran	
Renfrow, John	C	44	74.1	Halifax	—	—	—	—	State representative	—	
Rich, D. J.	C	69	53.6	Pitt	—	VT	—	Died of pneumonia on Feb. 16, 1869	—	—	
Sweet, William	C	64	67.0	Craven	—	—	—	—	State senator	—	
Tourgée, Albion	P	23	30.0	Guilford	30	OH	Lawyer	\$15,000 \$3,000	Superior court judge, 1875 const. convention	Union lieutenant, novelist, argued <i>Plessy v. Ferguson</i> case before U.S. Supreme Court	

Regions: C = Coastal Plain, P = Piedmont, M = Mountain

SOUTH CAROLINA OUTSIDE WHITE DELEGATES

Name	Region of District			County represented	Age	Native state/ country	1870 real/ personal property			Future office	Other biographical data
	state	District no.	% dist. black				Profession	1870 real/ personal property	1870 real/ personal property		
Arnim, Frank	M	12	63.5	Edgefield	41	Prussia	Farmer	\$6,000	\$2,000	County commissioner	Union captain, fined for illegal distillation
Bell, James	L	5	87.1	Beaufort	27	NH	Lawyer	\$3,500		Probate judge	—
Chamberlain, Daniel	L	4	89.4	Berkeley	33	MA	Planter	\$0	\$0	State attorney general, governor of SC	Captain of black regiment, prof. of const. law at Cornell in 1880s
								\$0	\$0		
Craig, Jesse	L	9	33.9	Colleton	31	KY	Planter	\$0	\$0	Probate judge	Union veteran
								\$0	\$0		
Donaldson, R. J. M	M	10	22.8	Chesterfield	32	Ireland	Planter	\$1,000	\$1,000	State senator	—
								\$1,000	\$1,000		
Holmes, Reuben	L	5	87.1	Beaufort	47	MA	Grain merchant	\$7,000	\$300	—	—
								\$300	\$300		
Hurley, Timothy	L	4	89.4	Berkeley	38	MA	Editor	\$0	\$0	U.S. claims agent	—
								\$0	\$0		
Jenks, Joseph	L	4	89.4	Berkeley	28	MA	Planter	\$1,000	\$20,000	City inspector of Charleston	Union officer
								\$20,000	\$20,000		
Jillson, Justus	M	17	67.3	Kershaw	28	MA	Teacher	\$1,500	\$2,000	State School Commission	Freedmen's Bureau
								\$2,000	\$2,000		
Leslie, Charles	M	3	66.0	Barnwell	33	NY	Merchant	\$0	\$75,000	State senator	Federal revenue official
								\$75,000	\$75,000		
Parker, Niles	M	3	66.0	Barnwell	41	MA	Planter-merchant	\$2,500	\$20,000	State treasurer	Captain in black regiment
								\$20,000	\$20,000		
Pillsbury, Gilbert	L	6	59.7	Charleston	54	MA	Treasury agent	\$0	\$20,000	Mayor of Charleston	Freedmen's Bureau
								\$20,000	\$20,000		

SOUTH CAROLINA OUTSIDE WHITE DELEGATES (continued)

Name	Region of state	District no.	% dist. black	County represented	Native state/country	Age	Profession	1870 real/personal property			Future office	Other biographical data
Webb, Henry	L	14	86.3	Georgetown	CT	—	Storekeeper	Died in 1869			State representative	—
Whittemore, Benjamin	M	11	64.9	Darlington	MA	44	Minister	\$7,000 \$10,000			U.S. Congress, expelled for selling a cadetship at West Point	Union chaplain
Wilder, Francis	L	5	87.1	Beaufort	PA	30	Planter	\$3,500 \$3,500			—	—

Regions: L = Low Country, M = Midlands, MT = Mountain

TEXAS OUTSIDE WHITE DELEGATES

Name	Region of state	District no.	% dist. black	County represented	Native state/country	Age	Profession	1870 real/personal property			Future office	Other biographical data
Butler, James†	C	34	66.5	Walker	NY	—	Teacher	—			Speaker of state house of representatives	Union veteran
Coleman, C. E	E	13	65.2	Harrison & Panola	—	—	—	—			—	Accused of horse stealing and bigamy
Constant, D. C.	NE	8	23.7	Hunt	IL	—	—	—			—	—
Downing, Andrew†	C	42	12.4	Bosque	IN	27	Merchant	\$1,500 \$1,200			—	Union veteran
Harn, C. D.*	C	34	66.5	Grimes	MD	26	Farmer	\$10,000 \$5,000			State representative	—

Hunt, Horatio†	W	55	20.8	Comal, Hays, and Blanco	32	NY	Internal Revenue assessor	\$5,000 \$500	Internal Revenue assessor	Union veteran
Posey, W. H.*	W	59	34.8	Lavaca	—	—	Merchant	—	—	Union veteran
Slaughter, George†	E	15	56.7	Smith	32	OH	Farmer	\$1,000 \$3,000	State representative	Union veteran, threatened by KKK
Smith, George	NE	1	55.3	Marion	33	NY	Merchant	Murdered by KKK in 1868	—	Union captain
Smith, Robert†	C	29	57.1	Galveston	51	PA	Physician	\$6,000 \$2,000	Delegate to 1868 national Republican convention	Union surgeon, editor of <i>Galveston Republican</i>

Regions: E = East, NE = Northeast, C = Central, W = West

†Protested the constitution.

*Signed the constitution.

VIRGINIA OUTSIDE WHITE DELEGATES

Name	Region of state	District no.	% dist. black	County or city represented	Age	Native state/country	Profession	1870 real/personal property	Future office	Other biographical data
Allan, Edgar*	P	48	63.6	Prince Edward and Appomattox	—	England	—	—	—	Union private
Ayer, Richard	T	46	48.4	Richmond	39	ME	Farmer	\$10,000 \$300	U.S. Congress, Maine legislator	Union captain
Clements, James	T	2	54.5	Norfolk County and city of Portsmouth	36	DC	Machinist	\$1,500 \$500	Postmaster of Portsmouth	Former clerk in navy yard
Curtiss, Gaston	P	5	46.7	Bedford	47	NY	Farmer	\$6,880 \$2,000	Assistant revenue assessor	Unsuccessful congressional candidate

VIRGINIA OUTSIDE WHITE DELEGATES (continued)

Name	Region of state	District no.	% dist. black	County or city represented	Age	Native state/ country	Profession	1870 real/			Future office	Other biographical data
								personal property				
Dodge, Sanford	P	9	69.0	Mecklenburg	—	NY	Distiller	—	—	State representative	—	
Hine, Orrin	T	23	42.6	Fairfax	30	NY	Farmer	\$7,000 \$3,000	—	—	Union captain	
James, William	T	27	50.8	Hanover	—	England	Internal Revenue collector	—	—	—	—	
Leahy, William	P	18	69.1	Brunswick	—	NY	—	—	—	—	Union veteran	
Lee, Luther, Jr.	T	2	54.5	Norfolk County and city of Portsmouth	34	NY	Farmer	\$0 \$0	—	Customs collector, state representative	Union captain	
Maddox, Samuel	P	40	57.9	Chesterfield	22	MD	—	\$800 \$200	—	State representative, state senator	—	
Morrissey, James	T	1	53.9	City of Richmond	35	Ireland	Plasterer	\$0 \$200	—	Customs house clerk	—	
Nash, Ephraim	T	46	48.4	Northumberland	37	NY	Farmer	\$2,500 \$500	—	—	—	
Nickerson, Lewis	T	68	50.7	Fairfax	44	NY	Minister	\$2,500 \$500	—	—	—	
Platt, James, Jr.	T	13	63.1	City of Petersburg	29	Newfoundland	Physician	\$11,000 \$18,000	—	U.S. Congress	Union lieutenant colonel	
Porter, Charles	P	40	57.9	Chesterfield and Powhatan	34	NY	Lawyer	\$0 \$0	—	U.S. Congress	Union veteran	

Thayer, Levi	P	10	56.1	Pittsylvania	29	VT	Lawyer	\$2,000 \$400	—	Union private, lived with David Thayer, who was a state representative in 1870
Toy, James	T	42	48.6	Northampton	26	MD	Merchant	\$500 \$400	State representative	Union captain in black regiment
Underwood, John	T	1	53.9	City of Richmond	56	NY	Lawyer	\$2,000 \$16,000	U.S. district judge	To VA initially in 1830s but forced out in 1856 due to free soil beliefs, former Whig, would have presided over treason trial of Jefferson Davis had one been held, wife a cousin of Thomas “Stonewall” Jackson
White, David	T	56	79.1	Elizabeth City	36	NY	Minister	\$3,500 \$1,000	U.S. assessor	Union major in black regiment
Williams, J. Henry	P	69	53.7	Amherst	37	Ireland	Farmer	\$30,000 \$35,000	—	—

Regions: T = Tidewater, P = Piedmont, M = Mountain

*Urged rejection of constitution.

NOTES

CHAPTER 1: A TREMENDOUS AND SEARCHING SOCIAL REVOLUTION

EPIGRAPH: George Templeton Strong, *Diary*, ed. Allan Nevins and Milton Halsey Thomas (New York: Macmillan Company, 1952), 4:147. Strong, a resident of New York City, was commenting on political developments in the South as of August 5, 1867, just weeks prior to the issuance of the military order authorizing delegate elections to the Alabama Constitutional Convention of 1867, the first such body to meet as mandated by the Reconstruction Act of March 2, 1867.

1. Robert Middlekauff, *The Glorious Cause: The American Revolution, 1763–1789* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982), 665.

2. James M. McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom: The Civil War Era* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 859.

3. Carl N. Degler, *Out of Our Past: The Forces That Shaped Modern America* (3d ed., New York: Harper and Row, 1984), 450.

4. Harold W. Stanley and Richard G. Niemi, *Vital Statistics on American Politics* (3d ed., Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly Press, 1992), 13–14. Eight states (Delaware, Maryland, New Hampshire, New Jersey, North Carolina, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, and Virginia) framed constitutions in 1776. Two states (Georgia and New York), and the territory of Vermont, did so in 1777; South Carolina produced a second constitution in 1778, and Massachusetts drafted its first in 1780. Five states (Georgia, New Hampshire, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, and Vermont) framed constitutions between 1781 and 1790; five (Delaware, Georgia, Kentucky [1792 and 1799], Tennessee, and Vermont) produced six from 1791 to 1800.

5. Stanley and Niemi, *Vital Statistics*, 13–14. The decade's constitutions, listed by Stanley and Niemi, include Alabama: 1861, 1865, 1868; Arkansas: 1861, 1864, 1868; Florida: 1861, 1865, 1868; Georgia: 1861, 1865, 1868; Illinois: 1870; Louisiana: 1861, 1864, 1868; Maryland: 1864, 1867; Mississippi: 1869; Missouri: 1865; Nevada: 1864; New Hampshire: 1864; North Carolina: 1868; South Carolina: 1861, 1865, 1868; Tennessee: 1870; Texas: 1861, 1866, 1869; Virginia: 1869; and West Virginia: 1863. Another source, Francis Newton Thorpe, comp., *The Federal and State Constitutions, Colonial Charters, and Other Organic Laws of the States, Territories, and Colonies Now or Heretofore Forming the United States of America* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1909), also lists 32 state constitutions drafted during these years. Thorpe, however, omits in his compilation the Alabama constitution of 1861 and includes the Virginia constitution of 1864.

In addition to all this activity at the state level as Republicans focused on adjusting to the outcome of the Civil War nationally, no fewer than 70 amendments were proposed to the federal constitution during January of 1866. See Eric Foner, *Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution, 1863–1877* (New York: Harper and Row, 1988), 251–52.

6. An exception was made in the case of Virginia, which had been reduced in size by the wartime creation of West Virginia. Its delegate total was diminished proportionately. For the text of the first two Reconstruction Acts, see *U.S. Statutes at Large* 14 (1868): 428–29; 15 (1869): 2–4.

7. The Reconstruction Act of March 2, 1867, divided ten of the former Confederate states (excluding Tennessee) into the following military districts: (1) Virginia; (2) the Carolinas; (3) Alabama, Florida, and Georgia; (4) Arkansas and Mississippi; and (5) Louisiana and Texas.

8. The number of sessions per convention averaged 69 days; the median time in session was 60 days. Alabama delegates were the quickest, finishing their work in 28 days; Texas delegates, the slowest, took 127 days to complete their task.

9. For an especially perceptive discussion of the influence of racial assumptions in shaping the historiography of Reconstruction, see Thomas J. Pressly, "Racial Attitudes, Scholarship, and Reconstruction: A Review Essay," *Journal of Southern History* 32 (February 1966): 88–93.

10. Strong, *Diary*, 4:147, 157, 172.

11. F. N. Boney, Richard L. Hume, and Rafia Zafar, eds., *God Made Man, Man Made the Slave: The Autobiography of George Teamoh* (Macon, Ga.: Mercer, 1990), 122; *Mobile Nationalist*, October 3, 1867, 1; *New Orleans Crescent*, November 26, 1867, 2.

12. Foner, *Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution*, 315. See also Edward L. Gambill, *Conservative Ordeal: Northern Democrats and Reconstruction, 1865–1868* (Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1981), 105; Richard H. Abbott, *The Republican Party and the South, 1855–1877: The First Southern Strategy* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1986), 107–9.

13. Strong, *Diary*, 4:172–73.

14. Ethelbert Barksdale, "Reconstruction in Mississippi," in *Why the Solid South? or, Reconstruction and Its Results*, ed. Hilary A. Herbert (Baltimore: R. H. Woodward and Company, 1890), 328.

15. James Ford Rhodes, *History of the United States from the Compromise of 1850* (New York: Macmillan Company, 1893–1906), 6:89–90.

16. William A. Dunning, *Reconstruction: Political and Economic, 1865–1877* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1907; reprint, New York: Harper and Row, 1965), 112.

17. W. E. B. Du Bois, *Black Reconstruction in America: An Essay toward a History of the Part Which Black Folk Played in the Attempt to Reconstruct Democracy in America, 1860–1880* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1935; reprint, New York: Russell and Russell, 1964), 383.

18. David Brion Davis, "Slavery and the Post–World War II Historians," in *Slavery, Colonialism, and Racism*, ed. Sidney W. Mintz (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1974), 7–8; Foner, *Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution*, xxi.

19. Kenneth M. Stampp, *The Era of Reconstruction, 1865–1877* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1965), 23.

20. *Ibid.*, 170, 172. Foner, *Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution* (319–20), largely concurs with Stampp.

21. The most radical feature of the new constitutions was, of course, their enfranchisement of the freedmen. In this respect, it is important to remember that the concept of "freedom" in the United States differed from its "counterpart in societies accustomed to fixed social classes and historically defined gradations of civil and political rights. Here [in America], emancipation led inexorably to demands for civil equality and the vote." Beyond enfranchisement, the modest "adjustments" noted by Stampp (and suggested previously by George Templeton Strong) thus simply confirmed that Republicans, black and white, had adopted an overall "moderate" tone, proclaiming "their identification with the nation's history, destiny, and political system." Foner, *Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution*, 75, 115, 27.

22. Roger L. Ransom, "Fact and Counterfact: The 'Second American Revolution' Revisited," *Civil War History* 45 (March 1999): 33; Foner, *Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution*, xxii–xxiv.

23. Foner, *Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution*, 319–21; *idem*, "Reconstruction Revisited," *Reviews in American History* 10 (December 1982): 87.

24. Appendix C identifies some 671 delegates with political experience beyond that gained in the conventions. A number of these delegates, in fact, enjoyed considerable future success politically. Among them, for example, were 52 future members of Congress (44 congressmen and 8 senators), 8 future governors, and a future U.S. Attorney General. This tally does not include several convention delegates who had obtained such positions prior to Reconstruction (such as Congressmen Lemuel Evans and Andrew Hamilton of Texas) or delegates later elected to Congress from states other than those they represented in convention (such as Thomas Bowen, territorial governor of Idaho and U.S. senator for Colorado, and Eustace Gibson, congressman for West Virginia).

25. Although there were 1,027 seats apportioned among the ten conventions, only 1,018 delegates actually took part in their proceedings.

26. Consult appendix A for more on the selection of the roll-call votes included in various issue scales.

27. Prominent authorities have disagreed as to the economic goals of Republicans at the national level. Howard K. Beale and T. Harry Williams, for example, have asserted that the party was virtually unanimous in its desire to impose political and economic control over the postwar South; David Donald and Eric McKittrick, however, have not discerned any clear-cut economic agenda among radical Republicans in the nation's capital. For discussion of relevant historiography, see Glenn M. Linden, "'Radicals' and Economic Policies: The Senate, 1861–1873," *Journal of Southern History* 32 (May 1966): 189–99; idem, "'Radicals' and Economic Policies: The House of Representatives, 1861–1873," *Civil War History* 13 (March 1967): 51–65.

With regard to the southern state Republican governments and economic matters such as railroad construction, Eric Foner argues that, while there was no "distinctive or unified" Republican position on economic issues, state subsidization of railroads initially enjoyed support from all elements of the Republican party, but this support then became increasingly limited to Republican moderates as enthusiasm waned among blacks and scalawags (*Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution*, 233, 382, 394–95). Mark W. Summers seems to agree, noting that Republican moderates throughout the South hoped to use railroad construction and the gospel of prosperity to establish majority coalitions that could not be built solely on traditional appeals to racial equity and national loyalty (*Railroads, Reconstruction, and the Gospel of Prosperity: Aid under the Radical Republicans, 1865–1877* [Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984], ix).

28. Overall among the eight conventions in which valid issue scales on delegate voting behavior were established (delegate votes did not scale in South Carolina and were aberrant in Florida), southern whites divided equally (180 delegates each) between radicals and conservatives, while about half that number (96) voted as nonaligned delegates. Consequently, we are especially interested in determining, to the extent possible, key factors—biographical and political—that distinguished each of these three subgroups of native white delegates.

CHAPTER 2: DELEGATES AND LEADERS

EPIGRAPH: Mrs. Mary S. Mallard to her mother, Mrs. Mary Jones, in a letter sent from New Orleans and dated November 26, 1867. Rev. Dr. Charles Colcock Jones, father of the former and husband of the latter, was a resident of Liberty County Georgia, a prominent Presbyterian minister, and an owner in 1860 of three south Georgia plantations and 129 slaves. Robert Manson Myers, ed., *The Children of Pride: A True Story of Georgia and the Civil War* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1972), 1408. "'Bones and Banjo' Convention" is an obviously slighting reference to a minstrel show: "Brudder Bones" was a stock figure of these touring theatrical troupes, so called because he beat and rattled bones. See Robert C. Toll, *Blacking Up: The Minstrel Show in Mid-Nineteenth-Century America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1974), 54.

1. In a very few instances the classification "southern whites" includes delegates who had spent most of their lives in the North. One example is Rufus Bullock (a Georgia delegate and future governor), who had moved to the South in the late 1850s. An analogous problem with the classification "outside white" is represented by infrequent

cases such as that of John C. Underwood, president of the Virginia convention. A northern-born ardent abolitionist, he lived in Virginia from the late 1830s but was forced to leave the South in 1856. He returned in the wake of the advancing Union army, and we have decided to classify him as an outside white despite his long prewar residence in the South.

It should be noted that there were a relatively small number of outside whites from the four loyal slaveholding border states. To our knowledge, none was a slaveholder. Some might wish to classify them as southern whites, but a line must be drawn somewhere, and no classification is perfect.

We have avoided using the term *mulatto* (employed consistently in the census records of the time for mixed race) because the term (with its obvious connection to *mule*) seems dehumanizing and offensive. In addition, while a number of black delegates hailed from the North, we have not counted them among the carpetbaggers. To southern whites opposed to Reconstruction, their defining characteristic was their race and not their geographical origin.

2. Selected examples of the most basic disparities in delegate numbers will be noted in appropriate chapters to follow. For examples of three well-known general accounts illustrating such problems see James Ford Rhodes, *History of the United States from the Compromise of 1850* (New York: Macmillan Company, 1893–1906), 6:88n; John Hope Franklin, *Reconstruction: After the Civil War* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961), 102; and Kenneth M. Stampp, *The Era of Reconstruction, 1865–1877* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1965), 169n. For numerous examples of discrepancies in delegate counts, see Richard L. Hume, “The ‘Black and Tan’ Constitutional Conventions in Ten Former Confederate States: A Study of Their Membership” (Ph.D. diss., University of Washington, 1969).

3. Eric Foner, *Reconstruction: America’s Unfinished Revolution, 1863–1877* (New York: Harper and Row, 1988), 316, 329.

4. Sources for these percentages will be noted in chapters on particular conventions. In compiling table 2.4 we used percentage figures representing the number of black voters in each district that returned one or more of the 1,018 delegates. Districts apportioned multiple delegates were weighted accordingly in computing these data. The percentage in the overall column is an average of the percentages of blacks in the home-district electorates for each delegate in each convention. The first three column totals represent averages for black registration among districts returning southern whites, blacks, and outside whites. In a few scattered districts in which numbers of white and black registered voters were unavailable, we approximated their percentages by using figures from *A Compendium of the Ninth Census* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1872). To arrive at percentages of voters in such instances, we used overall population figures based on the census for a county in question, reducing that total for whites by a 20%, a proportion we considered reasonable to compensate for white southerners who had been disenfranchised or refused to register as voters.

5. Some 30 delegates not located in the 1870 census are known to have died by then. Thirteen of the deceased had been murdered, one had committed suicide, and one had died in a freak accident involving the collapse of the second floor of the Virginia state capitol. An additional unlocated delegate was in North Africa in 1870. While the use of both 1860 and 1870 enumerations helped increase the numbers of southern whites located in census returns, it should also be noted that more native white delegates (79.3%) were also found in 1870 than were either black or outside white delegates (70.5% and 70.7% respectively). This probably reflects greater residential stability on the part of southern white delegates, even during the tumultuous early years of Congressional Reconstruction, than that enjoyed by either black or outside white delegates.

6. Delegate totals in table 2.7 are slightly higher than those in tables 2.5 and 2.6, reflecting the fact that the ages of some delegates not located in census returns were established through other sources.

7. It is estimated that some 258,000 Confederate soldiers were killed in combat. Proportionally comparable losses among southern whites as of the year 2000 would be in excess of 13,000,000. See Charles Roland, *An American Iliad: The Story of the Civil War*, 2d ed. (Boston: McGraw-Hill, 2002), 255.

8. Foner, *Reconstruction: America’s Unfinished Revolution*, xx; Tim Zacharias, “Lest We Forget: A Prosopographic

Analysis of Oregon's Constitutional Convention of 1857" (M.A. thesis, Washington State University, 2003), 174–75, *passim*. While data from the Oregon convention (and perhaps those of other western states as well) are helpful in placing the Black and Tan conventions in context, such comparisons should not be carried too far. The "professional" contingent of 346 Black and Tan delegates included mostly lawyers (131), ministers (87), physicians (71), and educators (32). While lawyers were even more numerous proportionately (19 of 22) among the Oregon convention's professionals, there were no ministers among its delegates. Of course, additional research on other western states' constitutional conventions would be needed to determine whether the parallels seen in Oregon were apparent elsewhere.

9. While farming was easily the most common occupation among southern white delegates, it ranked third among blacks (behind skilled labor and the ministry), and second (behind the professional pursuits and ahead of government service) among outside whites. Only a tiny minority (7 of 221, or 3.2%) of the southern white agrarians identified themselves as planters, while 23 of 43 (53.5%) of the outside white agrarians did so. This self-identification lends support to Lawrence N. Powell's contention that many carpetbaggers were attracted to the South, at least initially, by cheap land and cotton profits. Despite their general belief that the North's free labor ideology would transform the South, it also suggests that at least some carpetbagger delegates might have held reservations regarding that credo, especially should its implementation prove too disruptive of southern agriculture. See Lawrence N. Powell, *New Masters: Northern Planters during the Civil War and Reconstruction* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1980), 6, 19–20, 38, 43, 85, 86, 97, 121, 145. Dreams of quick profits, however, often fell victim to falling agricultural prices and difficulties in managing the freedmen as laborers. Such realities helped lead a number of outside whites to abandon agricultural pursuits for political careers by the time the Black and Tan conventions assembled. See Foner, *Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution*, 141.

10. In several respects our occupational breakdown corresponds with the larger compilation in Eric Foner, *Freedom's Lawmakers: A Directory of Black Officeholders during Reconstruction*, rev. ed. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1996). Foner lists 1,757 professions for his sample of 1,510 "lawmakers," with many individuals having more than one profession (xiii, xxi). His overview encompasses the entire Reconstruction era and includes, in addition to the ten states of our study, the District of Columbia, Missouri, and Tennessee. The greatest difference by far between our figures and Foner's is in the percentage of ministers. Where we list almost a quarter (24.7%) of black delegates as ministers, Foner lists only about half that percentage (13.8%) among his black "lawmakers"; thus our data provide further support to Foner's observation elsewhere that African American churches—the first institutions fully controlled by blacks—were central to the initial drive to mobilize the freedmen politically (Foner, *Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution*, 92–93, 282).

11. Our grouping of 65 black skilled laborers includes 23 carpenters, 10 blacksmiths, 8 barbers, 8 cobblers/shoemakers, 3 masons, 3 wagon/coach makers, 3 tailors, and 1 each of the following: dyer, upholster, wheelwright, tanner, shipping clerk, coachman, and bandleader.

12. Foner's compilations in *Black Lawmakers* and ours correspond closely in the case of skilled laborers, farmers, merchants/businessmen, and teachers—about a quarter were skilled laborers in both samples (27.3% in ours and 24.4% in Foner's), about a fifth in were farmers (20.6% of our sample and 19.2% of Foner's), and around a tenth were merchants/businessmen (11.6% of our sample and 13.8% of Foner's) and teachers (9.2% of our sample and 10.0% of Foner's). Our figures vary a bit more for professionals (excluding ministers), who represent 15.1% of our delegates and 20.9% of Foner's "lawmakers." Of much more significance than this last minor discrepancy, however, is the fact that our findings lend support to his observation that, as Congressional Reconstruction began, "blacks who did acquire land were more likely to register, vote, and run for office than other members of the rural community" (*Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution*, 109–10). Among our 49 black farmer/planter delegates, 36 owned property, 6 did not, and the holdings of the remaining 7 remain undetermined.

13. Although these figures deal with southern white delegates generally (and not scalawags exclusively), they

are of particular interest given a recent study noting both the relative poverty of the scalawags in Arkansas and the numerical muscle of those in North Carolina. See James Alex Baggett, *The Scalawags: Southern Dissenters in the Civil War and Reconstruction* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2003), 23, 83, 187, 241. As might be expected, the overall difference between the median wealth of southern whites in the Black and Tan conventions and those in the secession conventions was dramatic. In South Carolina, for example, their median wealth was \$1,700 in the Reconstruction convention, compared with a median wealth of \$68,875 among delegates to that state's secession convention. See Ralph A. Wooster, *The Secession Conventions of the South* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1962), 259.

14. This summary, of course, applies to all southern white delegates. Key characteristics that distinguished radicals (scalawags) from southern white conservatives are examined in chapters to follow.

15. Samuel C. Hyde Jr., "Plain Folk Reconsidered: Historiographical Ambiguity in Search of Definition," *Journal of Southern History* 71 (November 2005): 819; F. N. Boney, *Southerners All*, rev. ed. (Macon, Ga.: Mercer, 1990), 103–4. In a very few instances, the professions tallied here (generally from 1860 manuscript census returns) differ from those indicated in appendix C, which were mostly taken from the 1870 enumeration.

16. With the notable exceptions of Louisiana and South Carolina, the black elites so evident among the leadership of 1865–68 were to be increasingly supplanted by "less privileged" elements of the African American community as Reconstruction unfolded. See Foner, *Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution*, 112–13, 358–59.

17. The literacy of the remaining 35 delegates has not been established. For an earlier detailed overview of 258 of these 268 delegates, see Richard L. Hume, "Negro Delegates to the State Constitutional Conventions of 1867–69," in *Southern Black Leaders of the Reconstruction Era*, ed. Howard N. Rabinowitz (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1982), 129–54.

18. This listing is taken from the material on black delegates in appendix C. Since that appendix notes only the most important among various activities, it is suggestive, rather than comprehensive and complete. A number of those categorized below could be placed under several headings, and others, in addition to the 122 listed here, were almost certainly involved in organizing the black community.

The 35 "organizers" included James Green, James Rapier, and Benjamin Royal (Ala.); Aaron Bradley, William Harrison, George Linder, Romulus Moore, Daniel Palmer, Benjamin Sikes, and Henry Strickland (Ga.); Dennis Burrell and Robert Cromwell (La.); Albert Johnson, Henry Mayson, and Matthew Newsom (Miss.); Henry Eppes, James Harris, John Hyman, Cuffee Mayo, Clinton Pierson, and John Williamson (N.C.); John Bonum, John Chestnut, William McKinlay, William Nash, Joseph Rainey, and Alonzo Ransier (S.C.); Wiley Johnson, Mitchell Kendall, Shepherd Mullins, Benjamin Watrous, and Benjamin Williams (Tex.); William Breedlove, Peter Jones, and Daniel Norton (Va.).

The 21 missionaries or Freedmen's Bureau officials were Thomas Lee (Ala.); O. B. Armstrong, William Bradwell, Jonathan Gibbs, and Charles Pearce (Fla.); Tunis Campbell and William Golden (Ga.); Henry Jacobs and Thomas Stringer (Miss.); James Hood (N.C.); Isaac Brockenton, Francis Cardozo, Richard Cain, Robert DeLarge, Charles Hayne, James Hayne, W. Nelson Joiner, Abram Middleton, Calvin Stubbs, and Jonathan Wright (S.C.); and James Bland (Va.).

The 22 Union League/Republican organizers included Robert Alexander, Isaac Anderson, George Chatters, John Costin, James Jackson, and George Wallace (Ga.); William Darrington, Harvey Edwards, David Harris, Samuel Johnson, Henry Jones, John Mead, Lee Nance, Henry Shrewsbury, and Charles Wilder (S.C.); Charles Bryant (Tex.); James Barrett, Thomas Bayne, Joseph Cox, Lewis Lindsey, William Moseley, and George Teamoh (Va.).

The 44 veterans were John Carraway (Ala.); Thomas Johnson, James Mason, and James White (Ark.); Auburn Erwin, William Saunders, and Josiah Walls (Fla.); Henry Turner (Ga.); Ceasar Antoine, Arnold Bertonneau, John Esnard, Louis Francois, James Ingraham, Robert Isabelle, Thomas Isabelle, Jules Massicot, Joseph Oliver, Robert

Poindexter, Lazard Rodriguez, Edward Tinchant, and Henderson Williams (La.); William Combash and Emanuel Handy (Miss.); Abraham Galloway (spy) and Parker Robbins (N.C.); Martin Becker, Edward Cain, William Gray, Henry Hayne, Richard Humbert, William Jervay, William Johnson, Landon Langley, George Lee, Benjamin Randolph, Prince Rivers, Thaddeus Sasportas, Robert Smalls, Stephen Swails, Samuel Thompson, William Viney, and William Whipper (S.C.); Willis Hodges (a guide) and James Taylor (Va.).

19. Although references pertaining to military service are obviously incomplete, it appears that at least 101 of the 164 outside whites had served in the military, in agencies involved in the Reconstruction effort, or in both. For biographical detail accumulated previously on 159 of these outside white delegates, see Richard L. Hume, “Carpetbaggers in the Reconstruction South: A Group Portrait of Outside Whites in the ‘Black and Tan’ Constitutional Conventions,” *Journal of American History* 64 (September 1977): 313–30.

The 11 generals included Joseph Abbott and Byron Laflin (N.C.); Horatio Jenkins Jr. (Fla.); Dantus Coon and Charles Dustan (Ala.); Thomas Bowen (Ark.); Henry Barry, Beroth Eggleston and Charles Clarke (Miss.); and Henry Fuller and William McMillan (La.). Eggleston, who had received the surrender of Atlanta, served as president of the Mississippi convention; Jenkins and Bowen presided, respectively, over those in Florida and Arkansas.

The 17 outside white delegates who had commanded black troops were Alfred Buck, Charles Buckley, and Samuel Gardner (Ala.); John McClure (Ark.); Liberty Billings (Fla.); John Bryant (Ga.); Henry Fuller, Peter Harper, Daniel Reese, and Marshall Twitchell (La.); Henry Barry and Charles Clarke (Miss.); Hiram Grant (N.C.); Daniel Chamberlain and Niles Parker (S.C.); and James Toy and David White (Va.). Nathan Daniels, who was elected to the Louisiana convention but died before that body assembled, had also led black troops. See C. P. Weaver, ed., *Thank God My Regiment an African One: The Civil War Diary of Colonel Nathan W. Daniels* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1998), 179.

The years of their arrival in the states in which they became active politically have been determined for 104 outside whites. They break down as follows: 1 “during the war,” 1 in 1861, 4 in 1862, 11 in 1863, 15 in 1864, 51 in 1865, 15 in 1866, and 6 in 1867.

20. Each of the six southern white presidents—three lawyers, two merchants, and a physician—was from the ranks of the southern white bourgeoisie.

21. These key committees included in table 2.23 were also standing committees, except for Mississippi’s committee on suffrage, which was formed as a special (not standing) committee.

22. The five key black chairmanships were held by Charles Pearce (both the Executive and Education Committees in the radical Florida convention), Robert DeLarge (Franchise in South Carolina), James Ingraham (Bill of Rights in Louisiana), and Francis Cardozo (Education in South Carolina).

23. Some 20 of the southern white chairmen of these key committees were lawyers, and another 8 (2 physicians, 2 ministers, 2 businessmen, an editor, and a merchant) were also members of the southern white bourgeoisie. Only five of these southern white chairmen—three planters, a farmer, and a rancher—were agrarians.

CHAPTER 3: VIRGINIA AND ARKANSAS

EPIGRAPHS: F. N. Boney, Richard L. Hume, and Rafia Zafar, eds., *God Made Man, Man Made the Slave: The Autobiography of George Teamoh* (Macon, Ga.: Mercer, 1990), 118; Walter Brashear, scalawag delegate from Pope County, February 11, 1868, in *Debates and Proceedings of the Convention Which Assembled at Little Rock, January 7th, 1868, Under the Provisions of the Act of Congress of March 2d, 1867, and the Acts of March 23d and July 19th, Supplementary Thereto, to Form a Constitution for the State of Arkansas* (Little Rock: J. G. Price, Printer to the Convention, 1868), 661. Brashear, formerly a sergeant in the Union army, went on to note that, ironically, during the war he had been captured and held prisoner in the very hall in which Arkansas’ new constitution had just been drafted.

1. *Journal of the Constitutional Convention of the State of Virginia, Convened in the City of Richmond December 3, 1867, by an Order of General Schofield, Dated November 2, 1867, in Pursuance of the Act of Congress of March 23, 1867* (Richmond: printed at the Office of the New Nation, 1867), 384.

The Virginia state capitol, designed by Thomas Jefferson, had been completed in 1789. The hall of the House of Delegates, where Robert E. Lee had been confirmed as commander of Virginia forces by the Virginia State Convention on April 22, 1861, had then housed the Confederate House of Representatives. On April 27, 1870, the second floor of the building, where the Confederate Senate had met during the war, collapsed onto the first, killing more than sixty people and injuring hundreds. See, E. B. Long, *The Civil War Day by Day: An Almanac, 1861–1865* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday and Company, 1971), 64; Boney, Hume, and Zafar, *Autobiography of George Teamoh*, 1–2.

2. *Debates and Proceedings of the Convention of Arkansas*, 43, 764.

3. David C. Roller and Robert W. Twyman, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Southern History* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1979), 76, 1295.

4. For observations on wartime Unionism in northern Arkansas, see Richard Lowe, ed., *A Texas Cavalry Officer's Civil War: The Diary and Letters of James C. Bates* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1999), 95.

5. Thomas S. Staples, *Reconstruction in Arkansas, 1862–1874* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1923), 162–69; Richard Lowe, *Republicans and Reconstruction in Virginia, 1856–70* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1991), 77–96. In Arkansas, 67% of those voting favored a convention; in Virginia 63.4% of registered voters who went to the polls did so. Despite their organizational hesitancy, then, conservatives did relatively well in both of these contests. In each of the other eight referenda on conventions, those in favor of their being called enjoyed a majority above 70%, and in five of the eight, that margin was above 90%.

6. In each instance about two-thirds of those voting had endorsed conventions. House Executive Document 342, 40th Cong., 2d sess., 14–15, 143–45. Although sources vary a bit on voters registered and votes cast in Virginia and Arkansas, the most complete and accurate counts are to be found in Senate Executive Document 53, 40th Cong., 2d sess., 2, 10. General Schofield totaled the Virginia electorate at 225,933 (120,101 whites and 105,832 blacks). He counted 92,507 blacks and 14,835 whites in favor of the convention and 61,249 whites and 638 blacks against. In an obvious discrepancy in which electorates were broken down by race in some counties but not in others, the count total of 65,751 given in *Debates and Proceedings of the Convention of Arkansas* (p. 769) notes that the Arkansas electorate consisted of 33,047 whites and 21,969 blacks. The sum of the last two figures is less than the total number of voters because those in several counties were not broken down by race.

7. Two of the 75 delegates elected to the Arkansas convention, Hampton Allen and W. H. Gray (both southern whites), took no part in its proceedings. One of the 105 elected Virginia delegates, Robert Beazley (also a southern white), never took his seat. Although apparently never seated officially, Fayette Mauzy, a second Virginia southern white, voted on a number of occasions.

Secondary accounts frequently offer delegate totals that are not in agreement with our figures on the membership of these two conventions. The most common of such disparities lists 25 blacks in the Virginia convention and 66 delegates total in Arkansas. For specific examples of such contrasting delegate counts, see Richard L. Hume, “The ‘Black and Tan’ Constitutional Conventions of 1867–1869 in Ten Former Confederate States: A Study of Their Membership” (Ph.D. diss., University of Washington, 1969), 131–33n, 272n.

For additional detail on particular delegates to the Arkansas convention, see Richard L. Hume, “The Arkansas Constitutional Convention of 1868: A Case Study in the Politics of Reconstruction,” *Journal of Southern History* 39 (May 1973): 183–206. For those in Virginia, see Richard G. Lowe, “Virginia’s Reconstruction Convention: General Schofield Rates the Delegates,” *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 80 (July 1972): 341–60; and Richard L. Hume, “The Membership of the Virginia Constitutional Convention of 1867–1868: A Study of the Beginnings of Congressional Reconstruction in the Upper South,” *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 86 (October 1978):

461–84. It should be stressed, however, that the methods used here to classify delegates politically differ significantly from those used by Hume in either of his articles cited here.

8. For the slaveholdings of these two delegates, see 1860 manuscript census returns, slave schedule, Southern District, Halifax County, Virginia, 43, and Bay Township, Jackson County, Arkansas, 9.

9. As noted in the previous chapter, Underwood could be considered a scalawag. We consider him a carpetbagger, however, since he had returned to the North prior to the secession crisis and did not reappear in Virginia until later in the war. Had Jefferson Davis been brought to trial for treason, Underwood, as district court judge in Virginia, would have presided. For biographical detail on Underwood and Bowen, consult Patricia Hickin, “John C. Underwood and the Antislavery Movement in Virginia, 1847–1860,” *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 73 (April 1965): 156–68; *Biographical Directory of the United States Congress, 1774–1989* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1989), 650; and Thomas A. McMullin and David Walker, eds., *Biographical Directory of American Territorial Governors* (Westport, Conn.: Meckler Publishing, 1984), 130–31.

10. For committee appointments in Virginia, see *Journal of the Convention of Virginia*, 16, 28–29, 33, 37, 40, 41, 56, 234, 255, 291, 375, 376, 380. For Arkansas appointments, see *Debates and Proceedings of the Convention of Arkansas*, 13–16, 60–61, 91, 199. There were 157 rank-and-file appointments to standing committees in Virginia: 89 went to southern whites, 38 to blacks, and 30 to outside whites. Some 60 of 158 such positions went to outside whites in Arkansas, 81 to southern whites, and 17 to blacks. In Arkansas, William Grey, a Phillips County minister employed previously as a servant in the household of Virginia governor Henry A. Wise, chaired the standing committee on Organization of Government of Cities and Villages.

11. For biographical information gathered on each of these 104 delegates—arranged under headings of southern whites, blacks, and outside whites—consult the Virginia sections of appendix C. Our delegate breakdown is based on examination of secondary sources, contemporary newspapers and documents, and especially on manuscript returns of the *Ninth Census of the United States, 1870* and the *Eighth Census of the United States, 1860*.

12. Wilson, a Methodist clergyman, had visited John Brown in prison to pray with the famous abolitionist just prior to Brown’s execution. When learning, however, that Wilson supported slavery, Brown did not want his prayers. See Louis A. DeCaro Jr., “Fire from the Midst of You”: *A Religious History of John Brown* (New York: New York University Press, 2002), 267–68.

13. *The Debates and Proceedings of the Constitutional Convention of the State of Virginia, Assembled at the City of Richmond, Tuesday, December 3, 1867: Being a Full and Complete Report of the Debates and Proceedings of the Convention, Together with the Reconstruction Acts of Congress and Those Supplementary Thereto, the Order of the Commander of the First Military District Assembling the Convention, and the New Constitution*, vol. 1 (no other vols. published) (Richmond: printed at the Office of the New Nation, 1868), 435–41.

14. Gibson later served two terms in Congress (1883–87) and Ayer one (1870–71). See *Biographical Directory of Congress*, 1056, 557.

15. In 1871, Clements, who was greatly admired by fellow Portsmouth delegate George Teamoh, saw that John Wilson, a murdered black policeman, was buried in a local white cemetery. See Boney, Hume, and Zafar, *Autobiography of George Teamoh*, 20, 120–21, 195–96.

16. Porter later served two terms (1870–73) in Congress. See *Biographical Directory of Congress*, 1662. A total of 33 delegates, however, signed protests against the constitution that appeared in the *Daily Richmond Whig* of April 20 (30 delegates) and April 21 (3 delegates), 1868. Except for outside white Edgar Allan, all of these protesters were southern whites, and each of the 33 is noted with an asterisk beside his name in the Virginia sections of appendix C.

17. Gibson, a former Confederate captain, later moved to West Virginia and became Speaker of the House of Representatives there before moving on to Congress. Bland, later a state senator, was one of those who died as a re-

sult of injuries received on April 27, 1870, when the second floor of the state capitol building collapsed onto the floor below.

18. According to the *Richmond Daily Dispatch*, February 7, 1868, Lindsey objected to the fact that single white males had been seated in a gallery section reserved for couples, while single black males had been refused that courtesy. Republicans remained hesitant about confronting matters of social equality. A newspaper report in October of 1872, for example, noted the use of separate steamers for transporting white and black members of the Grand Army of the Republic to visit a soldiers' asylum at Hampton. See Boney, Hume, and Zafar, *Autobiography of George Teamoh*, 207n.

19. *Richmond Daily Dispatch*, April 8, 1868, 2.

20. *Journal of the Convention of Virginia*, 335.

21. During these debates, several blacks expressed bitterness over the lack of outside white support for integrated schools. Lewis Lindsay, a slave of Virginia Unionist John Minor Botts prior to his election as a delegate to the convention from the city of Richmond, remarked, "[I]f you carpet-baggers goes back on us, woe be unto you. You had better take your carpet-bags and quit, and de quicker you leave de better. . . . I'll say to you, colored men in de gallery, if dey don't give you your rights, down with 'em!" See Peter J. Rachleff, *Black Labor in the South: Richmond, Virginia, 1865–1890* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1984), 48.

22. *Richmond Daily Dispatch*, February 20, 1868, 2; *Journal of the Convention of Virginia*, 190.

23. Lowe, *Republicans in Virginia*, 136–37. Hine's distrust of Confederate sympathizers perhaps stemmed in part from the fact that they had driven him from Bowling Green, Kentucky, after he had voted for Abraham Lincoln in 1860. See Hume, "Membership of the Virginia Convention," 466n.

24. In the final draft of the constitution the local residence requirement was again reduced to three months.

25. *Richmond Daily Dispatch*, March 5, 1868, 2.

26. Virginius Dabney, *Virginia: The New Dominion* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1971), 294.

27. *Richmond Daily Dispatch*, March 7, 1868, 2.

28. *Ibid.*, March 13, 1868, 2.

29. Ralph A. Wooster, *The Secession Conventions of the South* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1962), 141; *Richmond Daily Dispatch*, March 14, 1868, 2; March 16, 1868, 2; March 25, 1868, 2; March 27, 1868, 2.

30. *Richmond Daily Dispatch*, April 18, 1868, 2; Hamilton James Eckenrode, *The Political History of Virginia during the Reconstruction* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1904), 121, 125; Richard H. Abbott, *The Republican Party and the South, 1855–1877: The First Southern Strategy* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1986), 145–48. Schofield's concerns eventually delayed the ratification referendum on the Virginia constitution until July 6, 1869. For further detail on his moderate views regarding Reconstruction, see, James E. Sefton, ed., "Aristotle in Blue and Braid: General John Schofield's Essays on Reconstruction," *Civil War History* 17 (March 1971): 45–57.

31. *Daily Arkansas Gazette* (Little Rock), January 8, 1868, 2; *Little Rock Evening Republican*, January 8, 1868, 2. According to returns of the 1870 manuscript census, Pulaski County, 4th Ward, City of Little Rock (334), Bowen was a prosperous lawyer with total assets of \$40,000.

32. *Daily Arkansas Gazette* (Little Rock), January 11, 1868, 2; *Little Rock Evening Republican*, January 10, 1868, 2. Hicks's wife was related to the widow of General Thomas "Stonewall" Jackson. See, Hume, "Arkansas Constitutional Convention," 199.

33. Brooks, a Kentucky native and former Union army chaplain, had edited the *St. Louis Central Christian Advocate*, an abolitionist newspaper, during the 1850s. Running as a "reform" Republican with Democratic support, he later lost to regular Republican Elisha Baxter in Arkansas' 1872 gubernatorial election. His efforts to reverse that outcome then led to the Brooks-Baxter War, which witnessed Brooks occupying the governor's mansion briefly in April of 1874 and involved sporadic fighting throughout the state for several months. Eventually President Ulysses S. Grant determined Baxter, who had by then made overtures to Democrats, the state's legitimate governor; Brooks then

obtained employment as Little Rock's postmaster until his death in 1875. The "war," however, had given Democrats a political opening, setting the stage for a constitutional convention in 1874, a new constitution, and the end of Reconstruction in Arkansas. See Roller and Twyman, *Encyclopedia of Southern History*, 150–51.

34. *Debates and Proceedings of the Convention of Arkansas*, 252–53; Staples, *Reconstruction in Arkansas*, 178. The disputed delegates thus seated were validated too late to play a meaningful role in the convention, and it is impossible from the meager record of their activities to determine with any confidence their political leanings.

35. *Daily Arkansas Gazette* (Little Rock), January 19, 1868, 2. Votes on convention funding are included in this scale; those in the economic scale involve railroads, the Hot Spring reservation, and state finances. Hinds, an outside white New York native residing in Pulaski County, was returned to Congress in the election in which the new Arkansas constitution was ratified. He was later assassinated on October 22, 1868, in an attack in which Joseph Brooks was also wounded. See Hume, "'Black and Tan' Conventions," 318.

36. *Little Rock Evening Republican*, January 17, 1868, 2; *Daily Arkansas Gazette* (Little Rock), January 18, 1868, 2. Cyfert had served in Arkansas' secession convention; he was later elected to the state's 1874 constitutional convention as well. See *Journal of Both Sessions of the Convention of the State of Arkansas, Which Were Begun and Held in the Capitol, in the City of Little Rock* (Little Rock: Johnson and Yerkes, State Printers, 1861), 9; and "Proceedings of the Constitutional Convention of the People of the State of Arkansas, Convened at the Capitol, July 14, 1874," manuscript in *Records of the States of the United States of America: A Microfilm Compilation Prepared by the Library of Congress in Association with the University of North Carolina*, ed. William Sumner Jenkins, Arkansas C, reel 2 (Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress Photoduplication Service, 1949), 26.

37. *Daily Arkansas Gazette* (Little Rock), February 8, 1868, 2; *Little Rock Evening Republican*, February 6, 1868, 2. As finally formulated, article 8 of the Arkansas constitution "barred from voting men disqualified from office under the Fourteenth Amendment as well as those who had 'violated the rules of civilized warfare' during the Civil War, and required all voters to take an oath acknowledging black civil and political equality." See Eric Foner, *Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution, 1863–1877* (New York: Harper and Row, 1988), 324.

38. Governor Powell Clayton noted his interest in railroads in his first address to the legislature on July 3, 1868. See Powell Clayton, *The Aftermath of the Civil War in Arkansas* (New York: Neal Publishing Company, 1915), 43–44. Clayton was also president of a railroad, the Little Rock, Mississippi and Texas, which ran through his own plantation and presented him with shipping opportunities much superior to those offered by the Arkansas River. See Richard Nelson Current, *Those Terrible Carpetbaggers: A Reinterpretation* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 300. The three-man investigative committee consisted of President Bowen, W. W. Adams (southern white), and Thomas Smith, an outside white Union army surgeon destined to become Arkansas' superintendent of public instruction.

39. *Debates and Proceedings of the Convention of Arkansas*, 230.

40. *Little Rock Evening Republican*, January 17, 1862, 2; *Daily Arkansas Gazette* (Little Rock), January 18, 1868, 2. For a detailed discussion of this particular railroad matter (and others as well) see George H. Thompson, *Arkansas and Reconstruction: The Influence of Geography, Economics, and Personality* (Port Washington, N.Y.: Kennikat Press, 1976), 191, 194, 199, 201–2. The leading authority on railroads in the Reconstruction-era South notes that Brooks's resolution was toothless anyway after it was amended to forbid the special committee from incurring any expenses. See Mark W. Summers, *Railroads, Reconstruction, and the Gospel of Prosperity: Aid under the Radical Republicans, 1865–1877* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984), 23.

41. *Debates and Proceedings of the Convention of Arkansas*, 486; Howard R. Lamar, ed., *The New Encyclopedia of the American West* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), 498; *Little Rock Evening Republican*, February 6, 1868, 2; *Daily Arkansas Gazette* (Little Rock), February 8, 1868, 2; February 15, 1868, 2.

42. *Debates and Proceedings of the Convention of Arkansas*, 175, 179, 212, 821, 180, 184, 193, 395, 418, 536–37, 656–57, 756; *Daily Arkansas Gazette* (Little Rock), January 19, 1868, 2; January 21, 1868, 2; January 22, 1868, 2; February 1, 1868, 2; February 9, 1868, 2; *Little Rock Evening Republican*, January 18, 1868, 2; January 21, 1868, 2; Feb-

ruary 7, 1868, 2. On February 14, some 15 southern white delegates, designated with asterisks beside their names in the Arkansas sections of appendix C, refused to sign the new constitution, denouncing it as “anti-republican, proscriptive, and destructive of the liberties, rights, and privileges of the State.” See Hume, “‘Black and Tan’ Conventions,” 289n.

43. *Little Rock Evening Republican*, January 24, 1868, 2; February 1, 1868, 2; Randy Finley, *From Slavery to Uncertain Freedom: The Freedmen’s Bureau in Arkansas, 1865–1869* (Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 1996), 164–65. Significantly, given Mason’s action, Chicot County’s bureau agent, Thomas Hunnicutt, often forced freedmen to move to plantations whose owners had bribed him to obtain laborers. He had also “transformed his Bureau office into a brothel as he forced freedwomen to perform sexual acts before he helped them find lost family members or gain contractual pledges.” See Randy Finley, “The Personnel of the Freedmen’s Bureau in Arkansas,” in *The Freedmen’s Bureau and Reconstruction: Reconsiderations*, ed. Paul A. Cimbala and Randall M. Miller (New York: Fordham University Press, 1999), 100.

44. This was the only scaled vote Republicans lost in the Arkansas convention. The group of 34 who voted against sending this measure to committee included 30 southern whites, 3 outside whites, and 1 black.

45. *Daily Arkansas Gazette* (Little Rock), January 30, 1868, 2; February 1, 1868, 1; *Little Rock Evening Republican*, January 31, 1868, 2; February 5, 1868, 2; Hume, “Arkansas Constitutional Convention of 1868,” 188–91; Paul C. Palmer, “Miscegenation as an Issue in the Arkansas Constitutional Convention of 1868,” *Arkansas Historical Quarterly* 24 (Summer 1965): 99–119.

46. For the support scores of the three southern white groups, and of black and outside white delegates as well, refer to the Virginia and Arkansas sections of appendix B, in which RSSs are assigned to all delegates who participated in sufficient roll calls to be allocated such designations.

47. The median figures for Virginia are \$6,500 for the young group, \$9,700 for the middle group, and \$5,000 for the older group. In Arkansas the median figures are \$1,800 for the young group, \$1,020 for the middle group, and \$2,000 for the older group.

48. As noted previously, 15 southern white delegates, designated with asterisks beside their names in the Arkansas sections of appendix C, refused to sign the new constitution. See *Debates and Proceedings of the Convention of Arkansas*, 665–66, 756.

49. Staples, *Reconstruction in Arkansas*, 248–53; Cal Ledbetter Jr., “The Constitution of 1868: Conqueror’s Constitution or Constitutional Continuity?” *Arkansas Historical Quarterly* 44 (Summer 1985): 31–35, 39–41; idem., “The Office of Governor in Arkansas History,” *Arkansas Historical Quarterly* 37 (Spring 1978): 60–61; House Executive Document 278, 40th Cong., 2d sess., 4; Clayton, *Aftermath in Arkansas*, 38–49; Current, *Those Terrible Carpetbaggers*, 136–37.

50. A total of 33 delegates had signed protests, appearing in the *Daily Richmond Whig* of April 20 (30 delegates) and 21 (3 delegates), 1868, against the constitution. Each of these protestors is noted with an asterisk beside his name in the Virginia sections of appendix C.

51. In late March, General Schofield, who feared that James Hunnicutt (the outspoken radical southern white leader in the constitutional convention) might secure the Republican nomination for governor, had removed Francis Pierpont from that office and replaced him with Wells. Patricia Hickin, “Henry Horatio Wells: The Rise and Fall of a Carpetbagger,” in *The Governors of Virginia, 1860–1978*, ed. Edward Younger and James Tice Moore (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1982), 48–50; Lowe, *Republicans in Virginia*, 144–52.

52. Sene, from Latin, meaning “old,” is a stock figure of the elderly man in literature.

53. *Richmond Daily Dispatch*, December 25, 1868, 2; Alex[ander] H. H. Stuart, *A Narrative of the Leading Incidents of the Organization of the First Popular Movement in Virginia in 1865 to Re-Establish Peaceful Relations Between the Northern and Southern States, and of the Subsequent Efforts of the “Committee of Nine,” in 1869 to Secure the Restoration of Virginia to the Union* (Richmond: Wm. Ellis Jones Book and Job Printer, 1888), passim; Lowe, *Republicans in Vir-*

ginia, 160–63, 172; Foner, *Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution*, 412. For detail on the constitution's test oath (article 3, section 7) and disenfranchisement provisions (section 1, clause 4) see Boney, Hume, and Zafar, *Autobiography of George Teamoh*, 192n.

54. Lowe, *Republicans in Virginia*, 165–67, 171; Crandall A. Shifflett, “Gilbert Carlton Walker: Carpetbag Conservative,” in Younger and Moore, *Governors of Virginia*, 57–61. Although they would later come into conflict over Governor Walker's railroad policy, Walker was, at the time of his election, a close associate of William Mahone, a former Confederate general and prominent local railroad promoter. Shifflett, “Gilbert Carlton Walker,” 65.

55. Lowe, *Republicans in Virginia*, 172, 179, 181.

56. For detail on the role of conservatives in the ratification of the Virginia constitution, see Jack Maddex Jr., *The Virginia Conservatives, 1867–1879: A Study in Reconstruction Politics* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1970), 60–85.

57. Some of these issues dated back to the convention. For example, the 1866 legislature had contracted with three individuals, one of whom was future delegate James Hodges, to run the state penitentiary. As noted previously, the convention investigated the management of that institution, and Governor Clayton was later openly critical of Hodges's role in that activity. See Martha A. Ellenburg, “Reconstruction in Arkansas” (Ph.D. diss., University of Missouri, 1967), 156–59.

CHAPTER 4: ALABAMA AND MISSISSIPPI

EPIGRAPHS: Henry J. Springfield et al. to Congressman Thaddeus Stephens [sic], April 21, 1868, House Select Committee on Reconstruction files, RG 233, box 1, Various Alabama Affairs, National Archives, Washington, D.C. Springfield, a Georgia native and longtime Alabama resident, had deserted the Confederate army and then served throughout the war as a Union captain. In this letter, he also wished to make “none” (known) to Stevens that he, like other St. Clair County Republicans, was constantly threatened by armed men who “cald their selves cue clucks and . . . travel only by Knight. . . .”

Springfield was later wounded in a horrific and prolonged Klan ambush that took place over several days. On July 8–9, 1870, his home was attacked by some 200 armed men. In a subsequent investigation at Springfield's residence, an army officer “‘found on the side windows of his bedroom Twelve distinct bulletholes—in the front window of same room Ten—in the side wall of same room Thirty Five, in the front Fifty, all of which passed clear through the room and partitions and cut many of his wife's dresses which were hanging on the partition.’ The rest of the house and its outhouses, too, were ‘riddled with bullet holes’ to such an extent that the officer could not count them.” See Margaret M. Storey, *Loyalty and Loss: Alabama's Unionists in the Civil War and Reconstruction* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press), 220–21; and House Report 22, pt. 9, 42d Cong., 2d sess., 1171, 1217–19.

Walter Stricklin quoted in *Journal of the Proceedings in the Constitutional Convention of the State of Mississippi, 1868* (Jackson: E. Stafford, 1871), 209, 411.

1. *Official Journal of the Constitutional Convention of the State of Alabama, Held in the City of Montgomery, Commencing on Tuesday, November 5th, A.D. 1867* (Montgomery: Barrett and Brown, 1868), 3, 247; *Journal of the Convention of Mississippi*, 3, 720.

2. John H. Napier III, “Montgomery during the Civil War,” *Alabama Review* 41 (April 1988): 103–31.

3. At least as Reconstruction was getting under way, it appears that scalawags were a bit more of a force in Alabama, where one of their own was chosen convention president, than in Mississippi, where delegates selected a carpetbagger to preside over their deliberations. For exceptional studies of Alabama scalawags, see Sarah Woolfolk Wiggins, *The Scalawag in Alabama Politics, 1865–1881* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1977); and Storey, *Loyalty and Loss*. For Mississippi, see David Donald, “The Scalawag in Mississippi Reconstruction,” *Journal of Southern History* 10 (November 1944): 447–60; David G. Sansing, “The Role of the Scalawag in Mississippi Reconstruction”

(Ph.D. diss., University of Southern Mississippi, 1969); and William C. Harris, “A Reconsideration of the Mississippi Scalawag,” *Journal of Mississippi History* 32 (February 1970): 3–42.

4. House Executive Document 342, 40th Cong., 2d sess., 132, 99–100; Richard H. Abbott, *The Republican Party and the South, 1855–1877: The First Southern Strategy* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1986), 127–28, 131; Wiggins, *Scalawag in Alabama*, 20–24; Storey, *Loyalty and Loss*, 196–97; William C. Harris, *The Day of the Carpet-bagger: Republican Reconstruction in Mississippi* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1979), 103–6, 86.

5. Senate Executive Document 14, 40th Cong., 1st sess., 93–94; House Executive Document 342, 40th Cong., 2d sess., 116–17, 140–41. For details on these elections and on the composition of the Alabama and Mississippi electorates, see Senate Executive Document 53, 40th Cong., 2d sess., 8, 10; Storey, *Loyalty and Loss*, 204–5; James T. Currie, “The Beginnings of Congressional Reconstruction in Mississippi,” *Journal of Mississippi History* 35 (August 1973): 276–77; and “Election Returns from the District of Alabama,” Records of the United States Army Continental Commands, 1821–1920, Third Military District Bureau of Civil Affairs, vol. 24, RG 393, National Archives, Washington, D.C. Gillem’s report did not break down Mississippi voters by race; Currie calculates the breakdown as 58,385 whites and 79,176 blacks. Although his total (136,672) is a bit less than that of the actual sum (137,561) of those two totals, it appears that blacks comprised some 57.6% of Mississippi’s electorate. We have not determined precisely the racial breakdown of the voters who cast ballots for or against the convention in Mississippi, but those voting against it were clearly almost entirely southern whites.

6. Two multicounty districts comprised counties that spanned different regions: district 7, comprising Pike and Bullock (Piney Woods/Wiregrass and Black Belt regions, respectively) and district 18, which comprised Sumter and Pickens counties (Black Belt and Piedmont). Each of these districts returned two delegates from each of its two counties (eight total). Two district 7 delegates (Folmar and Latham) were from Pike County, and two (Black and Royal) were from Bullock County. Two district 18 delegates (Inge and Yordy) were from Sumter County, and two (Brunson and Rolfe) were from Pickens County.

7. Mississippi southern white and black delegates were older than those in Alabama; Alabama’s outside whites were slightly older than Mississippi’s. Occupations of 94 Alabama delegates (55 southern whites, 16 blacks, and 23 outside whites) have been established, as have those of 83 Mississippi delegates (49 southern whites, 14 blacks, 20 outside whites). Only one black in the two conventions, James Rapier of Alabama, listed his occupation as planter. For detail on Rapier, who became a congressman, see Loren Schweningen, *James T. Rapier and Reconstruction* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1978).

Several outside white federal employees in Alabama were employed by the Freedmen’s Bureau when elected as delegates. Those counted as judicial officers in table 4.4, however, obviously would not secure such positions (as enumerated in the 1870 manuscript census) until the Republicans came to power in their respective states. In fact, then, a number of these local government employees were actually lawyers as the conventions assembled. For detail on the ages and professions of individual Alabama and Mississippi delegates on whom such data are available, see the appropriate sections of appendix C.

8. Hays’s 1860 assets are recorded in the 1860 manuscript census returns free schedule, Boligee Precinct, 40, and in the 1860 slave schedule, Boligee Precinct, 93–94. For Field’s slaveholdings, see the 1860 slave schedule, Lowndes County, 353–54, 386. On at least one occasion, Field’s considerable slaveholdings had caused him legal difficulties. In 1844, he had been convicted of having more than six slaves quartered more than a mile from his residence without proper supervision. He was fined \$500, which was later forgiven. See Governor Albert G. Brown to Sheriff of Lowndes County, April 17, 1844, Governors’ Records, series E, vol. 35, Administration of Governor Albert G. Brown, Mississippi Department of Archives and History, Jackson, Miss. On January 7, 1868, the wealthy Field offered an unsuccessful resolution requiring that each delegate meet his expenses out of pocket. See *Journal of the Convention of Mississippi*, 7. Delegate Thomas Stringer, a black minister from Warren County, moved successfully to table Field’s initiative.

9. Thomas M Owen, *History of Alabama and Dictionary of Alabama Biography* (Chicago: S. J. Clarke Publishing Company, 1921), 4:133; Storey, *Loyalty and Loss*, 207; Francis B. Heitman, *Historical Register and Dictionary of the United States Army, From Its Organization, September 29, 1789, to March 2, 1903* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1903), 1:400; Harris, *Day of the Carpetbagger*, 129; Thomas G. Dyer, *Secret Yankees: The Union Circle in Confederate Atlanta* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999), 224. Peck, who held 19 bondsmen in 1860, was worth \$100,000 at that time and \$90,000 in 1870. See 1870 manuscript census returns, City of Tuscaloosa, Precinct 16, 91; 1860 manuscript census returns, City of Tuscaloosa, 34; 1860 slave schedule, 25. In 1870, Eggleston, who later moved to Wichita, Kansas, still resided in Columbus, where he was employed as a U.S. assessor, listing total assets of \$5,000. See 1870 manuscript census returns, City of Columbus, 94.

10. Southern whites accounted for 56.6% of Alabama's delegates; blacks, 17.2%; outside whites, 24.2%; and unclassified whites, 2%. In Mississippi the mix was 56.3% southern whites, 17.7% blacks, 21.9% outside whites, and 4.1% unclassified whites. For Alabama appointments, see *Official Journal of the Convention of Alabama*, 9–10. For Mississippi appointments, see *Journal of the Convention of Mississippi*, 37–38, 56, 234–35, 294, 296–97, 343. Three of the Mississippi convention's 16 standing committees—those on the Gas Company, the Investigation of Governor Humphrey's Proclamation, and the Investigation of Charges against General Barry—functioned as special committees and are not included in the table 4.7 figures. In addition, since the Mississippi franchise article was framed by a special committee, the members of that body are also not included in that table.

11. For biographical data on each of these 99 delegates—arranged under headings of southern whites, blacks, and outside whites—consult the Alabama sections of appendix C. Our delegate breakdown is based on secondary sources, contemporary newspapers and documents, and especially the manuscript returns of the *Ninth Census of the United States, 1870* and the *Eighth Census of the United States, 1860*.

Although elected to the convention, J. J. Gilder never took part in its proceedings. In addition to Gilder, we have failed to determine whether two unclassified whites—Hugh McGown and Charles Whitney—were northerners or southerners. While we count 56 southern whites, 17 blacks, 24 outside whites, and 2 unclassified whites among Alabama's 99 delegates, other accounts have differed considerably over these numbers. Total delegate counts in Alabama have ranged from 98 to 108 overall and from 16 to 19 for blacks.

For black delegate totals in agreement with ours, see Eric Foner, *Freedom's Lawmakers: A Directory of Black Officeholders During Reconstruction*, rev. ed. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1996), 273–74; and Peter Kolchin, *First Freedom: The Responses of Alabama's Blacks to Emancipation and Reconstruction* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1972), 163. For more startling disparities than this relatively small one regarding black delegates, see Walter L. Fleming, *Civil War and Reconstruction in Alabama* (New York: Columbia University Press, Macmillan Company agents, 1905), 517–18, which claims that the convention had 37 or 38 outside white delegates; and W. E. B. Du Bois, *Black Reconstruction in America: An Essay toward a History of the Part Which Black Folk Played in the Attempt to Reconstruct Democracy in America, 1860–1880* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1935; reprint, New York: Russell and Russell, 1964), 490, which counts 31 northern whites among Alabama delegates. For additional varied counts of delegates and delegate factions, see Richard L. Hume, "The 'Black and Tan' Conventions of 1867–1869 in Ten Former Confederate States: A Study of Their Membership" (Ph.D. diss., University of Washington, 1969), 11–12n.

12. Horace Mann Bond, "Social and Economic Forces in Alabama Reconstruction," *Journal of Negro History* 23 (July 1938): 347. Democratic and Republican legislators worked together in Alabama in 1868, offering railroad subsidies ranging from \$12,000 to \$16,000 per mile. These payments went to Democratic-controlled roads, such as the Mobile and Montgomery; they also supported lines such as the East Alabama and Cincinnati, with which Republican governor William Smith was associated. For a study of Reconstruction-era southern railroads generally, with mention of bipartisan cooperation in Alabama in particular, see Mark W. Summers, *Railroads, Reconstruction, and the Gospel of Prosperity: Aid under the Radical Republicans, 1865–1877* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984),

77–78, 216, 219, 234–35. Interestingly, Nathan Bedford Forrest, Grand Wizard of the Ku Klux Klan and president of the Selma, Marion, and Memphis Railroad, worked closely with William Blackford, a Hale County Republican leader and Alabama convention delegate, in promoting their mutual railroad interests. Forrest even publicly criticized Roland Randolph, the outspoken conservative editor of the *Tuscaloosa Independent Monitor*, who had attacked Blackford in that newspaper. See Allen W. Trelease, *White Terror: The Ku Klux Klan Conspiracy and Southern Reconstruction* (New York: Harper and Row, Publishers, 1971), 259–60. Although they later cooperated with Democrats in the building of railroads, it is also clear that Alabama Republicans were divided among themselves on key economic issues, a fact reflected in our inability to scale economic votes. In her analysis of the Alabama convention, *Loyalty and Loss*, Margaret Storey notes that scalawag delegates were more focused on the disenfranchisement of rebels than on any specific program of debtor relief or land redistribution (208–14).

13. *Official Journal of the Convention of Alabama*, 16–17, 105–6, 131–32, 239–40. Haughey served as a Republican member of Congress from late July of 1868 to early March of 1869. A candidate for reelection, he was shot in Courtland, Alabama, on July 31; he died on August 5, 1869. See *Biographical Directory of the United States Congress 1774–1989* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1989), 1153. The constitution as finally adopted mandated identical state and county residence requirements—six months—both for voters generally and for members of the House of Representatives.

14. *Official Journal of the Convention of Alabama*, 65–66, 70–71. Nothing came of the efforts to rename Cleburne County or to rename Colbert County in honor of William G. Brownlow (the prominent Tennessee Unionist). See Storey, *Loyalty and Loss*, 207–8n.

15. *Mobile Daily Advertiser and Register*, November 10, 1867, 2; November 15, 1867, 2; November 16, 1867, 1; *Montgomery Weekly Advertiser*, November 19, 1867, 1; Malcolm Cook McMillan, *Constitutional Development in Alabama, 1798–1901: A Study in Politics, Sectionalism, and the Negro* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1955), 124–26; *Official Journal of the Convention of Alabama*, 21–22, 30–37; William Warren Rogers Jr., *Black Belt Scalawag: Charles Hays and the Southern Republicans in the Era of Reconstruction* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1993), 23–24; Richard Bailey, *Neither Carpetbaggers nor Scalawags: Black Officeholders during the Reconstruction of Alabama 1867–1878*, 3d ed. (Montgomery: Richard Bailey Publishers, 1995), 48–49; Fleming, *Reconstruction in Alabama*, 518n. Speed was a cousin of recent U.S. attorney general James Speed. Benjamin Wheelan (southern white) and Thomas Lee (black) also signed the minority report. Besides Griffin, Joseph Davis (southern white) and two outside whites (John Keffer and Benjamin Norris) endorsed the majority document.

16. McMillan, *Constitutional Development in Alabama*, 126–31; *Mobile Daily Advertiser and Register*, November 16, 1867, 1.

17. Storey, *Loyalty and Loss*, 213–14.

18. *Official Journal of the Convention of Alabama*, 99; McMillan, *Constitutional Development in Alabama*, 95, 99; Bailey, *Neither Carpetbaggers nor Scalawags*, 48–49; Abbott, *Republican Party and the South*, 140–41; *Mobile Daily Advertiser and Register*, November 22, 1867, 1. The Reconstruction Act of March 23, 1867, required that a majority of all voters registered (not just of those actually voting in a ratification referendum) endorse a Black and Tan constitution before it was to go into effect. Section 2, clause 3, of the original majority franchise report, then, represented an effort on the part of Republican delegates to thwart the possibility of opponents registering, sitting out the ratification election, and consequently defeating Alabama's new constitution on a technicality. That is, even though a majority of those voting would have endorsed the document, the total so doing would not comprise a majority of all registered voters in the state.

19. *Official Journal of the Convention of Alabama*, 152–53; *Mobile Daily Advertiser and Register*, November 28, 1867, 1, 2.

20. *Official Journal of the Convention of Alabama*, 149, 152–54, 159, 223–24, 188–89, 217–18; *Mobile Daily Advertiser and Register*, November 28, 1867, 2; December 1, 1867, 3; Fleming, *Reconstruction in Alabama*, 518n; McMillan,

Constitutional Development in Alabama, 134–36, 139–40, 143–46; Bailey, *Neither Carpetbaggers nor Scalawags*, 49–52. The second vote on interracial marriages involved an attempt by J. W. Wilhite (a southern white from Winston County) to follow up on Semple's effort to secure prohibition of such unions. The new constitution as drafted provided for one or more schools per district, which pupils ages 5 to 21 could attend free of charge.

21. *Official Journal of the Convention of Alabama*, 159–69; *Mobile Daily Advertiser and Register*, November 30, 1867, 1; McMillan, *Constitutional Development in Alabama*, 141–42. The precise sequence of events by which Semple's report was revised is sometimes unclear because of lacunae in the convention journal. The Alabama and North Carolina Black and Tan constitutions were the only two that provided for the election of all judges.

22. Four of the 100 delegates elected to the Mississippi convention—S. C. Barnes, W. J. Lilley, John Moodey, and George VanHook—never took part in its proceedings. In general, there is less disagreement about the racial/geographic origin mix of Mississippi delegates than there is about that of Alabama's delegates. Various accounts, however, are in conflict, with counts ranging from 16 to 18 black delegates. Our total of 17 agrees with that in Foner, *Freedom's Lawmakers*, 273–74. For examples of additional discrepancies in Mississippi, including one account placing the black delegate count at 30, see Hume, "'Black and Tan' Conventions," 328–29n.

23. Dunbar Rowland, ed., *Mississippi: Comprising Sketches of Counties, Towns, Events, Institutions, and Persons, Arranged in Cyclopedic Form* (Atlanta: Southern Historical Association, 1907), 3:941–42; Thomas B. Alexander and Richard E. Beringer, *The Anatomy of the Confederate Congress: A Study of the Influence of Member Characteristics on Legislative Voting Behavior, 1861–1865* (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 1972), 388–89. Watson, a former Whig who had opposed secession, had previously sat in Mississippi's 1851 and 1865 constitutional conventions. During the war, he lost two sons in the Confederate cause.

24. Barry, a former Union general, had also served as the colonel of the 8th United States Colored Artillery before graduating from George Washington University (then Columbian College) Law School. He was later elected to three terms in Congress (1870–75). See *Biographical Directory of Congress*, 582–83.

25. Although an outside white, Townsend was a vocal anti-Reconstructionist. On April 16, 1868, he got into a fistfight with fellow outside white Beroth B. Eggleston, the convention president. See J. S. McNeily, "From Organization to Overthrow of Mississippi's Provisional Government, 1865–1868," *Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society*, Centenary Series, 1 (1916): 366.

26. Compton, who organized the Ku Klux Klan in his home county and held the position of Grand Giant there, later became a Republican and moved to Jackson, where he served as the director of the state insane asylum. McNeily, "From Organization to Overthrow," 163. Although each Mississippi county was initially given at least one representative to the lower house, the final constitutional wording allowed for apportionment by either county or district. A number of delegates felt that each county should have at least one representative and that allowing apportionment by multicounty districts might deprive some counties of a resident representative of their own.

27. *Journal of the Convention of Mississippi*, 29.

28. *Ibid.*, 155, 203.

29. *Ibid.*, 212, 213–14, 242–43. The Mississippi legislature had passed an apprenticeship law in 1865, as a section of the state's notorious Black Code. This code created an uproar in the North (climaxing in a threat from the *Chicago Tribune* to turn Mississippi into a frog pond) and contributed significantly to the rapid demise of Presidential Reconstruction. See William C. Harris, *Presidential Reconstruction in Mississippi* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1967), 137–38; and Eric L. McKittrick, *Andrew Johnson and Reconstruction* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960), 170, 178. Watson's measure, which asserted that slavery was not to exist in the state, required the legislature to secure employment and training for youths "whose condition will manifestly be improved by their apprenticeship to virtuous citizens." It was later dropped from what eventually became section 19 of the bill of rights, which simply prohibited slavery.

30. *Journal of the Convention of Mississippi*, 156, 255–56, 559–60, 721.

31. Harris, *Day of the Carpetbagger*, 29, 132. Republican delegates would be upset with Humphreys for other reasons as well. In February of 1868 Jefferson Davis himself appeared in Jackson as the governor's houseguest.

32. *Journal of the Convention of Mississippi*, 32, 105. Morgan, a charismatic Republican leader, in 1870 married Carrie Highgate, a mixed-race schoolteacher. See Current, *Those Terrible Carpetbaggers*, 179–81. He also left an exciting personal narrative of his experiences in Mississippi: A. T. Morgan, *Yazoo; or, On the Picket Line of Freedom in the South: A Personal Narrative*, ed. Otto H. Olsen (New York: Russell and Russell, 1968).

33. *Journal of the Convention of Mississippi*, 316, 317–18. On the following day Stovall's amendment was in fact tabled, causing conservative opinion leader Ethelbert Barksdale to editorialize against the “scheme of plunder and miscegenation designed . . . to supercede the laws of our civilization with the horrible creed of the Black and Tan socialists. . . .” See Harris, *Day of the Carpetbagger*, 149.

34. *Journal of the Convention of Mississippi*, 318, 324–25.

35. *Ibid.*, 364, 479–80.

36. *Ibid.*, 34–35, 39–40.

37. *Ibid.*, 254, 264–65.

38. *Ibid.*, 309–12, 527; Harris, *Day of the Carpetbagger*, 146–47.

39. Harris, *Day of the Carpetbagger*, 134–35; *Journal of the Convention of Mississippi*, 61–62, 68–70, 221, 237–39, 246, 259–60, 267, 269. The cotton tax, initially \$1 per bale, was immediately halved by a successful amendment from Charles Neilson (southern white of Amite County).

40. *Journal of the Convention of Mississippi*, 188–90; James Tyson Currie, “Conflict and Consensus: Creating the 1868 Mississippi Constitution” (M.A. thesis, University of Virginia, 1969), 34.

41. *Journal of the Convention of Mississippi*, 188–90, 381–82, 491, 499, 518–19, 520–23, 543. For details on the heated discussions involving white disenfranchisement see Harris, *Day of the Carpetbagger*, 147. The 14 delegates (13 southern whites and an outside white) who withdrew as a consequence of these discussions are denoted with asterisks beside their names in the appropriate Mississippi sections of appendix C.

42. *Journal of the Convention of Mississippi*, 156, 266, 347, 353.

43. *Ibid.*, 323, 382–83, 544, 657–58, 732–33.

44. Note the narrative and the map in Storey, *Loyalty and Loss*, 30, 33. The latter depicts the “cooperationist” strength in north Alabama demonstrated in elections for delegates to the secession convention. Cooperationists, Storey notes, “like unionists, believed that secession was the least justified response to Lincoln's election.”

45. In the case of Mississippi, however, the Republican majority was less secure than these figures suggest. Some 15 delegates (denoted with asterisks beside their names in the Mississippi sections of appendix C) resigned from the convention. With the exception of Charles Townsend, an outside white, all were southern whites. Before resigning, these 15 delegates cast 455 scaled votes, only 36 of which favored Republican positions—giving this group a minuscule overall RSS of .40. In addition, 15 Mississippi delegates (identified in the Mississippi section of appendix B) failed to vote often enough to be assigned RSSs. These delegates (4 of whom were also among the 15 who resigned) cast 100 of their 290 votes in support of Republican initiatives, yielding a nearly conservative overall RSS of 1.72. In addition, President Beroth B. Eggleston and two unclassified white delegates (Duncan McWilliams and Isham G. Rainey) also failed to vote frequently enough to be assigned support scores. Overall, then, only 81% (78 of 96) of delegates in attendance at the Mississippi convention voted often enough to be assigned RSSs. This percentage was the lowest among any of the conventions in which such scores were assigned (votes failed to scale in the South Carolina convention and in the Florida convention, scaled divisions were between Republican factions). In each of the other conventions except Georgia's (where 87% of delegates were scored), more than 90% of delegates in attendance voted with enough consistency to be given support scores.

46. In *Loyalty and Loss* (205), Storey identifies 4 Democratic delegates, while we denote 18 conservative ones.

Given the parameters of our voting behavior classification system, then, it would appear that some 14 Republican delegates actually voted conservatively.

47. As noted, the ten southern whites from the Black Belt returned an average overall RSS of only 1.38.

48. For the voting tallies of the three southern white groups, and of black and outside white delegates as well, refer to the Alabama and Mississippi sections of appendix B, in which RSSs are assigned to all delegates who participated in sufficient roll calls to be allocated such designations.

49. Hume, “‘Black and Tan’ Conventions,” 32n. Nine delegates who eventually voted against passage of the constitution were allowed to sign a protest against its adoption: John Alexander, Charles Cabot, William Ewing, George Graves, James Hurst, Samuel Latham, John Meadors, Henry Semple, and Joseph Speed. Originally, 16 delegates had signed this protest, but the names of 7 who did not actually vote against passage (H. Ransom Deal, James Folmar, Early Greathouse, John Jolly, Timothy Russell, James Stewart, and Toliver Towles) were stricken from that document. On December 5, two additional delegates, James Stow and J. W. Wilhite, also offered formal protests against the constitution. These 18 delegates, all of whom were southern whites, are denoted with an asterisk beside their names in the Alabama sections of appendix C.

50. William A. Dunning, *Essays on the Civil War and Reconstruction* (New York: Macmillan Company, 1897; reprint, New York: Harper and Row, 1965), 204; Rogers, *Black Belt Scalawag*, 24–25; Fleming, *Reconstruction in Alabama*, 534–41; Wiggins, *Scalawag in Alabama*, 33–36; Michael W. Fitzgerald, *Urban Emancipation: Popular Politics in Reconstruction Mobile, 1860–1890* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2002), 114–17; Storey, *Loyalty and Loss*, 215–17. According to General Meade, in totals that were in dispute and clearly not entirely accurate, 71,817 voters had cast ballots in February. A total of 70,812 had endorsed the constitution, while only 1,005 had opposed it. Thus some 22,392 fewer voters cast ballots in February 1868 than had done so in October 1867. Meade, who later opted not to count returns from Dale, Henry, Lowndes, and Sumter Counties, eventually concluded that the constitution had failed to pass by 8,114 votes. For details on the election see House Executive Document 238, 40th Cong., 2d sess., 2; and House Miscellaneous Document 111, 40th Cong., 2d sess., *passim*.

51. Smith had been unopposed in the gubernatorial election. Conservatives, who had resolved to boycott the February ratification referendum, had also not run candidates for either state or local offices.

52. House Executive Document 1, 40th Cong., 3d sess., 590–603; Harris, *Day of the Carpetbagger*, 157–98; James Wilford Garner, *Reconstruction in Mississippi* (New York: Macmillan Company, 1901), 205–21; Current, *Those Terrible Carpetbaggers*, 115–16; Vernon Lane Wharton, *The Negro in Mississippi, 1865–1890* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1947), 150–53; Currie, “Mississippi Constitution,” 64–65; John Roy Lynch, *The Facts of Reconstruction*, ed. William C. Harris (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1970), 20–23. At the time of the Mississippi referendum, General Irvin McDowell had briefly (from June 4 to July 4) replaced Gillem in command of the Fourth Military District. Before turning authority over to McDowell, Gillem had removed Governor (and gubernatorial candidate) Humphreys from office because of the latter’s opposition to the new constitution. Humphreys was replaced by General Adelbert Ames, who then acted as provisional governor. Although this defeat represented the only instance in which a majority of voters actually balloted against ratification of a Black and Tan constitution (56,231 for to 63,860 against), there is no study that explains adequately the reasons for this stunning Republican defeat. Although the state’s electorate consisted of approximately 86,000 blacks and 69,000 whites, the constitution failed to pass by some 7,629 votes. While James Garner attributed this outcome to white unity, William Harris ascribed it to intimidation of black voters. See James Levon Williams Jr. “Civil War and Reconstruction in the Yazoo Mississippi Delta, 1863–1865” (Ph.D. diss., University of Arizona, 1992), 153. In the most recent and systematic study of the ratification election, Lawrence N. Powell emphasizes General Gillem’s role in the Republican debacle, noting: “His tilt toward the conservatives resembles the conduct of John M. Schofield in Virginia and George G. Meade in Florida, two military commanders whose heavy-handed interference in the reconstruction process kept the radicals from gain-

ing political ascendancy.” See Lawrence N. Powell, “Correcting for Fraud: A Quantitative Reassessment of the Mississippi Ratification Election of 1868,” *Journal of Southern History* 55 (November 1989): 656.

While the constitution carried in the counties bordering the Mississippi River, it did not in many counties of the state’s other regions. In the ten counties with the greatest percentages of blacks among their electorates (Issaquena, Washington, Bolivar, Sunflower, Adams, Wilkinson, Lowndes, Noxubee, Jefferson, and Coahoma), the convention referendum carried by 98.8% and the constitution plebiscite by 77.2%. In the state’s ten counties with the smallest percentages of blacks among their electorates (Itawamba, Davis [Jones], Tishomingo, Neshoba, Calhoun, Tippah, Pontotoc, Choctaw, Smith, and Lee), 19.9% of voters opposed the convention and 81.1% opposed the constitution. Clearly, therefore, many whites, who had boycotted the referendum on the convention then voted against the constitution.

The total vote against the constitution (63,860) was more than ten times the 6,277 ballots cast against the convention. Humphreys defeated Eggleston by a count of 63,321 to 55,250; these totals reflected, respectively, the votes against and for the constitution. According to William Harris, the constitution’s fate “was decided by the suppression of Republican votes. Yet it is clear that had the constitution been stripped of its proscriptive. . . features the outcome would have been different. White unity behind a militant campaign to carry the election could not have been achieved if the constitution had not included these inflammatory clauses” (*Day of the Carpetbagger*, 196–97). According to James Levon Williams, however, the new constitution disenfranchised “no more than 2,500 men in the entire state.” See Williams, “Reconstruction in the Yazoo Mississippi Delta,” 145.

53. *Journal of the Convention of Mississippi*, 586. The Committee on Ratification consisted of delegates William Gibbs (chair), Henry Barry, Andrew Dowd, Thomas Stringer, and James Weir.

54. Seven former members of the constitutional convention served on the Committee of Sixteen: Abel Alderson, Henry Barry, Edward Castello, William Gibbs, Alston Mygatt, Urbain Ozanne, and Thomas Stringer. For congressional testimony of Gibbs and Gillem, see House Miscellaneous Document 53, 40th Cong., 3d sess., 1–23, 59–75. A conservative delegation of three was also in Washington. While there, one of its members, former convention delegate John Watson, conferred with Grant, both prior to and after the president’s inauguration, on three separate occasions. See Harris, *Day of the Carpetbagger*, 208–9.

For the text of the bill authorizing a second vote on the Mississippi constitution (and the initial ratification votes on the Virginia and Texas constitutions as well), see *U.S. Statutes at Large* 16 (1871): 40–41. Separate votes were eventually authorized on sections 3 and 5 of article 7 of the Mississippi constitution (which prevented several classes of southern whites from registering as voters or holding public office) and sections 5 and 26 of article 12 (which involved the borrowing with the backing of the state’s credit and an oath to be taken by elected officials). Grant also stipulated that certain sections of article 13 (establishing guidelines for the ratification election) be “considered as favoring no part of said constitution.” See Francis N. Thorpe, comp., *The Federal and State Constitutions, Colonial Charters, and Other Organic Laws of the . . . United States of America* (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1909), 4:2079–80, 2084, 2086, 2088; and *The American Annual Cyclopaedia and Register of Important Events of the Year 1869* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1872), 9:456–60.

55. Harris, *Day of the Carpetbagger*, 257; Garner, *Reconstruction in Mississippi*, 245–46; Lillian A. Pereyra, *James Lusk Alcorn: Persistent Whig* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1966), 102; Currie, “Mississippi Constitution,” 76. The disenfranchising provision lost, 87,874 to 2,206; the disqualifying provision failed by a vote of 87,253 to 2,390, and the oath requirement failed by a vote of 88,444 to 2,170. The constitutional stipulation against lending state credit was retained.

56. Harris, *Day of the Carpetbagger*, 268–70.

57. It appears, however, that significant numbers of Mississippi’s southern whites who delayed associating with the Republicans until the presidential election of 1868 thereafter became active in the party. See James Alex Baggett,

The Scalawags: Southern Dissenters in the Civil War and Reconstruction (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2003), 179.

CHAPTER 5: GEORGIA AND NORTH CAROLINA

EPIGRAPHS: *Georgia Weekly Telegraph* (Macon), January 17, 1868, 2; *Daily North-Carolina Standard* (Raleigh), March 12, 1868, 3.

1. F. N. Boney, *Rebel Georgia* (Macon, Ga.: Mercer University Press, 1997), 8–16, 24; Ralph. A. Wooster, *The Secession Conventions of the South* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1962), 80–84, 88–91; W. Dean Burnham, *Presidential Ballots, 1836–1892* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1955), 332; David C. Roller and Robert W. Twyman, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Southern History* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1979), 528.

2. J. G. De Roulhac Hamilton, *Reconstruction in North Carolina* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1914), 2–32; Burnham, *Presidential Ballots*, 646; Roller and Twyman, *Encyclopedia of Southern History*, 917–20; Wooster, *Secession Conventions of the South*, 190–95.

3. Boney, *Rebel Georgia*, 28–33; Thomas G. Dyer, *Secret Yankees: The Union Circle in Confederate Atlanta* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999), ix; Hamilton, *Reconstruction in North Carolina*, 63–64; William C. Harris, *William Woods Holden: Firebrand of North Carolina Politics* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1987), 62–63, 68, 92, 105, 145–52; Lesley J. Gordon, “‘In Time of War’: Unionists Hanged in Kingston, North Carolina, February 1864,” in *Guerrillas, Unionists, and Violence on the Confederate Home Front*, ed. Daniel E. Sutherland (Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 1999), 44–58; Thomas B. Alexander and Richard E. Beringer, *The Anatomy of the Confederate Congress: A Study of the Influence of Member Characteristics on Legislative Voting Behavior, 1861–1865* (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 1972), 337.

4. Only the Texas convention had a higher percentage of southern whites among its delegate ranks (76.1%).

5. John A. Garraty and Mark C. Carnes, eds., *American National Biography* (New York, Oxford University Press, 1999), 3:703–5, 11:37–38; James Alex Baggett, *The Scalawags: Southern Dissenters in the Civil War and Reconstruction* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2003), 173, 132–33, 61; Marc W. Kruman, *Parties and Politics in North Carolina, 1836–1865* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1983), 214. Although Holden eventually voted for secession as a member of North Carolina’s secession convention following the surrender of Fort Sumter, he had earlier advocated a wait-and-see policy toward the actions of the North. In addition, in the election of 1860, while publicly supporting John Breckinridge, he had privately backed Stephen Douglas.

6. In 1870, Georgia’s 545,183 blacks comprised 46% of its total population of 1,184,109; North Carolina’s 392,891 blacks accounted for 37% of its 1,071,361 residents. See Roller and Twyman, *Encyclopedia of Southern History*, 537, 929.

7. House Executive Document 342, 40th Cong., 2d sess., 35–36, 65–66, 99–100, 113–14; House Executive Document 1, 40th Cong., 2d sess., part 1, 311, 334–35. Registration figures were later revised slightly in both states (in North Carolina to 106,721 whites and 72,932 blacks, in Georgia to 96,333 whites and 95,168 blacks). See Senate Executive Document 53, 40th Cong., 2d sess., 5, 7. Figures given for numbers of election districts and voters registered vary in secondary accounts on Georgia. For a listing of that state’s black and white voters in each county and district, see “List of Counties with White and Colored Registered Vote [Georgia],” in *Miscellaneous Lists Relating to Registration 1867–1868*, Records of the United States Army Continental Commands, 1821–1920, Third Military District Bureau of Civil Affairs, RG 393, box 8, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

8. James L. Lancaster, “The Scalawags of North Carolina, 1850–1868” (Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 1974), 206–11, 243, 245–52; Harris, *William Woods Holden*, 220–32; Hamilton, *Reconstruction in North Carolina*, 241–49; Horace W. Raper, *William W. Holden: North Carolina’s Political Enigma* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina

Press, 1985), 93–97; *The American Annual Cyclopaedia and Register of Important Events of the Year 1867* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1868), 7:546, 550; Richard Nelson Current, *Those Terrible Carpetbaggers: A Reinterpretation* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 101–2; Richard H. Abbott, *The Republican Party and the South, 1855–1877: The First Southern Strategy* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1986), 131; Otto H. Olsen, “Reconsidering the Scalawags,” *Civil War History* 12 (December 1966): 311–12.

9. Edmund L. Drago, *Black Politicians and Reconstruction in Georgia: A Splendid Failure* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1982), 30; *New York Times*, July 6, 1867, 5; Elizabeth Studley Nathans, *Losing the Peace: Georgia Republicans and Reconstruction, 1865–1871* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1968), 38–39, 41–45; Richard H. Abbott, *Republican Party and the South*, 129; Joseph H. Parks, *Joseph E. Brown of Georgia* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1977), 388.

10. Nathans, *Losing the Peace*, 45–50; C. Mildred Thompson, *Reconstruction in Georgia: Economic, Social, Political, 1865–1872* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1915), 188–89; Russell Duncan, *Entrepreneur for Equality: Governor Rufus Bullock, Commerce, and Race in Post–Civil War Georgia* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1994), 26–27. Mrs. Mary Jones of Liberty County, Georgia, feared a race war after witnessing a political rally of freedmen presided over by Tunis G. Campbell Sr., an antebellum free black who subsequently secured a seat in the Georgia convention. See Robert Manson Myers, ed., *The Children of Pride: A True Story of Georgia and the Civil War* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1972), 1379.

11. Lancaster, “Scalawags of North Carolina,” 243, 245–52; Edward Hobson McCree, “North Carolina Conservatives and Reconstruction” (Ph.D. diss., University of North Carolina, 1972), 235–38; Raper, *William Holden*, 3–97; *Annual Cyclopaedia*, 7:546, 550; Hamilton, *Reconstruction in North Carolina*, 241–49.

12. House Executive Document 342, 40th Cong., 2d sess., 65, 113; Senate Executive Document 53, 40th Cong., 2d sess., 7–8, 3–4. Some 70,283 blacks and 32,000 whites voted in favor of the Georgia convention; it was opposed by 4,000 whites and 127 freedmen. In North Carolina, 31,284 whites and 61,722 blacks sanctioned the convention, and 32,961 whites opposed it. Some 60,333 of Georgia’s registered whites failed to vote; 42,476 registered North Carolina whites did likewise.

13. House Executive Document 342, 40th Cong., 2d sess., 118–19, 84–85. Although 120 delegates were elected initially to the North Carolina convention, 122 actually took part in its deliberations. Edwin Bartlett failed to attend the convention. John Marler, who was himself subsequently replaced by John Marshall, initially occupied Bartlett’s seat. Isaac Shaver did not attend any sessions and was replaced by J. C. McCubbins. Alexander Williams took part in debates initially but later relinquished his seat to Lorenzo Hall. Some 164 of the 169 delegates returned to the Georgia convention actually took part in its proceedings.

Secondary accounts vary somewhat in their delegate counts for each of these conventions. For North Carolina the most common such disparities are counts of from 13 to 15 for black delegates. In Georgia, totals for black delegates range from 33 to 37 and those for all delegates from 165 to 170. For examples of such varied enumerations, see Richard L. Hume, “The ‘Black and Tan’ Constitutional Conventions of 1867–1869 in Ten Former Confederate States: A Study of Their Membership” (Ph.D. diss., University of Washington, 1969), 471–72n, 208–9n. Hume, it should be noted, counted 33 blacks in Georgia’s convention; we have added 4 in the present study.

14. The 22 lawyers and businessmen in Georgia for whom we have property figures had an average property valuation (in 1870) of \$15,884. The 10 comparable members of the North Carolina convention had an average of only \$2,360.

15. Lancaster, “Scalawags of North Carolina” (292), notes that Rodman, whom we failed to locate in the 1860 manuscript census returns, had owned 112 slaves. For Harris’s holdings, see 1860 slave schedule, Newton County, Georgia, 4, 6.

16. Parrott, the only veteran Confederate officer to serve as a convention president, remains the most obscure of the convention presidents. We are indebted to Ms. Dorothy Anne Roth and the Etowah Valley Historical Society for

our biographical data on him. Parrott's compiled service record, available in the Old Navy and Army Branch, Military Archives Division, National Archives, Washington, D.C., identifies him as a major in Wofford's Brigade, McLaws's Division, Longstreet's Corps, Army of Northern Virginia.

17. William S. Powell, ed., *Dictionary of North Carolina Biography* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1979–96), 1:444–45. One of Cowles's five sons by his first marriage, Calvin Duvall Cowles, later compiled the atlas accompanying *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (Washington, D.C., 1880–1901).

18. *Journal of the Proceedings of the Constitutional Convention of the People of Georgia, Held in the City of Atlanta in the Months of December, 1867, and January, February and March, 1868; and Ordinances and Resolutions Adopted* (Augusta: E. H. Pughe, Book and Job Printer, 1868), 40–41, 202, 371; *Journal of the Constitutional Convention of the State of North-Carolina, at Its Session 1868* (Raleigh: Joseph W. Holden, Convention Printer, 1868), 43–44, 94. There were actually 161 appointments to standing committees in North Carolina, but since one of these went to 1 of the 3 delegates (2 outside whites and a southern white) with the surname French, that particular appointment is counted as given to an unclassified white.

19. For biographical information gathered on each of these 164 delegates—arranged under headings of southern whites, blacks, and outside whites—consult the Georgia sections of appendix C. Our delegate breakdown is based on examination of secondary sources, contemporary newspapers and documents, and especially on manuscript returns of the *Ninth Census of the United States, 1870* and the *Eighth Census of the United States, 1860* for Georgia.

20. *Journal of the Convention of Georgia*, 23–24, 32–34, 89–90, 132–37; *Augusta Daily Constitutionalist*, December 14, 1867, 2; December 15, 1867, 2; January 11, 1868, 2; January 15, 1868, 2. All nine members of the Special Committee on Relief were southern whites. Seven—John Harris (chairman), Rufus Bullock, William Dews, William Goodwin, Cormac Hopkins, N. Hotchkiss, and W. H. Whitehead—signed the majority report; two—Amos Akerman and Thomas Saffold—endorsed the minority document.

21. For detail on Akerman, see William S. McFeely, “Amos T. Akerman: The Lawyer and Racial Justice,” in *Region, Race, and Reconstruction: Essays in Honor of C. Vann Woodward*, ed. J. Morgan Kousser and James M. McPherson (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982), 395–412.

22. *Journal of the Convention of Georgia*, 198–99, 218–23, 248–58; *Augusta Daily Constitutionalist*, January 30, 1868, 2; February 7, 1868, 2; February 8, 1868, 2; Nathans, *Losing the Peace*, 60–62; Alan Conway, *The Reconstruction of Georgia* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1966), 153–54; Thompson, *Reconstruction in Georgia*, 193–95; Abbott, *Republican Party and the South*, 143. In its act of June 25, 1868, readmitting Georgia to the Union, Congress, obviously concerned over the contention of the Ackerman delegates that the relief measure as passed was in violation of provisions of the federal constitution guaranteeing the sanctity of contracts, subsequently ordered Georgia's new legislature to strike much of the original relief clause from the state constitution. See Francis N. Thorpe, comp., *The Federal and State Constitutions, Colonial Charters, and Other Organic Laws of the . . . United States of America* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1909), 2:836–37n.

23. *Journal of the Convention of Georgia*, 384–85, 388–90, 392–95, 404–6; Duncan, *Entrepreneur for Equality*, 31–32; *Augusta Daily Constitutionalist*, February 26, 1868, 3; February 27, 1868, 3; February 28, 1868, 3.

24. *Journal of the Convention of Georgia*, 454–59, 463–64; *Augusta Daily Constitutionalist*, March 4, 1868, 2; Nathans, *Losing the Peace*, 62–64; Thompson, *Reconstruction in Georgia*, 195–96; Conway, *Reconstruction of Georgia*, 154.

25. Richardson's motion to postpone consideration of the report of the Committee on the Powers of the Convention actually received a 73–70 favorable vote, but it apparently failed to pass because of an insufficient margin to suspend convention rules for its consideration. Republicans also carried the seventh miscellaneous vote as well, but again by a margin insufficient under convention rules. Both the convention journal and newspaper accounts are unclear as to the precise intricacies of convention rules as they pertained to these votes. They may have been sub-

ject to convention rule number 23, which required a two-thirds majority for “out-of-order” items to be brought to a vote. Since Republicans actually enjoyed a majority of votes cast in each of these divisions, however, we count both as Republican victories. We also count miscellaneous vote number 9 in the listings following chapter 5 as a Republican victory despite discrepancies in the convention journal regarding that vote.

26. *Journal of the Convention of Georgia*, 42–45, 45–47, 54–56, 56–58, 58–61, 94–96, 139–41; *Augusta Daily Constitutionalist*, December 19, 1867, 2; December 20, 1867, 2; December 21, 1867, 2; January 11, 1868, 2; January 16, 1868, 2. The ten members of the Special Committee on the Powers of the Convention were all southern whites: Henry McCay (chair), Amos Akerman, Foster Blodgett, John Caldwell, Benjamin Conley, James Dunning, N. Hotchkiss, Homer Virgil Milton Miller, Wesley Shopshire, and Richard Whiteley.

27. *Journal of the Convention of Georgia*, 314–16, 437–40, 501–6; *Augusta Daily Constitutionalist*, February 16, 1868, 2; March 3, 1868, 2. Ashburn's murder was the first Ku Klux Klan outrage reported outside of Tennessee (where the Klan had originated in 1866), and it received national attention. Military authorities arrested 13 men and took them from Columbus to Atlanta to stand trial. Eventually the military turned the matter over to civil authorities, and none of the 13 was ever sentenced for the crime. While military officials had actively pursued the case, Joseph Brown (the state's former Confederate governor and its future Republican chief justice) had worked with the prosecution, and Alexander H. Stephens (the former Confederate vice president) had headed the defense. See Elizabeth Otto Daniell, “The Ashburn Murder Case in Georgia Reconstruction, 1868,” *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 59 (Fall 1975): 296–312; Allen W. Trelease, *White Terror: The Ku Klux Klan Conspiracy and Southern Reconstruction* (New York: Harper and Row, 1971), 76–79; and Duncan, *Entrepreneur for Equality*, 47–48. Ashburn, a cotton broker, had owned no slaves in 1860. See the 1860 manuscript census returns, Muscogee County, Georgia, City of Columbus, 38. Although a Tennessee native and longtime Georgia resident, Ashburn had served in the Union army during the war.

28. *Journal of the Convention of Georgia*, 170–75; 279–82, 288–90.

29. *Ibid.*, 148–50, 266, 299–300, 303–4, 305–6, 527–30; *Augusta Daily Constitutionalist*, January 14, 1868, 2; February 11, 1868, 2; February 12, 1868, 2; January 23, 1868, 2; February 14, 1868, 2; February 15, 1868, 2; March 13, 1868, 3; Nathans, *Losing the Peace*, 64–66. The actions of Whiteley and Miller symbolized bipartisan support for removal of political disabilities from southern whites. The former subsequently became a Republican congressman; the latter, a Democrat, served as a member of the United States Senate. See *Biographical Directory of the United States Congress, 1774–1989* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1989), 2043, 1501.

30. *Journal of the Convention of Georgia*, 90–93, 263–65, 268–69, 550, 381–83, 126–27, 329–31, 483–86, 507–10; *Augusta Daily Constitutionalist*, February 9, 1868, 2; February 11, 1868, 2; February 26, 1868, 3; February 18, 1868, 2. Bryant, who edited the *Loyal Georgian*, championed both black enfranchisement and the right of the freedmen to hold public office. See Ruth Currie-McDaniel, *Carpetbagger of Conscience: A Biography of John Emory Bryant* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1987), 83.

31. Dyer, *Secret Yankees*, 266; *Journal of the Convention of Georgia*, 377–78, 418–19, 483–86; *Augusta Daily Constitutionalist*, February 23, 1868, 2; February 29, 1868, 3; *Georgia Weekly Telegraph* (Macon), February 28, 1868, 1; March 6, 1868, 5. The constitution was adopted by a vote of 118 to 13 on March 11, 1868 (*Journal of the Convention of Georgia*, 534–35). This overwhelming endorsement was not included in the government structure scale.

32. *Journal of the Convention of Georgia*, 271–75, 276–78, 291–93, 294–98, 348–52, 48. Bradley remains one of the most controversial personalities of Georgia's Reconstruction era. For a hostile examination of his career, see E. Merton Coulter, *Negro Legislators in Georgia during the Reconstruction Period* (Athens: Georgia Historical Society, 1968), 55–61. For a much more sympathetic view, see Joseph Reidy, “Aaron A. Bradley: Voice of Black Labor in the Georgia Lowcountry,” in *Southern Black Leaders of the Reconstruction Era*, ed. Howard N. Rabinowitz (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1982), 281–308. Because the vote on Bradley's expulsion was unanimous, it is not included in our racial issues scale. For the text of Bradley's resolution concerning equal accommodations on common carriers, see *Atlanta Daily New Era*, December 18, 1867, 2.

33. *Journal of the Convention of Georgia*, 150, 308–9, 322–23, 543–44; *Augusta Daily Constitutionalist*, February 11, 1868, 2; February 13, 1868, 2; February 15, 1868, 2; February 18, 1868, 2; February 21, 1868, 2. For Brown's behind-the-scenes efforts to gain the deletion of section 10 of the franchise committee report, see Thompson, *Reconstruction in Georgia*, 196–97; Derrell C. Roberts, *Joseph E. Brown and the Politics of Reconstruction* (University: University of Alabama Press, 1973), 50. Because the 126–12 margin for removal of section 10 (*Journal of the Convention of Georgia*, 310–12) was so lopsided, it has not been included in the racial vote scale. The group of 12 delegates opposed to this deletion consisted of 8 southern whites (including future United States attorney general Amos Akerman), 3 blacks, and an outside white. The group of 126 favoring removal consisted of 84 southern whites, 33 blacks, and 9 outside whites.

34. Tourgée, who was later a judge of the state superior court, remains one of the best-known carpetbaggers of the Reconstruction era. He subsequently argued before the United States Supreme Court against the “separate but equal” doctrine in the landmark *Plessy v. Ferguson* case of 1896. For detail on his career, see Otto H. Olsen, *Carpetbagger's Crusade: The Life of Albion Winegar Tourgée* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1965).

Durham, a former Confederate captain who had lost his father and two brothers in battle, helped establish the Ku Klux Klan in his home area. In so doing, he worked with Leroy McAfee, the uncle and boyhood hero of novelist Thomas Dixon. The latter's 1905 novel, *The Clansman*, and the 1915 film version of it, *Birth of a Nation*, glorified the Klan and established within southern folklore a long-lasting legend of its “heroic” struggles. See Trelease, *White Terror*, 55–56, 224, 338, 348, 421; and Lancaster, “Scalawags of North Carolina,” 167. According to the 1870 manuscript census, perhaps in memory of the Lost Cause, or perhaps due to a merciful reluctance to perpetuate the name Plato, Durham named his first son Robert E. Lee Durham. See 1870 manuscript census, Cleveland County, North Carolina, Township 16, 85. A second son was later named Stonewall Jackson Durham. See Powell, *Dictionary of North Carolina Biography*, 2:126–27.

35. *Journal of the Convention of North-Carolina*, 95, 97–98, 150–51, 232–33, 257–58, 374–75, 388–89, 413–14, 436; Lancaster, “Scalawags of North Carolina,” 301. The Committee on Relief from Disability consisted of five southern whites (Samuel Forkner, George Gahagan, Calvin Jones, Richard King, and William Nicholson), a black (James Hood), and an outside white (Albion Tourgée). Southern white John Pool chaired the Committee on Suffrage and Eligibility to Office. Its 12 members included 7 southern whites (Evan Benbow, Thomas Candler, Abram Congleton, Plato Durham, John Graham, Calvin Jones, and John McDonald), 3 outside whites (Joshua Andrews, John French, and D. J. Rich), and 2 blacks (Henry Cherry and James Harris).

36. *Journal of the Convention of North-Carolina*, 373, 390–92, 402–5, 451–52, 471–72.

37. In North Carolina we have placed votes on debtor relief and homestead exemptions in the miscellaneous scale and those on assistance to railroads or placing limitations on the state debt in the economic scale.

38. *Daily North-Carolina Standard* (Raleigh), February 6, 1868, 2; *Journal of the Convention of North-Carolina*, 132–33, 138–41, 277–79; Olsen, *Carpetbagger's Crusade*, 105–6. The Committee on Relief was staffed entirely by southern whites. In addition to Rodman, its membership included George Bradley, James Duckworth, John McDonald, and John Read.

39. *Journal of the Convention of North-Carolina*, 277–79, 349–50; Olsen, *Carpetbagger's Crusade*, 107–8. Additional details on Tourgée's convention activities are offered by Olsen, *Carpetbagger's Crusade*, 93–115, and Current, *Those Terrible Carpetbaggers*, 105–6. The majority report of the Committee on Homesteads was signed by six southern whites (Calvin Jones, Henry Barnes, Philip Hodnett, Isaac Kinney, Sween McDonald, and Joshua Nance), an outside white (John Renfrow), and a black (Henry Eppes). For the homestead article in its final form, see Thorpe, *Federal and State Constitutions*, 5:2839–40. In 1869, the state supreme court nullified the stay law; eight years later, the United States Supreme Court issued a similar judgment against retroactive homestead protection.

40. Graham, a former Confederate major who later served in the state senate, had a remarkably illustrious father. William Alexander Graham had reputedly held more public offices than any other man in the state's history.

The elder Graham had been a founder of the Whig party in North Carolina. After election to the state house of representatives and a turn as speaker, he then served as United States senator and as governor during the 1840s. After a stint as secretary of the navy in the Fillmore administration, he ran as the Whig vice presidential nominee on the Winfield Scott ticket in 1852. An organizer of his state's Constitutional Union party in 1860, Graham, who abhorred secession, served as a delegate to North Carolina's secession convention in 1861. During the war, Graham, a critic of the Davis administration, saw service in both the state and the Confederate senate. See Powell, ed., *Dictionary of North Carolina Biography*, 2: 334–35, 337–39.

41. *Journal of the Convention of North-Carolina*, 143–44, 153–58, 180–84, 189–91, 196–97.

42. *Ibid.*, 242–44, 314–16, 352–53, 258–64, 383–84, 479.

43. *Ibid.*, 159, 162–63, 238–43, 174–75.

44. *Ibid.*, 165–69, 232, 338–41, 343–44, 367–68, 462, 473; Leon F. Litwack, *Been in the Storm So Long: The Aftermath of Slavery* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1979), 240.

45. *Journal of the Convention of North-Carolina*, 353–56; Charles Lewis Price, “Railroads and Reconstruction in North Carolina, 1865–1871” (Ph.D. diss., University of North Carolina, 1959), 371–72. For the revenue and taxation article as finally drafted, see Thorpe, *Federal and State Constitutions*, 5:2813–14. Abbott, a future United States senator (1868–71), had close ties to the Wilmington, Charlotte and Rutherford Railroad. Later, while a member of the state senate, he allegedly accepted \$20,000 from Milton S. Littlefield and George W. Swepson, lobbyists involved in securing state support for railroad projects. See Olsen, *Carpetbagger's Crusade*, 105; Powell, *Dictionary of North Carolina Biography*, 1:2–3; Hamilton, *Reconstruction in North Carolina*, 430–31; and Roller and Twyman, *Encyclopedia of Southern History*, 728–29.

46. *Journal of the Convention of North-Carolina*, 393–95, 396–98, 398–400, 465–66, 455–56.

47. Votes in the South Carolina convention did not scale. Those in Florida did, but, as noted in chapter 7, votes there reflected divisions between Republican factions and not between Republicans and conservatives.

48. For the voting tallies of these three southern white groups, and of black and outside white delegates as well, refer to the Georgia and North Carolina sections of appendix B, in which RSSs for all delegates who participated in sufficient roll calls to be allocated such designations are listed.

49. *Augusta Daily Constitutionalist*, March 10, 1868, 2. Prior to Gordon, Democrats had first chosen Augustus Reese and then David Irwin (a delegate to the constitutional convention who failed to attend any of its sessions) as their gubernatorial candidates. For detail on Reese, Irwin, and Gordon (who had surrendered the Army of Northern Virginia to Joshua Chamberlain on April 12, 1865) see Nathans, *Losing the Peace*, 53, 82; and *Dictionary of Georgia Biography*, ed. Kenneth Coleman and Charles Stephen (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1983), 1:354–55, 507–8. General Meade ruled both Reese (a longtime circuit judge) and Irwin (a Confederate presidential elector) ineligible as gubernatorial candidates under the pending Fourteenth Amendment. The general's ruling on Reese was valid and his action regarding Irwin questionable; Gordon, however, had not held political office prior to the war. For Gordon's Klan connections, see Trelease, *White Terror*, 20, 74, 79, 393.

50. For particulars on Campbell, see Russell Duncan, *Freedom's Shore: Tunis Campbell and the Georgia Freedmen* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1986). Aaron A. Bradley had also served as a convention delegate but had resigned his senate seat in August. Eleven of the 29 blacks expelled from the house had also served as convention delegates: Malcolm Claiborne, John Costin, William Golden, William Harrison, Philip Joiner, George Linder, Robert Lumpkin, Romulus Moore, Alexander Stone, Henry Turner, and Samuel Williams. Evidently ignoring the standard that one drop of Negro blood made one black, house members allowed four mixed-race legislators to keep their seats. See Duncan, *Entrepreneur for Equality*, 197–98n. For the response of a number of Republican congressmen to this purge, see House Miscellaneous Document 6, 40th Cong., 3d sess., 1–3. For the subsequent congressional inquiry into this matter, see House Miscellaneous Document 52 (parts 1 and 2), 40th Cong., 3d sess.

51. Eric Foner, *Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution, 1863–1867* (New York: Harper and Row, 1988), 423, 453–54.

52. Hamilton, *Reconstruction in North Carolina*, 278–93; Powell, *Dictionary of North Carolina Biography*, 1:55–56; Harris, *William Woods Holden*, 242–47; Gordon B. McKinney, *Zeb Vance: North Carolina's Civil War Governor and Gilded Age Political Leader* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004), 274–76.

53. Harris, *William Woods Holden*, 268–73, 281–94; Trelease, *White Terror*, 203–19; Hamilton, *Reconstruction in North Carolina*, 485–525.

54. Thorpe, *Federal and State Constitutions*, 5:2802.

55. Harris, *William Woods Holden*, 285–308; Trelease, *White Terror*, 219–25; Hamilton, *Reconstruction in North Carolina*, 525–57. Lieutenant Governor Tod R. Caldwell replaced Holden as governor as impeachment proceedings got underway. He was reelected to that office in 1872 but died in 1874; the remainder of that term was then completed by yet another Republican lieutenant governor, Curtis H. Brogden. The ever-resilient Zebulon B. Vance then returned the Democrats to the governorship in 1877.

56. Quoted in John C. Inscoe and Gordon B. McKinney, *The Heart of Confederate Appalachia: Western North Carolina in the Civil War* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000), 49–50.

57. Foner, *Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution*, 347.

58. Harris, *William Woods Holden*, 1–2.

59. *Ibid.*, 294; Trelease, *White Terror*, 225. For detail on the volatile wartime issue of the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus, see Alexander and Beringer, *Anatomy of the Confederate Congress*, 166–69.

60. Lancaster, “Scalawags of North Carolina,” 21, 240, 277, 362–63.

61. *Ibid.*, 396.

62. The outside white contingent among the Georgia delegates (7.3%) was smaller than that of any other convention. Foner suggests that the exceptional caution exhibited by Georgia's black delegates may have been due in part to two realities that limited the wartime and postwar experience of the state's freedmen: General Sherman had refused black recruits as he marched to and beyond Atlanta, and the Freedmen's Bureau in Georgia had been reluctant to hire freedmen as well (*Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution*, 8, 318).

Average Republican support (63.1%) in North Carolina was lowest on miscellaneous votes, which include votes on debtor relief and homestead exemptions); in Georgia, those two issues were grouped in the economics scale, which garnered the highest Republican support (63.5%) of any scale in that state. Such support, however, was not then forthcoming among Republicans in Congress, who required that much of the new constitution's relief article be expunged as a condition of Georgia's readmission. Here, then, was a vivid example of economic differences among Republicans, in one instance among delegates in Raleigh and in the other between delegates in Atlanta and party leaders in Washington.

CHAPTER 6: LOUISIANA AND SOUTH CAROLINA

EPIGRAPHS: Taliaferro quoted in *New Orleans Daily Picayune*, December 28, 1867, 3. Vidal quotation, slightly altered for readability, from *St. Landry Progress/Progrès de St. Landry* (Opelousas, La.), November 23, 1867, 1. Southern white Vidal was the editor of the *Progress/Progrès*, a weekly newspaper published in both French and English. In late September of 1868, after the new constitution had gone into effect and Vidal had been elected to Congress, his paper was ransacked by the Seymour Knights, supporters of Horatio Seymour, the Democratic presidential candidate in the election of 1868. Emerson Bentley, its 18-year-old black English-language editor, was assaulted, and C. E. Durant (or Durand), its French editor, was murdered. See *Report of Joint Committee of the General Assembly of Louisiana on the Conduct of the Late Elections, and the Condition of Peace and Order in the State* (New Orleans: A. L. Lee, State Printer,

1869), 80–86; and Allen W. Trelease, *White Terror: The Ku Klux Klan Conspiracy and Southern Reconstruction* (New York: Harper and Row, 1971), 128–29. Harris quoted from Philip N. Racine, ed., *Piedmont Farmer: The Journals of David Golithly Harris, 1855–1870* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1990), 454.

1. *A Compendium of the Ninth Census (June 1, 1870)* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1872), 10–13. Whites were in the majority in Mississippi through 1830 and in South Carolina through 1810. With the exception of the 1860 returns, blacks comprised a majority among Louisianians from 1810 through 1870. As noted previously, in striking contrast to their proportionate representation in both Louisiana and South Carolina, blacks accounted for only 17 of the 96 delegates in the Mississippi convention. To a greater degree than in any other former Confederate state, though, they continually increased their numbers among legislators during Mississippi's reconstruction (1870–75). In 1870, there were 31 blacks among the 82 Republicans in the lower house of Mississippi's legislature; after the 1873 elections, they comprised a sizable majority (some 55 or so of 77) of the Republicans in that body. See Vernon Lane Wharton, *The Negro in Mississippi, 1865–1890* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1947), 172–76. The factors contributing to this phenomenon in Mississippi clearly merit further serious study.

2. Eric Foner, *Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution 1863–1877* (New York: Harper and Row, 1988), 62; Caryn Cossé Bell, *Revolution, Romanticism, and the Afro-Creole Protest Tradition in Louisiana, 1718–1868* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1997), 2.

3. House Executive Document 342, 40th Cong., 2d sess., 159–60, 35–36, 164, 50–51, 171, 63; James K. Hogue, *Uncivil War: Five New Orleans Street Battles and the Rise and Fall of Radical Reconstruction* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2006), 54–55.

4. Senate Executive Document 53, 40th Cong., 2d sess., 11; Frank Joseph Wetta, “The Louisiana Scalawags” (Ph.D. diss., Louisiana State University, 1977), 195–205, 271–74; Ted Tunnell, *Crucible of Reconstruction: War, Radicalism, and Race in Louisiana, 1862–1877* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1984), 111–12; *The American Annual Cyclopaedia and Register of Important Events of the Year 1867* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1868), 7:460; Philip D. Uzee, “The Beginnings of the Louisiana Republican Party,” *Louisiana History* 12 (Spring 1971): 205–10; Bell, *Afro-Creole Tradition*, 268–72; Richard Nelson Current, *Those Terrible Carpetbaggers: A Reinterpretation* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 11–16; Francis Wayne Binning, “Henry Clay Warmoth and Louisiana Reconstruction” (Ph.D. diss., University of North Carolina, 1969), 108–9; Joe Gray Taylor, *Louisiana Reconstructed, 1863–1877* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1974), 146; Richard H. Abbott, *The Republican Party and the South, 1855–1877: The First Southern Strategy* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1986), 128–29.

5. Senate Executive Document 53, 40th Cong., 2d sess., 5; Francis Butler Simkins and Robert Hilliard Woody, *South Carolina during Reconstruction* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1932), 82–83; *Annual Cyclopaedia*, 7:695–96; Joel Williamson, *After Slavery: The Negro in South Carolina during Reconstruction, 1861–1877* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1965), 371; Thomas C. Holt, *Black over White: Negro Political Leadership in South Carolina during Reconstruction* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1977), 27–35; Abbott, *Republican Party and the South*, 130–31; idem, “A Yankee Views the Organization of the Republican Party in South Carolina, July 1867,” *South Carolina Historical Magazine* 85 (July 1984): 244–50.

6. *New Orleans Daily Picayune*, September 27, 1867, 2, 4; John C. Rodrigue, *Reconstruction in the Cane Fields: From Slavery to Free Labor in Louisiana's Sugar Parishes, 1862–1880* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2001), 82–83; Richard L. Hume, “The ‘Black and Tan’ Constitutional Conventions of 1867–1869 in Ten Former Confederate States: A Study of Their Membership” (Ph.D. diss., University of Washington, 1969), 388–89. Louisiana delegate-elect Colonel Nathan W. Daniels died of yellow fever in New Orleans shortly before the Louisiana convention assembled. A New York native, Daniels, who had commanded the 2d Regiment of Louisiana Native Guards, had also once attended a séance at the White House with Mary Todd Lincoln. See C. P. Weaver, ed., *Thank God My Regiment an African One: The Civil War Diary of Colonel Nathan W. Daniels* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1998), 14, 179, 176, 172.

7. House Executive Document 342, 40th Cong., 2d sess., 174–75, 81–82. Later, on December 21, 1867, General Winfield Hancock (then in command in the Fifth Military District) reported that Louisiana's electorate totaled 129,654 (84,436 blacks and 45,218 whites). In revised figures (February 19, 1868), General Canby reported 127,432 voters (80,550 blacks and 46,882 whites) as registered for the convention elections in South Carolina. There, some 66,418 blacks and 2,350 whites had endorsed the convention, while 2,278 whites opposed it. See Senate Executive Document 53, 40th Cong., 2d sess., 10–11, 3–6.

The Club House had previously housed an exclusive gentlemen's organization. After the war, unable to keep up with expenses, its members disbanded and sold the facility to the federal marshal, who subsequently rented it to military officials for use as the convention hall. See Current, *Those Terrible Carpetbaggers*, 94. Dilapidated though it was, it was apparently better able to house the convention than the state capitol in Columbia, which had been badly damaged by General William T. Sherman's troops during their march through the state.

8. Scalawag numbers, overall, were few in both states. See James Alex Baggett, *The Scalawags: Southern Dissenters in the Civil War and Reconstruction* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2003), 268, 199.

9. One of the 98 delegates elected to the Louisiana convention, Adolphe Bernard (a French-born southern white from Vermillion Parish who attended only a few early sessions) is counted as absent. Three of the 124 elected South Carolina delegates—George DeMeddis (southern white), Frederick Sawyer (outside white), and John Terry (southern white)—were never seated. For both conventions, secondary accounts frequently offer delegate counts that are not in agreement with ours. The most common disparity is the oft-repeated statement that black and white delegates were divided evenly in the Louisiana convention. For specific examples of contrasting delegate counts, see Hume, “‘Black and Tan’ Conventions,” 89–90n, 390–91n. For Louisiana, see also Ted Tunnell, *The Edge of the Sword: The Ordeal of Carpetbagger Marshall H. Twitchell in the Civil War and Reconstruction* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2001), 121–22. Our biographical data on Louisiana and South Carolina delegates are taken from secondary accounts, contemporary newspapers and documents, manuscript returns of the *Ninth Census of the United States, 1870* and manuscript returns of the *Eighth Census of the United States, 1860*.

10. In Louisiana and South Carolina, median asset levels of black and mixed-race delegates combined were \$1,500 and \$800, respectively (these figures do not appear in table 6.5). Property figures for unclassified blacks are unknown.

11. For biographical detail on these delegates, consult the Louisiana and South Carolina sections of appendix C.

12. For the slaveholdings of Robertson and Taliaferro, see 1860 slave schedule, Richland County, 32, 33; City of Columbia, 16; and Catahoula Parish, 73, 74. Louisiana delegate Thomas Crawford listed 37 bondsmen, but 34 of these were held “in trust.”

13. Published accounts are not in agreement about the numbers of black delegates. In the case of Louisiana, counts tend to be vague, noting either that delegates were divided evenly between blacks and whites or that blacks were in the majority. Counts are generally more precise for South Carolina and range from 71 to 76 delegates. Our data have been gathered from manuscript census returns and a mix of other sources. Among the most useful of the latter are Eric Foner, *Freedom's Lawmakers: A Directory of Black Officeholders during Reconstruction*, rev. ed. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1996); James Lowell Underwood, “African American Founding Fathers: The Makings of the South Carolina Constitution of 1868,” in *At Freedom's Door: African American Founding Fathers and Lawyers in the Reconstruction of South Carolina*, ed. James Lowell Underwood and W. Lewis Burke Jr. (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2000), 26–28; Tunnell, *Crucible of Reconstruction*, 229–33; Howard James Jones, “The Members of the Louisiana Legislature of 1868: Images of ‘Radical Reconstruction’ Leadership in the Deep South” (Ph.D. diss., Washington State University, 1975); Charles Vincent, *Black Legislators in Louisiana during Reconstruction* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1976); David C. Rankin, “The Origins of Negro Leadership in New Orleans during Reconstruction,” in *Southern Black Leaders of the Reconstruction Era*, ed.

Howard N. Rabinowitz (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1982), 155–90; Holt, *Black over White*, 229–41; William C. Hine, “Black Politicians in Reconstruction Charleston, South Carolina: A Collective Study,” *Journal of Southern History* 49 (November 1983): 572–84.

14. Hyman S. Rubin, “The South Carolina Scalawags” (Ph. diss., Emory University, 2001), 67.

15. Jefferson Davis Bragg, *Louisiana in the Confederacy* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1941), 31, quoted in Ralph A. Wooster, *The Secession Conventions of the South* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1962), 111; Baggett, *The Scalawags*, 54–55, 76; *Journal of the Convention to Form a New Constitution for the State of Louisiana* (New Orleans: printed at the Crescent office, 1852), 1; *Official Journal of the Proceedings of the Convention of the State of Louisiana* (New Orleans: J. O. Nixon, Printer to the State Convention, 1861), 18; Glenn R. Conrad, ed., *A Dictionary of Louisiana Biography* (New Orleans: Louisiana Historical Association, 1988), 2:778. According to Ms. Una Paul, director of the Catahoula Parish Library, one of Taliaferro’s sons, Henry B. Taliaferro (who later served in a Union cavalry regiment from Louisiana), had studied under William T. Sherman, whom he very much admired. At that time (1860), the youngster was one of the very first students at what later became Louisiana State University; future Union general Sherman was then president of that institution. Allen Johnson and Dumas Malone, eds., *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1928–81), 12:98–99. Mackey’s son, Edmund, a delegate from Orangeburg district, later married a black woman. See Okon Edet Uya, *From Slavery to Public Service: Robert Smalls, 1839–1915* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1971), 117.

16. *Official Journal of the Proceedings of the Convention, for Framing a Constitution for the State of Louisiana* (New Orleans: J. B. Roundanez and Company, 1867–68), 13; *Proceedings of the Constitutional Convention of South Carolina, Held at Charleston, S.C., Beginning January 14th and Ending March 17th, 1868: Including the Debates and Proceedings* (Charleston: Denny and Perry, 1868), 56–57. All six committee chairs secured by blacks went to mixed-race delegates. In Louisiana 22 of the 40 rank-and-file committee positions given to blacks went to delegates of mixed race, 9 to blacks, and 9 to individuals of undetermined racial background. In South Carolina, 24 of these appointments went to mixed-race delegates, 18 to blacks, and 2 to individuals of undetermined racial background. In both conventions, then, the proportions of black and mixed-race delegates securing committee appointments reflected almost precisely the percentages of these groups within their conventions’ respective black delegate contingents. Such, obviously, was hardly the case of the six aforementioned committee chairmanships, all of which went to delegates of mixed race.

17. Democrats, having offered no effective opposition during the September elections, found themselves unrepresented in the convention. As Tunnell notes, the conservatives “in the convention . . . were conservative Republicans, not Democrats” (*Crucible of Reconstruction*, 230). Granting this point, we have chosen to identify such individuals as functional conservatives.

18. *Official Journal of the Convention for Louisiana*, 56–59, 62–63; *New Orleans Daily Picayune*, December 11, 1867, 3; December 12, 1867, 3; December 13, 1867, 3. Blackburn, a future congressman and a journalist with an obvious literary bent, edited the newspaper in his hometown of Homer, the *Homer Iliad*.

19. Republicans hoped that a sanitary and modern meat-packing facility in New Orleans would result in Texas cattle being shipped to New Orleans rather than Kansas City or Chicago for slaughter. See Hogue, *Uncivil War*, 123.

20. *Official Journal of the Convention for Louisiana*, 73, 74, 77, 192–93, 214, 220–21, 249; *New Orleans Daily Picayune*, December 18, 1867, 8; February 1, 1868, 1; February 9, 1868, 3; February 12, 1868, 8. New Orleans’s slaughterhouses later gained national attention as a result of the initial United States Supreme Court ruling on the intent of the Fourteenth Amendment (ratified in 1868). In 1869, in an action almost certainly involving payoffs, the state legislature granted a monopoly on all slaughtering business to a single slaughterhouse. Competitors challenged this grant. The resulting case eventually made its way to the Supreme Court, which ruled (in a 5–4 decision in 1873) that butchers excluded from employment by this monopoly were not deprived of rights protected by the Fourteenth Amendment. As noted in Robert E. Cushman and Robert F. Cushman, *Cases in Constitutional Law* (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1958), in ruling on this case “the Court averted, for the time being at least, the revo-

lution in our constitutional system apparently intended by the framers of the [14th] amendment and reserved to the states the responsibility for the protection of civil rights generally” (542).

21. *Official Journal of the Convention for Louisiana*, 114–15, 116–18, 121, 125, 201–3, 183–84, 260; *New Orleans Daily Picayune*, December 27, 1867, 8; December 29, 1867, 3; January 1, 1868, 3; January 4, 1868, 2; February 5, 1868, 3; January 29, 1868, 1; February 29, 1868, 8.

22. *Official Journal of the Convention for Louisiana*, 129, 173, 154, 255, 248, 215, 314, 173; *New Orleans Daily Picayune*, January 5, 1868, 3; January 23, 1868, 3; February 14, 1868, 2; March 10, 1868, 2; February 9, 1868, 3.

23. *Official Journal of the Convention for Louisiana*, 174, 175, 176, 256, 177, 258–59, 283, 290; *New Orleans Daily Picayune*, January 23, 1868, 3; January 24, 1868, 3; January 25, 1868, 8; March 7, 1868, 7.

24. Wooster, *Secession Conventions of the South*, 20.

25. Only 6 of the 50 African Americans in the Louisiana convention are known to have been former slaves. Over half (27) of Louisiana’s black delegates were of mixed-race heritage; less than half (37) of those in South Carolina are known to have been of mixed racial origin. Overall, then, the African American component of the Louisiana convention was of a higher socioeconomic level than that of South Carolina’s. For comment on the centrality of mixed-race delegates to the Louisiana convention who had been free before the Civil War, see Bell, *Afro-Creole Tradition*, 2.

26. The discussion of South Carolina’s unique one-party political culture is summarized from James M. Banner Jr., “The Problem of South Carolina,” in *The Hofstadter Aegis: A Memorial*, ed. Stanley Elkins and Eric McKittrick (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1974), 60–93.

27. Despite obvious differences, there were several interesting connections between these newly elected delegates and the state’s old elite. The slave grandfather of Kershaw County delegate John A. Chestnut had earlier been freed by his owner, Colonel James Chesnut, the patriarch of what was probably the leading white family of that district. In addition, the mixed-race Hayne brothers—Charles and James of Barnwell and Henry of Marion—were nephews of Senator Robert Yancy Hayne, who had opposed Daniel Webster in the famous Webster-Hayne debate of January 1830. Finally, Samuel Lee (of Sumter) had been owned by Judge Franklin Moses, the father of Sumter delegate (and future governor) Franklin Moses Jr.

28. A minimum of four roll-call votes in which delegate votes are recorded individually is required for a valid scale. There was a total of only 22 such roll-call votes in the entire South Carolina convention. Seven of these, however, were virtually unanimous (ranging in outcomes from 107 to 2 to 98 to 8), rendering them of relatively little value in scale construction. The remaining 15 (fluctuating in outcomes from 53 to 49 to 80 to 20) represent a total too small to be distributed among four or five validly constructed issue scales as has been done for the other conventions. All other attempts to construct valid South Carolina scales (including that of combining all 15 “contested” votes in a single scale) failed as well.

In addition to the aforementioned 22 roll-call votes, 13 votes were listed in the convention journal without indication of the behavior of individual delegates. For these see *Proceedings of the Convention of South Carolina*, 24, 27, 96, 158, 188, 538, 582, 626, 782. A number of these votes dealt with trivial matters: election of a sergeant at arms, a messenger, and an assistant messenger; early adjournment of a particular day’s session; and adjournment in honor of George Washington’s birthday. Others focused on matters of greater substance: the legislative powers of the convention, the division of Pickens County, and the referring of a proposed section of the constitution to the Committee on the Judiciary.

29. Consequently, the listings of South Carolina votes at the end of this chapter, in marked contrast to those for each of the other Black and Tan conventions, do not indicate a “Republican position.” While Holt, *Black over White*, scales votes of South Carolina legislators, he, too, was unable to scale those of its Black and Tan delegates.

30. *Charleston Daily Courier*, January 15, 1868, 1; *Proceedings of the Convention of South Carolina*, 15.

31. *Proceedings of the Convention of South Carolina*, 27–31, 33–34, 45–55. The *Charleston Mercury*, which referred frequently to “Incidents of the Ringed-Streaked-and-Striped Convention,” ran a series of generally unflat-

tering portraits of its members (starting on January 15 and continuing through February 22) in installments on a district-by-district basis.

Nash asserted that he had recently been called before a military tribunal to defend a speech to which Governor Orr had taken umbrage. Noting the U.S. Constitution's protection of free speech, he then opined that "Governor Orr has opposed it outside of this hall. . . ." *Proceedings of the Convention of South Carolina*, 33.

32. Despite his military pedigree, Langley, who also favored disenfranchisement for failure to pay poll taxes, was rather conservative. Perhaps because of this, during the remainder of South Carolina's reconstruction his political influence was relatively limited, and he went on to hold only local offices in Beaufort County. In 1865, DeLarge, who had signed a petition for "impartial suffrage," had also acknowledged that the "ignorant" from both races could be excluded from the franchise. See Foner, *Freedom's Lawmakers*, 127, 61.

33. *Proceedings of the Convention of South Carolina*, 40, 43; *Charleston Mercury*, January 18, 1868, 1, 4; Holt, *Black over White*, 125–26. There was greater opposition to Langley's resolution among voting black delegates (20 of 26, or 77%, opposing it) than among those of mixed race (21 of 33, or 64%, opposing). About the same pattern is seen when ex-slaves (25 of 33, or 76%, in opposition) are compared with blacks who had never been enslaved (of whom 16 of 26, or 62%, opposed Langley's resolution). As a group, the 14 black and mixed-race delegates who supported DeLarge's resolution, and whose assets are known, with average holdings of \$3,972.93 were more than twice as affluent as the 35 who opposed it, with average holdings of \$1,892.91.

34. *Proceedings of the Convention of South Carolina*, 737–38, 56, 709, 712–13, 719, 720, 734. The vote is recorded as 81–21. It is impossible to ascertain which Wilder (Charles or Francis) voted with the minority. Elliott, a brilliant political organizer who served as a member of Congress from 1871 to 1874, remains a figure of some mystery and controversy. For detail on his life and career, see Peggy Lamson, *The Glorious Failure: Black Congressman Robert Brown Elliott and the Reconstruction in South Carolina* (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1973), 47–48. Of the eight blacks who opposed the proviso, six had never been enslaved and six were of mixed race.

35. *Proceedings of the Convention of South Carolina*, 877, 878, 879, 880; Williamson, *After Slavery*, 260, 287. This vote was recorded as 22–72, but we count it as 21–69 because it is impossible to ascertain the vote of Lee Nance and several delegates with identical surnames—Cain, Jones, and Lee. Of the 21 votes in support of Bell's motion, 10 came from former slaves and 7 from southern whites. Five of the new Black and Tan constitutions, including South Carolina's, disenfranchised few southern whites. See Foner, *Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution*, 324.

36. The proposal was then implemented by military authorities on January 31, 1868. See House Executive Document 342, 40th Cong., 2d sess., 97.

37. *Proceedings of the Convention of South Carolina*, 73, 110, 135, 114, 147, 148; *Charleston Daily Courier*, January 24, 1868, 1. For detail on future governor Moses and Wright (soon an associate justice of the state supreme court), see Robert H. Woody, "Franklin J. Moses, Jr., Scalawag Governor of South Carolina, 1872–1874," *North Carolina Historical Review* 10 (April 1933): 111–32; and idem, "Jonathan Jasper Wright, Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of South Carolina, 1870–77," *Journal of Negro History* 18 (April 1933): 114–31. On Cain, see Kenneth E. Mann, "Richard Harvey Cain, Congressman, Minister, and Champion for Civil Rights," *Negro History Bulletin* 35 (March 1972): 64–66.

38. Uya, *Robert Smalls*, 48–49; *Proceedings of the Convention of South Carolina*, 504, 452, 482, 453, 460–61, 499, 465, 454–56, 473–74, 489, 492, 506. According to the *Charleston Mercury*, February 4, 1868, 1, Corley, a vegetarian and an inventor, was a believer in phrenology and had engaged an expert in it to locate his future wife, a woman in Maine. The 1860 and 1870 manuscript census returns list his wife, Martha, as a native of Vermont. For detail on Corley, a Republican congressman (1868–69), see *Biographical Directory of the United States Congress, 1774–1989* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1989), 829.

39. *Proceedings of the Convention of South Carolina*, 412, 196, 360, 376; Current, *Those Terrible Carpetbaggers*, 94–95.

40. *Proceedings of the Convention of South Carolina*, 401.

41. *Ibid.*, 382, 404.

42. Carol K. Rothrock Bleser, *The Promised Land: The History of the South Carolina Land Commission, 1869–1890* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1969), 22, 28–34; Abbott, *Republican Party and the South*, 83, 95, 142; *Proceedings of the Convention of South Carolina*, 507–9, 537. Besides Holmes, the special committee of five included John Neagle (southern white from York district), Joseph Rainey (a mixed-race delegate from Georgetown district), James Rutland, and Charles Wilder (a mixed-race delegate from Richland district). The subsequent legislature established the office of land commissioner and a five-man board to advise that official in March of 1869. Five of the six individuals so selected (all but Governor Robert Scott) had been convention delegates—Land Commissioner Charles Leslie and advisory board members Francis Cardozo (secretary of state), Daniel Chamberlain (attorney general), John Neagle (comptroller general), and Niles Parker (state treasurer). In addition to Leslie, delegates Hayne and Robert DeLarge also later served as land commissioners prior to February 1872, when the commissioner's duties were transferred to the secretary of state, an office held alternately by Francis Cardozo and Henry Hayne throughout the remainder of the Reconstruction era. According to Bleser, virtually all noted herein as associated with the commission after March of 1869—with the significant exceptions of Cardozo and Hayne—were deeply involved in corruption. By 1872, the commission, according to Bleser, had placed some 2,000 families (14,000 individuals) on 1,992 small farms totaling 112,404 acres. The cost totaled some \$802,137.44, of which \$224,620.44 could not be accounted for, due largely to poor record keeping by DeLarge and to corruption.

Joel Williamson notes that Republicans also determined to tax underutilized lands at a high rate in order to force their sale and redistribution (*After Slavery*, 148–50). Bleser cites interesting correspondence from Robert J. Donaldson (outside white delegate and later state senator from Chesterfield) suggesting that the Land Commission purchase property in the upcountry, move freedmen to the land obtained there, and secure thereby both black and Republican majorities in that region (*Promised Land*, 40).

43. *Proceedings of the Convention of South Carolina*, 221, 226, 248–49. While all 26 of the voting black delegates supported this measure, more than a quarter (8) of the voting mixed-race delegates opposed it.

44. *Ibid.*, 773, 787–88, 783–84.

45. *Ibid.*, 326–27, 334–35, 337–38; *Charleston Mercury*, February 13, 1868, 1. In supporting Mackey, Whittemore made reference to the Dorr Rebellion. In 1842, Thomas Dorr (1805–54) had led the “People’s Party” in Rhode Island, and he and his followers had established an extralegal government and demanded sweeping expansion of suffrage (the state was still governed under its old colonial charter of 1663). In response, the “regular” governor declared martial law, and Dorr and a number of his followers were arrested. In 1844, Dorr was convicted of treason and sentenced to life in prison. Granted amnesty a year later, he lived the remainder of his life quietly in Providence. Virginia convention delegate George Teamoh (then an escaped slave) had worked as a servant in the Dorr household at the time of the Dorr’s death. See F. N. Boney, Richard L. Hume, and Rafia Zafar, eds., *God Made Man, Man Made the Slave: The Autobiography of George Teamoh* (Macon, Ga.: Mercer, 1990), 111–12, 187.

46. *Proceedings of the Convention of South Carolina*, 348, 341, 344–45. Langley’s wording, eventually incorporated into what became section 28 of the new constitution’s bill of rights, stipulated that the military “ought to be” under civil authority. See Francis N. Thorpe, comp., *The Federal and State Constitutions, Colonial Charters, and Other Organic Laws of the . . . United States of America* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1909), 6:3284.

47. *Proceedings of the Convention of South Carolina*, 364–65, 375.

48. *Ibid.*, 530–31, 387, 537; *Charleston Daily Courier*, February 22, 1868, 1. Oconee County was created from part of Pickens. The wording stricken from the third section of the report would have divided Charleston into three counties: Charleston, Berkeley, and Edisto.

49. *Proceedings of the Convention of South Carolina*, 617, 621–22. See particularly the comments of Edmund Mackey, who feared that judges elected in some of the more conservative areas of the state (as, for example, the up-

lands) could come into downstate regions that had had no say in their elections and dispense racially discriminatory rulings.

50. *Ibid.*, 625, 628, 674–77, 683–84.

51. *Ibid.*, 525, 546–47, 541–42, 559, 569–70.

52. *Ibid.*, 766, 760, 762, 767–68. Interestingly, two-thirds of the voting blacks who had never been enslaved supported shorter terms for cabinet officials, while two-thirds of the former slaves freed by the outcome of the war endorsed the longer terms. In its final form, the new constitution provided a term of two years for governor and four-year terms for comptroller-general, treasurer, and secretary of state. See Thorpe, *Federal and State Constitutions*, 6:3289, 3292.

53. *Proceedings of the Convention of South Carolina*, 559, 578–79.

54. *Charleston Daily Courier*, February 27, 1868, 1; *Proceedings of the Convention of South Carolina*, 579–84. Usually meeting in a single session per day, delegates initially began their deliberations at noon; they had then changed their usual starting time to 10:30 A.M., continuing with single sessions each day. Immediately after Mackey had introduced his resolution, Thaddeus Sasportas (a mixed-race delegate from Orangeburg district) followed with a resolution mandating that delegates receive no per diem after March 5, 1868. Lawrence N. Powell has noted that the “loaves and fishes” of public office were often absolutely vital to Republican politicians, who were frequently ostracized from the larger society, financially indigent, and consequently almost entirely dependent on their political offices for their livelihood. See Lawrence N. Powell, “The Politics of Livelihood: Carpetbaggers in the Deep South,” in *Region, Race, and Reconstruction: Essays in Honor of C. Vann Woodward*, ed. J. Morgan Kousser and James M. McPherson (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982), 315–47.

55. *Proceedings of the Convention of South Carolina*, 586, 588–89; *Charleston Daily Courier*, February 27, 1868, 1. Delegates also extended, until tabled, discussion of whether their per diem might be canceled at a later date (after March 5 or 15).

56. *Proceedings of the Convention of South Carolina*, 829–30, 825–26, 834–35, 828. McKinlay, a teacher with the Freedmen’s Bureau, later served as a Washington lobbyist for Booker T. Washington, his close personal friend. See Foner, *Freedom’s Lawmakers*, 145.

57. *Proceedings of the Convention of South Carolina*, 891.

58. *Ibid.*, 894, 889–93, 901–2; Uya, *Robert Smalls*, 52–54. In addition to Duncan, three other southern whites were in opposition.

59. The low score of mixed-race delegates on suffrage is, in general, a factor in accounting for the surprisingly low overall RSSs (ranging from 2.24 to 1.69) of five mixed-race delegates: Emile Bonnefoi (1.96), William Brown (1.82), Thomas Isabelle (1.69), George Kelso (2.24), and Theophile Mahier (1.94). For the voting tallies of African American delegates, and southern white and outside white delegates as well, refer to the Louisiana section of appendix B, in which RSSs are assigned to all delegates who participated in sufficient roll calls to be allocated such designations. Since South Carolina delegates were not assigned RSSs, they are not included in that appendix.

60. Foner, *Reconstruction: America’s Unfinished Revolution*, 64–65; Baggett, *The Scalawags*, 197; Bell, *Afro-Creole Tradition*, 2.

61. F. Wayne Binning, “Carpetbagger’s Triumph: The Louisiana State Election of 1868,” *Louisiana History* 14 (Winter 1973): 34–39; Taylor, *Louisiana Reconstructed*, 156–61; Rodrigue, *Reconstruction in the Cane Fields*, 94–99; *Annual Cyclopaedia*, 8:432–34; Warmoth, *War, Politics, and Reconstruction: Stormy Days in Louisiana* (New York: Macmillan Company, 1930), 54–59; *New Orleans Crescent*, January 15, 1868, 1; *New Orleans Daily Picayune*, April 16, 1868, 1, 4; April 17, 1868, 4; House Miscellaneous Document 34, Pt. 2, 44th Cong., 2d sess., 494; Binning, “Henry Clay Warmoth,” 116. Although not an elected delegate to the constitutional convention, Warmoth had been admitted to the convention floor; he had also presented that body with a copy of the New York constitutional manual, which contained a copy of each of the state constitutions. In a letter, he also suggested that they “select or adapt the

most up-to-date features of each.” Current, *Those Terrible Carpetbaggers*, 75–76. Two convention delegates were also elected to executive office on the Warmoth ticket: Secretary of State Simeon Beldon and Attorney General George Wickliffe. Three other delegates ran unsuccessfully for state office on the Taliaferro ticket: Emile Bonnefoi (auditor), William R. Crane (attorney general), and Charles Smith (secretary of state). Although failing to select candidates for statewide offices in March, Democrats did run legislative and local candidates, who made a strong showing. Initially, the new senate consisted of 20 Republicans and 16 Democrats; the new house had 56 Republicans and 45 Democrats. See Jones, “The Louisiana Legislature of 1868,” 18–19, 76–79.

62. *Charleston Daily Courier*, March 10, 1868, 1; March 18, 1868, 2; Richard Zuczek, *State of Rebellion: Reconstruction in South Carolina* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1996), 49–50; Simkins and Woody, *South Carolina during Reconstruction*, 106–110, 113–19; Hume, “‘Black and Tan’ Conventions,” 414–16; Holt, *Black over White*, 97; Current, *Those Terrible Carpetbaggers*, 142–48; *Biographical Directory of Congress*, 186. Breakdowns of the membership of the special legislative session that assembled in July of 1868 vary somewhat from account to account. The figures given here are from Holt’s *Black over White*. For an analysis of the legislators for the entire 1868–70 session, see Michael Edwin Thompson, “Blacks, Carpetbaggers, and Scalawags: A Study of the Membership of the South Carolina Legislature, 1868–1870” (Ph.D. diss., Washington State University, 1975), 38–75, 106, 151–215. With the exception of governor-elect Scott, virtually all the successful Republican candidates for major office had been convention delegates: Lieutenant Governor Lemuel Boozer; Adjutant and Inspector General Franklin Moses Jr.; Secretary of State Francis Cardozo; Comptroller General John Neagle; Attorney General Daniel Chamberlain; Treasurer Niles Parker; Superintendent of Education Justus Jillson; Congressmen Benjamin Whittemore, Christopher Bowen, James Goss, and Simeon Corley; and United States Senators Thomas Robertson and Frederick Sawyer.

63. Thorpe, *Federal and State Constitutions*, 3:1465, 6:3301.

CHAPTER 7: FLORIDA AND TEXAS

EPIGRAPHS: Harrison Reed to David L. Yulee, February 16, 1868, box 8, David Levy Yulee Papers, P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida, Gainesville; George Ruby quoted from *Journal of the Reconstruction Convention, Which Met at Austin, Texas, Dec. 7, A.D. 1868. Second Session* (Austin: Tracy, Siemering and Company, Printers, 1870), 528.

1. *A Compendium of the Ninth Census (June 1, 1870)* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1872), 32–33, 92–93. Texas had also been the fastest growing of the future Confederate states during the 1850s; it had been followed, during that decade, by Arkansas and then Florida.

2. William Watson Davis, *The Civil War and Reconstruction in Florida* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1913), 32; Dale Baum, *The Shattering of Texas Unionism: Politics in the Lone Star State during the Civil War Era* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1998), 42, 45. In 1860 blacks comprised almost two-thirds of the population of Jackson, Gadsden, Leon, Jefferson, and Madison counties in Florida, while whites were a majority of around 55% in Florida’s population overall.

3. Canter Brown Jr., *Ossian Bingley Hart: Florida’s Loyalist Reconstruction Governor* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1997), 125–27; David C. Roller and Robert W. Wyman, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Southern History* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1979), 448–49, 1216.

4. Brown, *Ossian Bingley Hart*, 195–96; House Executive Document 342, 40th Cong., 2d sess., 106–7; Richard L. Hume, “The ‘Black and Tan’ Constitutional Conventions of 1867–1869: A Study of Their Membership” (Ph.D. diss., University of Washington, 1969), 533–34; Jerrell H. Shofner, *Nor Is It Over Yet: Florida in the Era of Reconstruction, 1863–1877* (Gainesville: University Presses of Florida, 1974), 171–72.

5. Shofner, *Nor Is It Over Yet*, 172–74; Richard Nelson Current, *Those Terrible Carpetbaggers: A Reinterpretation* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 84–86; John T. Foster Jr. and Sarah Whitmer Foster, *Beechers, Stowes*,

and *Yankee Strangers: The Transformation of Florida* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1999), 59–62; Hume, “‘Black and Tan’ Conventions,” 530–32. A third Republican faction, the Lincoln Brotherhood, had been organized by Thomas W. Osborn, the assistant commissioner of the Freedmen’s Bureau in Florida, during the fall of 1865. By late 1867, however, much of its black support had drifted to the Mule Team, while its white leadership had merged with the Hart-Reed group.

6. House Executive Document 342, 40th Cong., 2d sess., 159–60, 182–84; *The American Annual Cyclopaedia and Register of Important Events of the Year 1867* (D. Appleton and Company, 1868), 7:714–15; Carl H. Moneyhon, *Republicanism in Reconstruction Texas* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1980), 69–72, 182–84. For a county-by-county summation of Texas voter registration totals listing separate figures for white and black registrants, see “Registration Book—Texas Records Relating to the Registration of Inhabitants in Texas,” part 4, Records of United States Army Continental Commands, 1821–1920, RG 393, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

7. Prior to the war, Newcomb had owned the *Alamo Express*, a Unionist newspaper in San Antonio. In March of 1861, the building that housed it was burned to the ground by a “vigilance committee,” which counted among its ranks L. Buquor (formerly a San Antonio alderman), the city’s chief of police, and as its mayor. Degener’s Unionism later resulted in even more tragic consequences. He was imprisoned by Confederate authorities, and two of his sons were executed for treason. See Teresa Thomas, “Crime and Order in San Antonio during the Civil War and Reconstruction” (Ph.D. diss., University of Texas, 2001), 262–63; Eric Foner, *Reconstruction: America’s Unfinished Revolution 1863–1877* (New York: Harper and Row, 1988), 299.

8. Moneyhon, *Republicanism in Texas*, 65–67; James Alex Baggett, “Origins of Early Texas Republican Party Leadership,” *Journal of Southern History* 40 (August 1974): 441–54; Baum, *Shattering of Texas Unionism*, 237–38.

9. Ron Tyler et al., eds., *The New Handbook of Texas* (Austin: Texas State Historical Association, 1996), 5:477. Those opposed to Reconstruction had adopted the strategy, unsuccessful as it turned out (although only a few more than half of eligible voters cast ballots), of voting against the convention but in favor of conservatives running for delegate seats.

10. House Miscellaneous Document 109, 40th Cong., 2d sess., 21–22. The most accurate summation of registration and voting in Florida, however, is to be found in Senate Executive Document 53, 40th Cong., 2d sess., 9. General George Meade, who had replaced Pope as commander of the Third Military District, stated that the 28,003 voters qualified to participate in the Florida referendum included 16,089 blacks and 11,914 whites. Meade concluded that 13,080 blacks and 1,220 whites had endorsed the convention, while 203 whites had opposed it. On April 18, 1868, Brevet Major General Robert C. Buchanan, then in command of the Fifth Military District, submitted similar figures on registration and voting in Texas. The 109,130 registered voters included 59,633 whites and 49,497 blacks. A total of 7,757 whites and 36,932 blacks voted for the convention, while 10,622 whites and 818 blacks voted against it. See Senate Executive Document 53, 40th Cong., 2d sess., 12.

In Florida, as a consequence of Republican factionalism and the rancor over the seating of new delegates and the unseating of several of those elected originally, 50 delegates, 4 more than the originally allotted 46, actually took part in roll-call votes. Although 90 seats were apportioned for the Texas convention, several deaths, a suicide, a resignation, and various replacements resulted in 92 delegates taking part in roll-call votes.

11. For Flanagan’s slaveholdings of 65 bondsmen (and an additional 39 held by his wife, Elizabeth), see 1860 slave schedule, Rusk County, Texas, 14, 327. Mrs. Edward Howse’s eight bondsmen (1860 slave schedule, Marion County, Florida, 2, 333) qualified her husband as the former slaveholder with the most bondsmen among Florida delegates. The slaveholdings of four Florida southern whites were located in the 1860 census; in addition, Jesse Goss, like Howse a Marion County delegate, had held an unknown number of slaves while previously a resident of Virginia.

12. Learotha Williams Jr., “‘A Wider Field of Usefulness’: The Life and Times of Jonathan Clarkson Gibbs, c. 1828–1874” (Ph.D. diss., Florida State University, 2003), 129–30.

13. Shofner, *Nor Is It Over Yet*, 169; Davis, *Reconstruction in Florida*, 470–71, 477, 510, 514; *The Biographical Record of Whiteside County, Illinois. Illustrated* (Chicago: S. J. Clarke Publishing Company, 1900), 417–21; 1870 manuscript census returns, St. Johns County, City of St. Augustine, 7, and Duval County, City of Jacksonville, 53.

14. Francis B. Heitman, comp., *Historical Register and Directory of the United States Army, From Its Organization, September 20, 1789, to March 2, 1903* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1903), 1:572, 357; John A. Garraty and Mark C. Carnes, eds., *American National Biography* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 6:185.

15. *Journal of the Proceedings of the Constitutional Convention of the State of Florida, Begun and Held at the Capitol, at Tallahassee, on Monday, January 20th, 1868* (Tallahassee: Edward M. Cheney, Printer, 1868), 12–13, 15, 21, 39–40; *Journal of the Reconstruction Convention, Which Met at Austin, Texas, June 1, A.D. 1868* (Austin: Tracy, Siemering and Company, Printers, 1870), 25–26, 33–34, 38, 44, 118, 309, 419, 426, 644, 771; *Journal of the Reconstruction Convention at Austin, Dec. 7*, 83, 159, 170, 321, 452. In all eleven conventions (counting the two in Florida), blacks received only 13 standing committee chairmanships: 6 in the Richards convention, 3 each in Louisiana and South Carolina, and 1 in Arkansas. By this significant measure the Florida Constitutional Convention of 1868, as originally constituted, was the most radical of any of the Black and Tan conventions.

16. For details on these Byzantine events, see Richard L. Hume, “Membership of the Florida Constitutional Convention of 1868: A Case Study of Republican Factionalism in the Reconstruction South,” *Florida Historical Quarterly* 51 (July 1972): 3–9; Shofner, *Nor Is It Over Yet*, 178–85; and Richard H. Abbott, *The Republican Party and the South, 1855–1877: The First Southern Strategy* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1986), 143–45. Although newspaper accounts of the convention are fragmentary and incomplete, summaries of its proceedings are available in several congressional documents. For the Mule Team perspective, see House Miscellaneous Document 109, 40th Cong., 2d sess., 1–6, 21, which notes the 22 delegates who signed the Richards constitution. The same events, as seen by the Jenkins delegates, are outlined in House Miscellaneous Document 114, 40th Cong., 2d sess., 4, 31, which notes the 24 original Jenkins delegates and the 46 individuals who eventually signed the document they framed (signing the Jenkins document was eventually required of all delegates wishing to be paid for their convention labors). In the Florida sections of appendix C, those who signed the Mule Team document are denoted with an asterisk (*), those who supported the Jenkins coup are denoted with a dagger (†), and those who eventually signed the Jenkins constitution are designated with a double dagger (§).

17. *Florida Union* (Jacksonville), January 25, 1868, 1.

18. Although classifying delegates politically differently than we have done here, the most accurate head count and biographical classification of the members of the Florida convention are those found in Hume, “Florida Convention.” That study, like this one, is based on an examination of contemporary newspapers and documents, secondary sources, and manuscript returns of the *Ninth Census of the United States, 1870* and of the *Eighth Census of the United States, 1860*. Additional biographical information on black delegates is available in Eric Foner, *Freedom’s Lawmakers: A Directory of Black Officeholders during Reconstruction*, rev. ed. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1996), 273–74.

Florida voters originally elected a total of 46 delegates to the convention, but 4 of these (Liberty Billings, Charles Pearce, Daniel Richards, and William Saunders) were later expelled and replaced, respectively, by Ossian Hart, Marcellus Stearns, J. E. Davidson, and Richard Wells. A total of 50 delegates, then, eventually held seats in the convention. For biographical information gathered on each of these 50 individuals arranged under headings—southern whites, blacks, and outside whites—consult the Florida sections of appendix C.

19. Harrison Reed to David L. Yulee, February 16, 1868. For a close and revealing comparisons of these and other provisions of the competing constitutions, see Jerrell H. Shofner, “The Constitution of 1868,” *Florida Historical Quarterly* 36 (April 1963): 356–74. Because racial issues were clearly central to the major differences between these two constitutions, votes involving government structure and race were clearly intertwined and have been combined into a single scale in Florida. The texts of the two constitutions can be examined in John Wallace, *Carpetbag Rule in*

Florida: The Inside Workings of the Reconstruction of Civil Government in Florida after the Close of the Civil War (Jacksonville: Da Costa Printing and Publishing House, 1888; reprint, Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1964), 347–404; and House Miscellaneous Document 109, 40th Cong., 2d sess., 6–21, 25–44.

20. An editorial supporting the Mule Teamers also appeared in the February 10 edition of the *New York Tribune*. Garraty and Carnes, *American National Biography*, 18:676–78. Robinson, a Connecticut native, served as agricultural editor of the *Tribune* from 1853 to 1868. He was also largely responsible for the founding the U.S. Agricultural Society in 1852. In addition, he edited several agricultural journals and published accounts of his extensive travels, which are considered valid records of the rural life of his day. He died in Jacksonville in 1880.

21. Although 90 delegates were initially elected to the convention, we count 92 actually serving in it. Horatio Hunt replaced Georg Klappenbach, who died before the convention met. When W. H. Mullins committed suicide during the convention recess, Mijamin Priest replaced him but did not participate in any recorded roll-call votes. Shepherd Mullins replaced William Oaks, who died on August 23, 1868. Joseph Talbot resigned on October 19, 1868, and Richard Talbot then attended in his place. For biographical information gathered on each of these 92 individuals arranged under headings—southern whites, blacks, and outside whites—consult the Texas sections of appendix C. Sources vary on the number of Texas delegates. Our delegate breakdown is based on examination of secondary sources, contemporary newspapers and documents, and especially manuscript returns of the *Ninth Census of the United States, 1870* and the *Eighth Census of the United States, 1860*.

22. W. H. Mullins (southern white of Cherokee County) shot himself on the morning of October 24. On July 11 there was a fistfight between James Newcomb (southern white of Bexar County) and Samuel Johnson (southern white of Calhoun County). George Ruby (a black of Galveston) and Robert Smith (a Galveston outside white) engaged in an altercation on August 3. The same day, Albert Bledsoe (southern white from Dallas County) struck Arvin Wright (southern white from Ellis County) with a cane; three days later two black delegates—Wiley Johnson (Harrison County) and Ralph Long (Limestone County)—fought outside the convention hall. On October 4, assailants affiliated with the Knights of the Rising Sun “shot to pieces” delegate George Smith, a Union army veteran from New York who represented Jefferson County. On February 2, 1869, delegates voted to expel for rape Charles Bryant, a black minister from Harris County. For details on these incidents, see Ernest Wallace, *The Howling of the Coyotes: Reconstruction Efforts to Divide Texas* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1979), 72–73, 99–101; and Allen W. Trelease, *White Terror: The Ku Klux Klan Conspiracy and Southern Reconstruction* (New York: Harper and Row, 1971), 140–42. Trelease also notes that two other delegates, George Slaughter and Colbert Caldwell, barely escaped with their lives in the incident that cost Smith his.

Canby, who was in charge of the Fifth Military District from November 12, 1868, through April 8, 1869, had previously been in command in the Carolinas and would later be in control in Virginia. He was thus the only general to be placed in charge of more than a single military district during Reconstruction. Given the turmoil he faced in Texas, it is ironic that he himself later met a violent death in northern California. He was killed by Modocs on April 11, 1873; he holds the dubious distinction of being the first American general killed by Indians. See Garraty and Carnes, *American National Biography*, 4:313–15.

Canby had to appoint a special commission—consisting of southern white delegates Morgan Hamilton and James Thomas—to assist one of his staff in straightening out the records and papers of the adjourned convention and to prepare the constitution for the ratification referendum. See Moneyhon, *Republicanism in Texas*, 103; and Charles William Ramsdell, *Reconstruction in Texas* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1910), 259–60.

23. This roll-call vote total was far and away the highest in any of the Black and Tan conventions. Virginia, with a total of 428, was a distant second.

24. Government structure and economic issues are consolidated into one scale in Texas because the *ab initio* question and issues of state finances were so closely intertwined.

25. *Journal of the Reconstruction Convention at Austin, June 1, 28*. The journal records this vote only as “carried.”

26. Ibid., 49, 60; Betty Jeffus Sandlin, “The Texas Reconstruction Constitutional Convention of 1868–1869” (Ph.D. diss., Texas Tech University, 1970), 52–53. Moneyhon notes that railroad companies had borrowed some \$2,000,000 from the state school fund between 1858 and 1861 (*Republicanism in Texas*, 87). Legislation enacted in 1864 allowed them to pay \$320,364 of the \$1,000,000 then owed on interest in Confederate treasury warrants, which even then were practically worthless.

27. *Journal of the Reconstruction Convention at Austin, June 1*, 49, 60, 107–8, 142–43, 229–33, 413–14, 420–21, 507–8; Moneyhon, *Republicanism in Texas*, 87–89; John Martin Beckman, “Railroads, Radicals, and Democrats: A Study in Texas Politics, 1865–1900” (Ph.D. diss., University of Texas, 1975), 51.

28. *Journal of the Reconstruction Convention at Austin, June 1*, 241–42, 794–98; Sandlin, “Texas Reconstruction Convention,” 52–64. Even in the face of all the controversy involving railroads, they continued to be built. In 1861 the state had 392 miles of track; by 1873 1,578 miles were in service. See Tyler et al., *Handbook of Texas*, 5:480.

29. *Journal of the Reconstruction Convention at Austin, June 1*, 654, 694–95, 876–77, 921–22, 906–8, 933–34, 941.

30. Sandlin, “Texas Reconstruction Convention,” 64. Perhaps, too, Davis’s supporters were frustrated by the failure to obtain a charter for the Northern Texas Railway Company. According to Ronald N. Gray, “Edmund J. Davis: Radical Republican and Reconstruction Governor of Texas” (Ph.D. diss., Texas Tech University, 1976), Davis, along with delegates Morgan Hamilton, Edward Degener, and Albert Bledsoe, was among its directors (122–23).

In April of 1869, shortly after the Texas convention had adjourned, the United States Supreme Court in the case of *Texas v. White* accepted the principle of “state indestructibility.” A blanket nullification of the acts of a state government was consequently impossible and the *ab initio* question no longer a matter of political debate. See Jane Lynn Scarborough, “George W. Paschal: Texas Unionist and Scalawag Jurisprudent” (Ph.D. diss., Rice University, 1972), 123; Moneyhon, *Republicanism in Texas*, 100; and Leonard W. Levy et al., eds., *Encyclopedia of the American Constitution* (New York: Macmillan Publishing Company, 1986), 4:1884.

31. James Alex Baggett, “The Rise and Fall of the Texas Radicals, 1867–1883” (Ph.D. diss., North Texas State University, 1972), 91–92, 97–98; Sandlin, “Texas Reconstruction Convention,” 70–71; Gray, “Edmund J. Davis,” 124. Violence involving George Smith, Colbert Caldwell, and George Slaughter has been noted previously. For references to similar difficulties faced by Bird Gray (a southern white from Titus County), C. E. Coleman (an outside white from Harrison County), and Aaron Grigsby (a southern white from Marion County), see Sandlin, “Texas Reconstruction Convention,” 69–70. The Committee on Lawlessness eventually determined that there had been 939 murders in the state between 1865 and 1868 and that 379 of these had been of blacks by whites. After assembling in February of 1870, the next legislature passed a state police bill and established a militia to deal with violence. Conservatives were later vocal in their criticism of both, viewing them as Republican political organizations. The police force was soon abolished and the militia law revised. See Tyler et al., *Handbook of Texas*, 5:478–79.

32. *Journal of the Reconstruction Convention at Austin, June 1*, 111, 131–32, 193–203, 221, 224, 506–7, 619–20; Sandlin, “Texas Reconstruction Convention,” 71–81; Moneyhon, *Republicanism in Texas*, 92–93.

33. Sandlin, “Texas Reconstruction Convention,” 86–93.

34. *Journal of the Reconstruction Convention at Austin, June 1*, 609–14, 897, 898–99, 911–12, 915, 916.

35. Ibid., 235, 693, 697–98; *Journal of the Reconstruction Convention at Austin, Dec. 7*, 392–93, 394–96, 442, 463, 446–47; Sandlin, “Texas Reconstruction Convention,” 94; Wallace, *Howling of the Coyotes*, 102–3. The investigative committee recommended McKee’s expulsion.

36. Moneyhon, *Republicanism in Texas*, 136, 144, 184.

37. Wallace, *Howling of the Coyotes*, 18, 39, 46–47.

38. Ibid., 6, 12–24; *Journal of the Reconstruction Convention at Austin, June 1*, 51; Sandlin, “Texas Reconstruction Convention,” 96–105; John Pressley Carrier, “A Political History of Texas during the Reconstruction, 1865–1874” (Ph.D. diss., Vanderbilt University, 1971), 268–71; Gray, “Edmund J. Davis,” 129–34.

39. *Journal of the Reconstruction Convention at Austin, June 1*, 160, 174–75, 229, 144–47; Wallace, *Howling of the Coyotes*, 50.

40. *Journal of the Reconstruction Convention at Austin, June 1*, 155, 309, 391, 410–11, 135, 758–59, 761; Sandlin, “Texas Reconstruction Convention,” 109–16; Wallace, *Howling of the Coyotes*, 52–63; Moneyhon, *Republicanism in Texas*, 91–92; Carrier, “Texas during the Reconstruction,” 272–73.

41. Moneyhon, *Republicanism in Texas*, 95–98; Wallace, *Howling of the Coyotes*, 64, 67; Carrier, “Texas during the Reconstruction,” 273–77, 290–93; Gray, “Edmund J. Davis,” 116–17; Baggett, “Rise of the Texas Radicals,” 94–95; John L. Waller, *Colossal Hamilton of Texas: A Biography of Andrew Jackson Hamilton, Militant Unionist and Reconstruction Governor* (El Paso: Texas Western Press, 1968), 114.

42. *Journal of the Reconstruction Convention at Austin, Dec. 7*, 13–14, 98, 147, 297, 300–301, 303, 325–26, 378–79; William L. Richter, *The Army in Texas during Reconstruction, 1865–1870* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1987), 158–59; Wallace, *Howling of the Coyotes*, 73–94; Sandlin, “Texas Reconstruction Convention,” 112n, 119–28; Carrier, “Texas during the Reconstruction,” 303–11; Gray, “Edmund J. Davis,” 133n.

43. Moneyhon, *Republicanism in Texas*, 135; Sandlin, “Texas Reconstruction Convention,” 130–31; Wallace, *Howling of the Coyotes*, 137–40.

44. Carrier, “Texas during the Reconstruction,” 299; Baggett, “Rise of the Texas Radicals,” 100; Richter, *Army in Texas*, 159–60; *Journal of the Reconstruction Convention at Austin, Dec. 7*, 129, 412, 415–16; *Journal of the Reconstruction Convention at Austin, June 1*, 568–69, 879, 883–84. For voter qualifications as they finally appeared in the finished constitution, see Francis N. Thorpe, comp., *The Federal and State Constitutions, Colonial Charters, and Other Organic Laws of the . . . United States of America* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1909), 6:3594.

45. *Journal of the Reconstruction Convention at Austin, Dec. 7*, 482–86; Carrier “Texas during the Reconstruction,” 311–15.

46. *Journal of the Reconstruction Convention at Austin, Dec. 7*, 506–8, 510–11, 512, 513.

47. Richter, *Army in Texas*, 160; Waller, *Colossal Hamilton*, 121; Carrier, “Texas during the Reconstruction,” 300–302; Gray, “Edmund J. Davis,” 121–22.

48. *Journal of the Reconstruction Convention at Austin, Dec. 7*, 528.

49. Moneyhon, *Republicanism in Texas*, 103; *Journal of the Reconstruction Convention at Austin, Dec. 7*, 518–20, 527–28; Richter, *Army in Texas*, 157, 182; Sandlin, “Texas Reconstruction Convention,” 185, 213; Carrier, “Texas during the Reconstruction,” 297; Gray, “Edmund J. Davis,” 144–48; Patsy McDonald Spaw, ed., *The Texas Senate* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1999), 2:82–83. Only 46 delegates signed the constitution, including President Davis, who did so only upon the order of General Canby. See House Miscellaneous Document 82, 41st Cong., 2d sess., 26–27. According to Sandlin, this group consisted of 34 moderates, 8 radicals (including Davis and 5 blacks), and 4 conservatives. Those delegates who signed are denoted with an asterisk (*) beside their names in the Texas sections of appendix C. Meanwhile, some 22 Davis or radical delegates protested that document, declaring that the majority had “removed from the constitution every safeguard for the protection of the loyal voter, white and black.” See *Journal of the Reconstruction Convention at Austin, Dec. 7*, 518–20; and Carrier, “Texas during the Reconstruction,” 316. Delegates among this latter group are denoted with a dagger (†) beside their names in the Texas sections of appendix C. In addition to Davis, W. Frank Carter and Wiley Johnson also signed both the constitution and the document protesting it.

50. In Florida, the vanquished Mule Team delegates have been assigned the higher (more radical) total RSSs; the moderate (less radical but victorious) Jenkins delegates have been allotted the lower total scores.

51. The mean averages shown in table 7.9 are the averages of the total proportion of votes cast in support of Republican positions by each delegate within each issue area. In contrast to calculations for table 7.8, in table 7.9 we have excluded the scores within any issue area of delegates who voted less than half the time in that category. The numbers at the right of the table are the total numbers of delegates who voted sufficiently often (i.e., at least half the

time) to be scaled in each issue area. The numbers at the bottom of the chart are the averages, medians, and standard deviations of the overall RSSs of delegates who scaled on at least two issue areas. The total numbers of these scaled delegates are shown in the two columns at right in the bottom row—46 in Florida and 83 in Texas.

52. We have previously given particular attention to the matter of Republican cohesiveness on economic issues in Alabama, Georgia, and North Carolina (see note 27 to chapter 1). In this case it is obvious that Texas delegates were quite divided on government structure and economics, the scale (incorporating the divisive *ab initio* question) on which Republicans received their lowest overall support (40.5%).

53. Moneyhon, *Republicanism in Texas*, 82–86. Davis supporters lost 35 of the 66 votes scaled in Texas and carried a majority (13 of 18) of votes in only one of four issue areas—miscellaneous votes, which included votes about whether Texas should be divided.

54. Among Florida's factionalized Republicans, radicals supported the Mule Team, while moderates supported President Jenkins.

55. The support scores of individual Texas delegates are listed in appendix B; those for Florida delegates, however, are not, due to the aberrancies of that convention.

56. Shofner, *Nor Is It Over Yet*, 186.

57. *Ibid.*, 187–93.

58. In addition to Hamilton, the anti-Davis delegation included five former delegates: Micajah Armstrong, Anderson Buffington, Colbert Caldwell, Andrew McCormick, and Frederick Sumner. The Davis committee, in addition to Morgan Hamilton, included eight: Charles Bryant, James Burnett, Edmund Davis, Edward Degener, George Ruby, James Flanagan, James Newcomb, and William Varnell. See Ramsdell, *Reconstruction in Texas*, 261n.

59. Moneyhon, *Republicanism in Texas*, 104–16; James Alex Baggett, *The Scalawags: Southern Dissenters in the Civil War and Reconstruction* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2003), 257–58.

60. Moneyhon, *Republicanism in Texas*, 117–20.

61. Gray, "Edmund J. Davis," 151, 160–64; Baggett, "Rise of the Texas Radicals," 101–10; Tyler et al., *Handbook of Texas*, 5:478. Most Democrats (or conservatives) who cast ballots voted for Hamilton. Their party's unofficial gubernatorial candidate, Hamilton Stuart, received only 380 votes. See Carrier, "Texas during the Reconstruction," 394.

62. Sandlin, "Texas Reconstruction Convention," 215–33; Moneyhon, *Republicanism in Texas*, 104–26; Wallace, *Howling of the Coyotes*, 109–34; Carrier, "Texas during the Reconstruction," 329–51, 362–69, 375–76, 392–94, 398–99; Ramsdell, *Reconstruction in Texas*, 261–87; Dale Baum, "Chicanery and Intimidation in the 1869 Texas Gubernatorial Race," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 97 (July 1993): 36–54.

63. They also managed to hold on to the governorship in North Carolina until 1877.

64. Again, Davis's supporters won only 30 of 66 selected roll calls, carrying a majority of votes in only the miscellaneous issues scale (which dealt with division of the state).

CHAPTER 8: SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

EPIGRAPHS: Cornell W. Clayton and Stephen Meyer, "Washington's Constitution: History and the Politics of State Constitutional Jurisprudence," in *Washington State Government and Politics*, ed. Cornell W. Clayton, Lance T. LeLoup, and Nicholas Lovrich (Pullman: Washington State University Press, 2004), 93; Francis N. Thorpe, comp., *The Federal and State Constitutions, Colonial Charters, and Other Organic Laws of the . . . United States of America* (7 vols., Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1909), 6:3591.

1. Don E. Fehrenbacher, *Sectional Crisis and Southern Constitutionalism* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1995), 82.

2. Tim Zacharias, "Lest We Forget: A Prosopographic Analysis of Oregon's Constitutional Convention of 1857" (M.A. thesis, Washington State University, 2003), 13–14.

3. Fletcher M. Green, *Constitutional Development in the South Atlantic States, 1776–1860* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1930), 66.
4. Fehrenbacher, *Southern Constitutionalism*, 83–90.
5. *Ibid.*, 95–98.
6. *Ibid.*, 104.
7. *Ibid.*, 101; Francis N. Thorpe, comp., *The Federal and State Constitutions, Colonial Charters, and Other Organic Laws of the . . . United States of America* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1909), 2:810–11, 3:1449–50, 6:3281–85.
8. Thorpe, *Federal and State Constitutions*, 1:272, 292, 7:3833, 3856.
9. Fehrenbacher, *Southern Constitutionalism*, 91–94, 167–69.
10. *Ibid.*, 106–8, 176; Foner, *Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution* (New York: Harper and Row, 1988), 223, 240; Eric McKittrick, *Andrew Johnson and Reconstruction* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960), 58; Thorpe, *Federal and State Constitutions*, 1:393, 415, 4:2404, 5:3001.
11. Foner, *Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution*, 316.
12. Thorpe, *Federal and State Constitutions*, 3:1450, 2:824, 6:3593, 4:2070, 1:134, 2:706.
13. The moderate or Jenkins Florida constitution, which was accepted by Congress, contained 18 articles; there were 19 in the radical or Richards constitution, which Congress rejected.
14. Florida, Louisiana, North Carolina, South Carolina, Texas, and Virginia required a year's state residence; Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, and Mississippi mandated half that.
15. Thorpe, *Federal and State Constitutions*, 1:320, 3:1462.
16. Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Mississippi, and Virginia required oaths. Those in Alabama and Arkansas mentioned civil and political equality. See Thorpe, *Federal and State Constitutions*, 1:145, 321. Louisiana allowed disenfranchised voters to regain their voting rights if willing to swear that they had supported the Reconstruction Acts (Thorpe, *Federal and State Constitutions*, 3:1462); registration oaths were not required of voters in the Carolinas or Texas. Five of the constitutions—those of Florida, Georgia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Texas—disenfranchised few Confederates; the five others—those of Alabama, Arkansas, Louisiana, Mississippi, and Virginia—were more stringent. Estimates of the numbers of southern whites disenfranchised in particular states are unreliable. See Foner, *Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution*, 323–24, 347, 504–5; William A. Dunning, *Essays on the Civil War and Reconstruction* (New York: Macmillan Company, 1897; reprint, New York: Harper and Row, 1965), 196–98; and William A. Russ Jr., “Registration and Disfranchisement under Radical Reconstruction,” *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 21 (September 1934): 178–79. By 1871 only Arkansas retained voting restrictions based upon wartime loyalties, and Congress endorsed a general amnesty bill in 1872.
17. Thorpe, *Federal and State Constitutions*, 2:829, 3:1462–63, 7:3876–77, 6:3612. When registering in Virginia a prospective voter also had to swear that he had not been involved in duels (Thorpe, *Federal and State Constitutions*, 7:3875–76). Two constitutions, Mississippi's and South Carolina's, required that all elected officials believe in a Supreme Being (Thorpe, *Federal and State Constitutions*, 4:2084; 6:3304).
18. Foner, *Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution*, 323. Florida's constitution, however, stipulated that the state's Seminole Indians were entitled to one seat in each house of the legislature (Thorpe, *Federal and State Constitutions*, 2:724).
19. Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, and Louisiana used this formula; South Carolina did so as well but provided for the reapportionment of only the house of representatives. Mississippi, North Carolina, and Texas reapportioned by means that varied a bit from the standard model. Before the Civil War, state censuses for purposes of apportionment were not uncommon. In their initial constitutions, for example, Alabama mandated an enumeration every six years, Arkansas and Louisiana every four years, and Florida every ten years (at mid-decade).

20. South Carolina required representatives be at least 22. See Thorpe, *Federal and State Constitutions*, 6:3286.
21. Ibid., 1:136, 144, 310, 320, 2:707, 719–20, 828, 3:1450, 1462, 4:2072, 2079, 5:2805, 2814, 6:3286, 3594, 7:3884, 3875.
22. Ibid., 1:310, 320, 3:1450, 1462, 4:2072, 2079, 6:3286, 7:3884, 3875, 1:136, 144, 2:707, 719–20, 5:2805, 6:3594.
23. Ibid., 2:707, 7:3884, 1:136.
24. Ibid., 3:1450, 1462, 1:136, 2:828, 5:2805, 6:3595.
25. Ibid., 6:3594, 5:2803.
26. For the five states that required revenue bills to originate in the lower house, see *ibid.*, 1:137, 1:312, 2:828, 3:1455, 6:3287. For the four that allowed at least some revenue bills to originate in the upper house, see 2:708, 4:2073, 7:3884, 6:3596.
27. Ibid., 1:137–38, 313. The North Carolina governor was not given the veto power until January 1, 1997; it was first used on November 6, 2002. Associated Press, “Easley Uses Veto for First Time, Raising Chance for Lame-Duck Session,” November 13, 2002.
28. Thorpe, *Federal and State Constitutions*, 5:2821, 7:3897–98, 1:326.
29. Ibid., 1:140, 6:3289, 3:1456, 5:2807.
30. Ibid., 1:140–42, 144, 2:710, 3:1456, 1:315.
31. Ibid., 1:140–42, 144, 315, 2:831.
32. Ibid., 1:140, 315, 3:1455, 1457–58, 4:2075, 2076–77, 5:2807, 6:3289, 3290, 3292.
33. Ibid., 7:3877, 3879, 2:831, 832, 710, 711, 712, 6:3600, 3601, 3002–3, 3609.
34. Ibid., 4:2077, 2078, 6:3604–5, 2:833, 712. Texas’s 1845 constitution had stipulated appointment of judges of the supreme and district courts. In the 1866 constitution, these positions became elective. Ibid., 6:3554, 3575–76.
35. Ibid., 1:143, 5:2812, 3:1458, 1459, 1460.
36. Ibid., 6:3292, 3293, 3294, 7:3922, 3923, 3924, 1:318.
37. Ibid., 6:3611–12, 1:150, 317, 4:2086, 2:712, 716.
38. Ibid., 2:729–30, 830, 1:139, 6:3299, 3612–13, 3603.
39. Ibid., 7:3895, 4:2072–73, 1:324, 3:1463–64, 5:2814.
40. William C. Harris, *The Day of the Carpetbagger: Republican Reconstruction in Mississippi* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1979), 154.
41. Thorpe, *Federal and State Constitutions*, 5:2818–19, 6:3289, 7:3896, 2:836–37, 838, 1:152, 325, 6:3613.
42. Ibid., 4:2070, 3:1464, 2:838, 5:2819.
43. Ibid., 4:2080, 3:1465, 6:3301.
44. Ibid., 2:838; Frank B Williams Jr., “The Poll Tax as a Suffrage Requirement in the South, 1870–1901,” *Journal of Southern History* 18 (November 1952): 470–71. From the end of Reconstruction to almost 1890, Williams notes, except for Georgia and briefly Virginia, there were technically no legal restrictions on universal adult male suffrage in any of the southern states. Such restrictions were imposed, constitutionally or by statute, commencing with Florida in 1889 followed by Mississippi (1890), Arkansas (1891), South Carolina (1895), Louisiana (1898), North Carolina (1900), Alabama (1901), and Virginia and Texas (1902).
45. Thorpe, *Federal and State Constitutions*, 1:149, 5:2817.
46. Ibid. 1:322, 3:1465, 1466, 5:2817, 6:3609, 3300–1, 7:3892–93.
47. We located 839 delegates in manuscript census returns—837 in the 1860 or 1870 returns, one each in the 1850 and 1880 returns. We also found additional biographical information on many of these delegates, including a number of the 179 whom we failed to locate in census returns, in other sources—newspaper accounts, biographical directories, local histories, historical monographs, etc.

48. No Black and Tan convention was mandated for Tennessee, which had been restored to the Union in 1866, and Democrats managed to take control of Virginia in 1869 in the election by which that state's Black and Tan constitution was ratified. In effect, then, nine of the eleven former Confederate states actually experienced a period of Republican rule under the congressionally decreed Black and Tan constitutions. Republicans, however, were also able to control Tennessee until 1869, and they comprised a significant minority of Virginia's legislators for several years following the restoration of civil government in the Old Dominion.

49. We have determined that over half—at least 568 (55.8%)—later held other political offices during the Reconstruction era. Of these, 94 served at the local level (justices of peace, etc.), 390 at the state level (most often as state legislators), and 84 at the federal level (members of Congress, customs officials, etc.). These figures are admittedly incomplete in that a delegate counted as a federal official may also have held other offices at the local or state level as well. Given this fact, and that we have undoubtedly missed additional delegates who held offices (especially those who did so only at the local level), these figures are almost surely an undercount. However, they include seven governors—Ossian Hart and Marcellus Stearns of Florida, Rufus Bullock and Benjamin Conley of Georgia, Daniel Chamberlain and Franklin Moses Jr. of South Carolina, and Edmund Davis of Texas—as well as 53 members of Congress (8 senators and 45 representatives). See appendix C for the data upon which these totals are based.

50. For a provocative argument underscoring the value of quantitative methodology in helping to balance the distortions so rife in much of the racially charged historiography of the Reconstruction era, see Thomas J. Pressly, "Racial Attitudes, Scholarship, and Reconstruction: A Review Essay," *Journal of Southern History* 32 (February 1966): 88–93.

51. With the exception of Virginia (which had been reduced in size and population by the wartime creation of West Virginia) the Reconstruction Act of March 23, 1867, stipulated that the delegate total in each convention be equal to that of the lower house of its state's legislature in 1860.

52. Carpetbagger Daniel Richards presided briefly over the Florida convention. That tumultuous body, however, soon split into two groups, each meeting separately and drafting its own constitution. Eventually, with the support of military authorities, the two conventions were melded into a single body again. Richards was then replaced as president by Horatio Jenkins (also a carpetbagger), and Richards and several of his key lieutenants were purged from the reconstituted delegate ranks. Thus eleven presidents actually officiated over the ten conventions.

53. Jerrell H. Shofner, *Nor Is It Over Yet: Florida in the Era of Reconstruction 1863–1877* (Gainesville: University Presses of Florida, 1974), 194–97; Richard L. Hume "Membership of the Florida Constitutional Convention of 1868: A Case Study of Republican Factionalism in the Reconstruction South," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 51 (July 1972): 1–17.

54. James M. McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom: The Civil War Era* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 689–92; Thomas C. Holt, "Negro State Legislators in South Carolina during Reconstruction," in *Southern Black Leaders of the Reconstruction Era*, ed. Howard N. Rabinowitz (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1982), 223–46; James Lowell Underwood, "African American Founding Fathers: The Making of the South Carolina Constitution of 1868," in *At Freedom's Door: African American Founding Fathers and Lawyers in Reconstruction South Carolina*, ed. James Lowell Underwood and W. Lewis Burke Jr. (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2000), 24–25.

55. For counts confirming substantial Republican majorities in both houses of the South Carolina legislature during the Reconstruction years, see Thomas C. Holt, *Black over White: Negro Political Leadership in South Carolina during Reconstruction* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1977), 97. The best-known of such negative portrayals, of course, are James S. Pike, *The Prostrate State: South Carolina under Negro Government* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1874; Reprint, New York, Harper and Row, 1968) and *The Birth of a Nation*, D. W. Griffith's 1914 silent film classic.

56. If measured by committee chairmanships and rank-and-file membership, black delegates in the Florida convention over which Daniel Richards presided enjoyed power and influence at least equal to that of African Ameri-

cans in either the Louisiana or South Carolina conventions. Under Richards, blacks secured a quarter of committee chairmanships and 40.9% of rank-and-file committee memberships. When the Florida convention was reconstituted, Horatio Jenkins, its new president, appointed no blacks to standing committee chairmanships, although they still managed to hold on to slightly over a third of rank-and-file committee positions.

57. In six of the eight conventions, delegate voting behavior has been tracked across five issue scales—economics, government structure, miscellaneous issues, race, and suffrage. In the remaining two, it has been examined over four scales: economic votes failed to scale in Alabama, and structure and economic votes were merged into a single scale in Texas.

In compiling the RSSs of individual delegates, each Republican vote cast by a particular delegate has been recorded as a 1 and each conservative vote as a 0. These were totaled and averaged for each delegate in each issue area (yielding an RSS for each issue scale of from 0 to 1), and the sum of those averages yields the overall RSS for each delegate with a sufficient number of votes to be scaled. Thus a delegate who voted sufficiently often in all issue areas and always supported Republican positions would receive an overall RSS of 5; one with sufficient votes to be scaled in each area who always voted in opposition to the Republicans would receive an overall support score of 0 (adjustments have been made in compiling such scores for Alabama and Texas delegates so that those delegates' overall scores also range from 0 to 5). Delegates with overall scores greater than 3.33 have been classified politically as radicals, those with scores greater than 1.66 but less than or equal to 3.33 have been classified as swing voters, and those returning overall scores of 1.66 or lower have been classified as conservatives.

58. T. Harry Williams, "The Louisiana Unification Movement of 1873," *Journal of Southern History* 10 (July 1945): 350, 358; Eric Foner, *Freedom's Lawmakers: A Directory of Black Officeholders during Reconstruction*, rev. ed. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1996), 125. By 1873, Kelso, an antebellum free black of mixed race and co-owner of a newspaper, was a state senator.

59. This pattern lends credence to two often-repeated assertions regarding the scalawags—that their heritage was one of mountain unionism in Alabama and North Carolina and was often associated with German immigration in Texas. See Foner, *Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution*, 300; Sarah Woolfolk Wiggins, *The Scalawag in Alabama Politics, 1865–1881* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1977), 128; William Warren Rogers Jr., *Black Belt Scalawag: Charles Hays and the Southern Republicans in the Era of Reconstruction* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1993), 26; James L. Lancaster, "The Scalawags of North Carolina, 1850–1868" (Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 1974), 175, 241, 276, 393–94; Walter D. Kamphoefner, "New Perspectives on Texas Germans and the Confederacy," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 102 (April 1999): 440–55; and James Alex Baggett, *The Scalawags: Southern Dissenters in the Civil War and Reconstruction* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2003), 56–57, 264. Eleven of the 13 southern white radicals in the Texas convention came from West or Central Texas, and 5 of these 11 were from four counties (Bastrop, Bexar, Colorado, and Gillespie) that Kamphoefner characterizes as having relatively sizable German American populations.

60. We have ascertained the occupations of 442 southern white delegates to whom we have assigned RSSs. We have located the 1870 property holdings of 372 of these 442 delegates. Finally, we have established the RSSs, the 1870 property holdings, and the professions of 369 southern white delegates.

61. In particular conventions, the mean or median assets of swing southern white farmer delegates were sometimes greater than those of conservatives, or less than those of radicals. In all eight conventions, however, by both mean and median measurements, radical southern white farmers, as a group, were consistently less affluent than were conservative southern white farmers.

This pattern is also reflected in the slaveholding of the 159 southern white farmer delegates whose 1860 slaveholdings are known. Almost two-thirds of radical southern white farmers (41 of 67) held no bondsmen; the median and mean holdings of the 26 who did own slaves were 8 and 14, respectively. Close to half of the swing southern

white farmers (15 of 35, or 42.9%) owned slaves (the median and mean holdings of those who did were 6 and 32.7, respectively). Finally, almost two-thirds of conservative southern white farmer delegates (36 of 57) were former slaveholders, with median and mean holdings among those who had held bondsmen of 11 and of 26.7, respectively.

62. Baggett, *The Scalawags* (193–94, 199, 256, 266), argues that carpetbaggers controlled Louisiana’s Republican party. In addition to the figure of only some 200 rank-and-file scalawags, he estimates that native white radicals secured only a couple of dozen major offices in the state prior to 1877. Consult the Louisiana section of appendixes B and C for data on which our summary in the text is based.

63. *Ibid.*, 219. For data on which our summary is based, consult the Alabama sections of appendixes B and C.

64. In the spring of 1862, Confederate James C. Bates concluded that three-quarters of the men in Searcy County, and in the state’s Ozark region generally, were Union sympathizers. See Richard Lowe, ed., *A Texas Cavalry Officer’s Civil War: The Diary and Letters of James C. Bates* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1999), 95.

65. Baggett, *The Scalawags*, 200–201. For data used in this overview, see the Arkansas sections of appendixes B and C.

66. For data used in this summary, consult the North Carolina sections of appendixes B and C. Lancaster offers biographical information on 296 of the state’s scalawags and on 280 of its conservatives (“Scalawags of North Carolina,” 480–523). By Lancaster’s count, there were 77 scalawags and 14 native white conservatives at the convention (*ibid.*, 287). His tally of southern white delegates, then, differs significantly from ours: 59 radicals (or scalawags), 15 swing delegates, and 11 conservatives. Lancaster’s classifications and ours diverge in the case of 22 delegates. On the basis of our RSSs (which, of course, address only voting behavior in the convention), we have identified 13 of his scalawag delegates as swing voters. Another four of his scalawags (including convention president Calvin Cowles) failed to vote often enough to be assigned support scores (and are therefore not included among our totals of radical, conservative, or swing voters). We classify one of Lancaster’s scalawags (Samuel Highsmith) as a black, and we do not believe that another (Eugene Grissom) was a delegate. We classify two of Lancaster’s conservatives as swing voters, and he does not designate Abial Fisher (radical southern white) as a delegate. These discrepancies, then, are largely due to differing methods of delegate identification and classification. They are explained for the benefit of the reader, and this explanation is in no way meant to distract from Lancaster’s extremely valuable study. In fact we find ourselves largely in agreement with his overall portrait of North Carolina scalawags as largely yeoman farmers, Unionists, former Whigs or Douglas Democrats, and residents of Piedmont or Mountain districts.

67. A majority (18 of 31) of Virginia’s conservative delegates actually recorded RSSs of 0.00. That is, they failed to cast even a single Republican vote on any of the scaled divisions in the Virginia convention.

68. For data on which this summary is based, consult the Virginia sections of appendixes B and C.

69. Among the other eight conventions for which RSSs were assigned (including Florida in this instance), at least 90% of southern white delegates garnered support scores in three of them, and at least 80% did so in the other five. For delegate absence rates, consult the Mississippi section of appendix B.

70. Studies such as those by David Donald, Thomas Alexander, and Warren Ellem stress a Whig background of scalawags, both in Mississippi and throughout much of the South. Allen Trelease and Otto Olsen, in contrast, focus on their Jacksonian Democratic yeoman roots. William Harris and Sarah Woolfolk Wiggins, however, argue that scalawag origins and backgrounds were actually quite varied. So, too, does David Sansing, who has addressed the difficulty of determining both the postwar political motivations of Mississippi’s scalawags and the paucity of sources that shed light on their backgrounds and motives. See David G. Sansing, “The Role of the Scalawag in Mississippi Reconstruction” (Ph.D. diss., University of Southern Mississippi, 1969), 1–9, 22–25. Baggett, who agrees that the problems Sansing notes are clearly evident in the case of the Mississippi convention’s radical native white delegates, also alleges that only a handful of Mississippi whites identified themselves with the Republican party before 1867 and that few of them did so until after the 1868 presidential election (*The Scalawags*, 269). For a useful and succinct

recent overview of historiographical issues surrounding the scalawags, and the relevant works of a number of the authorities cited above, see Baggett, *The Scalawags*, 1–6.

71. Sansing notes that in attempting to carry the state in 1875, Democrats established a statewide organization for the first time since 1868 (“Scalawag in Mississippi,” 101).

72. For the voting behavior of southern whites in Georgia and Texas, consult the appropriate sections of appendix B.

73. *Journal of the Proceedings of the Constitutional Convention of the People of Georgia, Held in the City of Atlanta in the Months of December, 1867, and January, February and March, 1868: And Ordinances and Resolutions Adopted* (Augusta: E. H. Pughe Book and Job Printer, 1868), 148–50, 311–12; Foner, *Reconstruction: America’s Unfinished Revolution*, 347. Only 7 southern whites in addition to Higbee were among the 12 delegates who opposed removal of the office-holding guarantee. Among them were Amos Akerman, a future attorney general of the United States, who stringently enforced the Ku Klux Klan Acts while in that office, and James Dunning, a wartime Unionist who later lobbied unsuccessfully for a statue of President Lincoln in downtown Atlanta. During the Georgia convention, Akerman, who opposed Republican relief initiatives (compiling a 0.00 score on the economic scale and thereby an overall RSS of only 1.01) actually voted, with this most notable exception in support of the freedmen, as a conservative. Dunning, with a higher overall support score of 2.90, voted as a nonaligned delegate.

74. Ron Tyler et al., eds., *The New Handbook of Texas* (Austin: Texas State Historical Association, 1996), 1:11–12, 5:474–81.

75. Foner, *Reconstruction: America’s Unfinished Revolution*, 291, 215–16. While Leon Litwack has noted divisions among blacks—“dark-skinned against the light-skinned, the ex-slave against the freeborn, the native against the northern-born”—he concludes that such differences “seldom assumed . . . importance outside of the few large urban centers.” See Leon F. Litwack, *Been in the Storm So Long: The Aftermath of Slavery* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1979), 513–14. Although rare among the conventions generally, several divisions of the kind noted by Litwack can be seen in Louisiana and South Carolina, the two conventions in which African Americans comprised delegate majorities and could afford the luxury of fragmentation. In South Carolina, black ex-slaves and mixed-race delegates who had not been enslaved divided over land confiscation, former slaves and nonslaves split over the length of terms for the governor and members of his cabinet, and less-affluent and more-affluent African Americans divided over whether to continue with single sessions daily or to go to dual daily sessions—an action that obviously threatened to reduce overall delegate per diem payments. In Louisiana, African Americans were unified on racial issues but more divided on suffrage. This was largely a consequence of the voting behavior of 5 of the 13 African Americans in Louisiana who voted as swing delegates. All of these five were of mixed racial heritage and none had been enslaved.

76. Richard L. Hume, “Negro Delegates to the State Constitutional Conventions of 1867–69,” in Rabinowitz, *Southern Black Leaders*, 135, 141; F. N. Boney, Richard L. Hume, and Rafia Zafar, eds., *God Made Man, Man Made the Slave: The Autobiography of George Teamoh* (Macon, Ga.: Mercer, 1990), 118.

77. George Templeton Strong, *Diary*, ed. Allan Nevins and Milton Halsey Thomas (New York: Macmillan Company, 1952), 4:172.

78. These figures, as noted previously, do not include the South Carolina and Florida conventions. In the former, blacks accounted for a sizable delegate majority but presided over only 3 of 11 standing committees. Blacks were actually much better represented among standing committee chairmen in Florida’s Mule Team convention (the body over which Daniel Richards presided), in which they chaired more than a quarter of standing committees (6 of 23). However, they chaired none of the 21 standing committees in the reconstituted, or moderate, convention, the one that drafted the Florida constitution authorized by Congress for submission to Florida’s voters.

79. Foner, *Reconstruction: America’s Unfinished Revolution*, 291; Litwack, *Been in the Storm*, 286–87; Hume, “Negro Delegates,” 141–45; *Debates and Proceedings of the Convention Which Assembled at Little Rock, January 7th*,

1868. *Under the Provisions of the Act of Congress of March 2d, 1867, and the Acts of March 23d and July 19th, Supplementary Thereto, to Form a Constitution for the State of Arkansas* (Little Rock: J. G. Price Printer to the Convention, 1868), 374–75.

80. A political career, obviously, was not an option prior to the passage of the first Reconstruction Acts. Thus many outside whites moved south to take advantage of cheap land prices and engage in farming or planting. In 1870, 42 outside white delegates still listed their occupations as farmer (19) or planter (23). In moving South, outside white Union veterans often returned to areas with which they had become familiar during their years of military service. Thus, for example, while there was not a single New Englander among carpetbaggers in the Arkansas convention, 10 of South Carolina's 15 outside whites hailed from that region.

81. William C. Harris, "The Creed of the Carpetbaggers: The Case of Mississippi," *Journal of Southern History* 40 (May 1974): 202. In the eight conventions, in addition to the 112 radicals, 9 outside whites voted as swing delegates, 7 voted as conservatives, and 1 (Mississippi convention president Beroth Eggleston) abstained from voting. In addition to these 129 delegates there were 13 carpetbaggers in Florida and another 15 in South Carolina. Eight of those in Florida are known to have arrived there between 1864 and 1866; ten of those in South Carolina had relocated there "during the war" or in 1865 or 1866.

Dantus Coon and Charles Dustan (Alabama); Thomas Bowen (Arkansas); Henry Fuller and William McMillan (Louisiana); Henry Barry, Beroth Eggleston, and George McKee (Mississippi); Joseph Abbott and Byron Laffin (North Carolina); and David White (Virginia) had reached the rank of general in the Union army, as had Horatio Jenkins (Florida). In addition to Jenkins, ten Florida carpetbaggers had served in the Union army (one with black troops), and an eleventh had come to the state as a treasury agent. South Carolina's carpetbagger delegate contingent included five Union veterans (two of whom had served with black troops), three Freedmen's Bureau officials, and a revenue agent. For a more detailed biographical profile of 159 of these 164 outside white delegates in all ten conventions, see Richard L. Hume, "Carpetbaggers in the Reconstruction South: A Group Portrait of Outside Whites in the 'Black and Tan' Constitutional Conventions," *Journal of American History* 64 (September 1977): 313–30.

82. These six committee chairmanships involved the legislative, executive, and judicial branches of the respective state governments; their bills of rights; education; and the franchise. Among the eight conventions, outside whites chaired 20 of these 48 committees. Specifically, outside whites oversaw the legislative committees of three conventions (Arkansas', Mississippi's, and North Carolina's), the executive committee in another three (Alabama's, Louisiana's, and Virginia's), the judicial committees in two (Arkansas' and Mississippi's), committees on the bill of rights in four (those of Alabama, Arkansas, North Carolina, and Virginia), committees on education in five (those of Arkansas, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, and Virginia), and committees on the franchise in three (Alabama's, Arkansas', and Georgia's). Outside whites also chaired committees on the executive branch, the judicial branch, and education in the moderate (Horatio Jenkins) Florida convention; they presided over only one of these five key committees (bill of rights), however, in South Carolina.

83. The redeemers were the conservative southern white Democrats who opposed Radical Reconstruction and took power after the downfall of the Republican postwar governments in each of their respective states.

84. C. Vann Woodward, *Origins of the New South, 1877–1913* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1951), 332–33. Woodward notes that, prior to the dates listed in table 8.8, the "legal devices for limiting Negro votes which were most favored in the Redemption period were intricate registration and election laws varying from state to state" (55).

85. The Readjuster movement represented a political revolt in Virginia during the late 1870s and early 1880s whose supporters, led by railroad entrepreneur William Mahone, sought, among other reforms, reductions in the state's debt.

86. Margo J. Anderson, *The American Census: A Social History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988), 76.

87. Foner, *Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution*, 585.

88. James McPherson, *Ordeal by Fire: The Civil War and Reconstruction*, 3d ed. (New York: McGraw-Hill, 2001), 597.
89. Foner, *Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution*, 303.

APPENDIX A: METHODOLOGICAL PROCEDURES

1. A total of 836 delegates—533 southern whites, 188 blacks, and 115 outside whites—were located in manuscript census returns from 1860 or 1870. In the case of southern whites, 362 delegates were found in both 1860 and 1870 returns, 440 were located in 1860 returns, and 455 were located in 1870 returns. Black and outside white delegates were searched for systematically only in the 1870 returns. Eric Foner, *Freedom's Lawmakers: A Directory of Black Officeholders during Reconstruction*, rev. ed. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1996), is an indispensable biographical guide on black politicians in the postwar South.

2. *The American Annual Cyclopaedia and Register of Important Events of the Year . . .*, 14 vols. (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1861–74).

3. The numbers of roll-call votes (in which delegates voting were listed by name) were, in ascending order, as follows: South Carolina 22, Florida 49, Arkansas 71, Alabama 88, Georgia 102, Louisiana 158, North Carolina 163, Mississippi 281, Virginia 428, and Texas 779.

4. In some states, distinctions among these categories were not always well defined. In Florida, for instance, votes relating to race and government structure were combined into one scale due to the intertwining of the two issues during convention debates there. In other states, when a particular vote could fit into any one of several scales, it was generally put in the appropriate category with the fewest votes. In some cases, such as that of economics in Alabama, votes within a category did not achieve a reliable scale and were consequently not used in analysis.

5. For accessible introductions to this process, see Edward G. Carmines and Richard A. Zeller, *Reliability and Validity Assessment* (Beverly Hills, Calif.: Sage Publications, 1979); and Paul E. Spector, *Summated Rating Scale Construction: An Introduction* (Newbury Park, Calif.: Sage Publications, 1992).

6. W. Paul Vogt, *Dictionary of Statistics and Methodology: A Nontechnical Guide for the Social Sciences* (Newbury Park, Calif.: Sage Publications, 1993), 7–8.

7. For example, if a delegate received RSSs of .4 on government structure, .5 on racial issues, .6 on economic issues, and no RSS on suffrage or miscellaneous issues, his overall RSS score would be $[(.4 + .5 + .6) \div 3] \times 5$, or 2.5. Again, the interpretation of this adjusted overall RSS is thereby directly comparable to that of delegates obtained RSSs in all areas. If a delegate failed to obtain an RSS in over half of the issue areas, he was not assigned an overall RSS.

8. In only a very few instances did either black or outside white delegates fail to obtain high RSSs. When such was the case, those who failed to do so are noted in the chapters or appendixes covering the conventions in which they served.

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